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OF THE
HOME RULE UNION

VOL. I.

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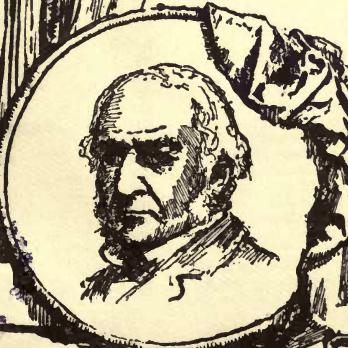
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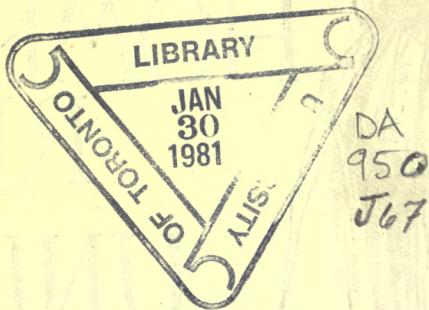


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THE WORK OF THE HOME RULE UNION.

DURING the year 1887, the Home Rule Union found it necessary to issue three successive reports, in order that its friends might from time to time be made acquainted with the character, the scope, and the results of its operations. Although they may have answered their immediate purpose, these reports were not altogether satisfactory. They contained too many statistics and names, and were lacking in general interest. The Committee found that the cost of preparing these dry summaries of business would go a long way towards supporting a regular monthly publication, to the suc-

cess of which every friend of the cause would contribute, and which would be a more worthy and useful record of the movement. They observed how constant was the demand for information, and recognised that the success of the organisation largely depended upon their ability to satisfy this demand. Accordingly they resolved to issue a journal, and at the annual meeting their resolution was heartily approved.

The Home Rule Union has long since passed the stage when it needed either apology or defence. Within its fold are gathered many of the most zealous and active among the English friends of Ireland, both in London and in the country; and it is a source of great satisfaction that not a few Conservatives have had the public spirit to enrol themselves as members of an association which in the nature of things must be mainly of Liberal composition. The Home Rule Union came into existence in response to that appeal for light and guidance which followed the General Election of 1886. At first some of the older organisations looked askance at the new comer. What position will it occupy? they asked. Will it become a mere rival? Will it escape the many dangers which beset the youth of new political societies? These were fair questions. No unkindness prompted them. They only expressed the proper hesitation with which a pretentious stranger should be received. Time and events alone could furnish the answer. Words do not wipe away

suspicion. After the lapse of a year and a quarter, the issues thus raised may surely be faced with confidence. The tone of the Liberal organisations has changed. Doubts have given way to trust, and in the most unlikely quarters friends of the movement have appeared. The wonder is, not that the Home Rule Union came into existence, and that it has proved strong, vigorous, and successful, but that it has not commanded even far more enthusiastic support from the leaders and the rank and file of the Liberal party than it has done.

When we remember how perplexing seems to many minds the question of Home Rule, and how so large a proportion of the voters in whose hands the decision rests were till lately unpractised in forming an opinion upon any political question whatever, the need of education must appear manifest. Looking at the rich and powerful bodies that have sprung up on the other side, who can doubt that equal activity must be displayed on ours, if the great controversy on which we are engaged is to end in the triumph of the right? The harvest is plenteous, and the labourers must not be few. In no spirit of rivalry, therefore, towards the older Liberal organisations, but rather in friendly co-operation, the Home Rule Union has resolutely set itself to the work of education. Its object is not to snatch a momentary victory for a party, but to spread abroad a knowledge of the causes which have brought about the alienation of Ireland from England, and to discover the means whereby the two countries can be united for ever. It appeals to no base passions. It recognises that no good cause is served by idle abuse of opponents. Its purpose is to raise Englishmen to the level of their duty as citizens, to awaken in them a noble form of political enthusiasm, and to rouse once more on behalf of a kindred people the same spirit by which our own liberties have been won and maintained. The

Home Rule Union has endeavoured to carry on its work in a manner worthy of its object. It has gained the assistance of men and women whose service has been a labour of love, and who have sought no other reward than that of bearing a part in the reconciliation of Ireland. It has accomplished much useful work which no other body was in a position to undertake. Its efforts have not been limited to any locality. It has sent its literature and lecturers into every part of the country, and it is now ready to extend its system wherever voluntary workers are willing to provide facilities. It has done much to shake the strength of the Paper Unionists in the Western Counties, and its systematic education of the London constituencies has already borne splendid fruit. It has organised a strong ladies' branch and has thus secured for the Home Rule movement the benefit of women's advocacy, help, and sympathy. Its deputation to Ireland was the first regularly organised band of visitors that went to that country to examine the evils upon the spot. One of the oldest and most influential members of its Executive was the first Englishman to be arrested under the Crimes Act, and so to taste the bitter fruits of unequal laws; and it has taken an important part in the London reception of the Irish members who have just escaped from the clutches of the jailor. But let no one imagine that the work is done! On every side open out new avenues of usefulness. Every day there comes convincing proof how formidable is the wall of ignorance and prejudice which stands between us and the goal. English electors do not yet realise the grossness, the injustice, and the meanness of our method of governing Ireland; and until they do realise it, we cannot rest. Shall the vile and violent policy of Coercion be allowed to arouse the low passions of the English people as in 1795; and, instead of taking a great step in advance, shall we, under the

guidance of our Tory leaders, accept the horrors of the twenty years of "resolute government?" Or shall the promise of 1886 be fulfilled, and a real Union established on the firm foundation of the good wishes of the Irish people? This is the urgent question, and the answer depends upon the enthusiasm with which the educational work is maintained.

The Home Rule Union issues its journal with the aim of extending the scope and increasing the efficiency of the organisation. The journal will be a record of the movement, and a means whereby help in work and in money can be sought and acknowledged. It will enable the workers to communicate with one another, and we believe that it will do good service in spreading valuable information and sound opinions on the various phases of the Irish question. We appeal to the members of the Union to assist us in securing for it a wide circulation.

THE PUNISHMENT OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.

BY MR. FREDERIC HARRISON.

WHAT is a political prisoner? What constitutes a political crime? On what principle are political criminals to be treated with any exceptional indulgence?

Such are the questions asked by impenetrable routine, and triumphant Unionist logic. This great international struggle, which seems destined to shake to its base the whole British political fabric, is giving an answer undreamt of as yet by routine or logic. In other ages, and in other countries, the treatment of political prisoners has worked itself out into practical results by the inexorable logic of events. And so it seems likely to work itself out amongst us.

In former ages of our history, when Englishmen took opposite sides in a great civil struggle, those who won imprisoned or killed their defeated rivals; but they usually treated them like gentlemen. Plantagenets, Tudors, Stuarts, Puritans, and Hanoverians, cut off heads, imprisoned, banished, or outlawed their opponents; but they seldom behaved to them with ruffianly outrage. The ancestors of Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour never forgot that their rivals were, in blood, in

breeding, in habits, and in honour, their own equals for the day, and their possible masters for the morrow. So, also, in all European countries, except Russia and England, a political criminal is treated by the rulers of the hour as a man whom it is dangerous to leave at large, but whom it would be infamous to insult. The excellent rule of *do ut des* is thoroughly understood in countries and in ages where party politics have ever passed into the prison stage.

For the first time now, since 143 years, party politics in England have again begun to pass into the prison stage. Then it was Scotland, now it is Ireland. But the long interval has made us forget what a political crime is, how a political prisoner should be treated. A few words to clear up these terms. A political prisoner is one whose offence is committed, not for private profit, but for public duty; who glories in the act as a meritorious public service in itself; who is supported by the devoted admiration of a political party; whom his own side regard as a martyr, and whom the other side regard as mischievous, but certainly not as dishonoured. A political offence is such that one political party denies it to be an offence, and the other political party does not pretend it to be infamous. An ordinary criminal does not venture to say that the act of which he is accused is honourable. He simply asserts that he did not commit it. Such friends as he ever had cease to be his friends, much less his admirers. No man whatever admits that a decent man could be guilty of such a crime. No man glories in it, or admires it. To have committed it is to be by universal consent out of the pale of self-respecting men. No one will associate with an ordinary criminal. Neither he nor anyone else denies that the act, if committed at all, is a permanent mark of degradation.

A political prisoner, again, is usually a man of culture, of social refinement. He is often in nurture, in tastes, in delicacy of mind the equal, it may be the superior, of his jailor. He has acted up to his conscience; he abhors the brutality of crime; he is quite as sensitive as any Minister of the Crown. To treat such a man as a gaol-bird is an act of wanton outrage and malignant stupidity. The system of our prisons is rough, harsh, and intentionally degrading. Ninety-nine out of every hundred prisoners are, or are believed to be, coarse, degraded, filthy, shameless wretches—the scum and refuse of the people, inured to physical hardship, and callous to personal degradation. Here and there a cultivated man commits a vulgar crime, but the infamy of his offence is rather increased than lessened by his higher breeding; and if he suffers more, he has sinned more deeply and more unpardonably. He knows it, and does not deny that the act is a crime. Prisons would be

holiday-homes for our criminal classes, unless they were designedly brought down to the level of the most callous, brutal, and roughest of the people. To force a high-minded, refined, and honourable man to submit to the same humiliation is a wanton and dastardly outrage, akin to the infliction of torture.

It in no way follows that a political crime is not to be punished. Political crimes are, in effect, often as bad as any crimes; they may deserve any punishment up to death itself. The political criminal may be a great offender against God and man; but he is not, or is not often, a personally degraded wretch. He has not lost his personal honour. He is not brutalised. He may be violently wrong-headed; but he carries himself, in his own eyes and that of his party, as a man of stainless honour and unspotted character. No degradation that is inflicted on him alters that sense in his mind or that of his friends. Neither he nor they feel at all degraded by outrage, any more than we feel it in the case of martyrs and apostles. And to inflict outrage on such men is either petty spite or blundering stupidity.

No one pretends that laws can be strictly adjusted to political crimes, or that some very brutal wretches might not possibly be brought under any definition of political criminals. "Offences of a political character" is, however, a term known to English law. No political offender has ever been asked for out of English hands, and none will ever be surrendered. If a single phrase in an Act of Parliament has sufficed to define a political offence, it need not be impossible to define it for purposes of English prisons. But no one demands any hard and fast rule. In truth it is a matter not of law but of discretion. And not so much of discretion, as of prudence, of decency, of self-respect, and of honour. It is hard to understand how a man, accidentally invested with executive authority for the span of a single Parliament, can meet his political rivals in the House, in society, in business, treat them as his social equals and his honourable opponents, and the next day can force them to herd with the foulest and most brutal ruffians—obscene, verminous, and loathsome wretches—can subject them to every physical and moral outrage that can be heaped on them, short of actual torture, and then turn round and quietly say, "Oh! it is the law; these honourable members should not break the law." Such may be the law; but it is not the ways of gentlemen—at least, outside of official circles.

To those who look on at English politics, apart from party ties, the matter seems ominous enough. It has long been the boast of our English system that party shall not divide politicians into bitter factions, that there shall be no proscriptions, and no personal rancour. This is all

over; and it is a Tory Government which chooses to destroy the old rules of the game. It is Tories who have introduced the Jacobin system of arresting political opponents wholesale. To be in Opposition is now to be liable to prison. When a minister is defied he retaliates by gross personal outrage. It is a melancholy prospect they are opening; for, of all political lessons, the *lex talionis* is the easiest to learn. Democracies are quick to be taught the science of retaliation. A few years yet and the pendulum will have swung, and the political prisoners will come from the other side. When Home Rule is imminent, Orangemen will be the gaol-birds; Colonel Sanderson will be fighting for his small-clothes amidst the jeers of the Liberal party; and Professor Dicey will be having his arm twisted by Captain Byrne's myrmidons. As the Land Laws come on for reform, Mr. Balfour's dainty nails will be scrabbling with oakum; and long before the Church is disestablished, Lord Salisbury will be tossing on his plank bed. It is a melancholy outlook to those who have little taste for party.

LAND OF OUR FATHERS!

(A secular paraphrase of Father Faber's hymn,
"Faith of Our Fathers.")

Land of our Fathers! living still
In spite of dungeon, fire, and sword;
Oh! Ireland's heart beats high with joy
Whene'er it hears that glorious word—

Land of our fathers! land of faith!
We will be true to thee till death.

Our fathers chained in prisons dark,
Were still in heart and conscience free:
How happy were their children's fate
If they, like them, could die for thee.

Land of our fathers! &c.

Land of our fathers! we will love
Both friend and foe in all our strife,
And win our way, as love knows how,
By kindly words and virtuous life.

Land of our fathers! &c.

Land of our fathers! Gladstone's voice
Shall win back Ireland's liberty;
And through the might that comes from right,
We then shall triumph and be free.

Land of our fathers! &c.

CRIMELESS IRELAND.

UNDER the above heading the Irish Press Agency has reprinted the remarkable statement made by Judge Waters in opening the Quarter Sessions at Waterford, on January 3rd, 1888. We have space only for the briefest summary, but we strongly urge every one who has the opportunity to assist in spreading the leaflet among those who employ Irish crime as an argument against Home Rule. Judge Waters is a county court judge of Waterford, Cavan, and Leitrim, and this is the result of his experience during 1887.

Waterford.—Population, 112,768; cases at Quarter Sessions, 15; at Assizes, 26.

Cavan.—Population, 129,008; cases at Quarter Sessions, 14; at Assizes, 13.

Leitrim.—Population, 89,795; cases at Quarter Sessions, 11; at Assizes, 12.

These statistics show that in three Irish counties, not specially selected, and situate one in Munster, another in Ulster, and the third in Connaught, the crime is only 67 per cent. of that of England, and only about half that of Scotland.

Alongside Judge Water's figures let us place the testimony of Sir John Davies in the reign of James I. To fair minds the parallel will suggest whether law-abidingness is not one of the most striking features of the Irish people.

"I dare affirm that for the space of five years past there has not been found so many malefactors worthy of death in all the six circuits of this realm (32 shires) as in one circuit of six shires, namely the western circuit of England. For the truth is that in time of peace the Irish are more fearful to offend the law than the English, or any nation whatsoever. . . . There is no nation or people under the sun that doth love equal or indifferent justice better than the Irish, or will not rest better satisfied with the execution thereof, although it be against themselves."

THE RIPON AND MORLEY DEMONSTRATION.

By MRS. BRYANT, D.Sc.

THE recent visit of Lord Ripon and Mr. Morley to Ireland has given the Irish people an opportunity of expressing their sentiments on the simple issue of Home Rule, apart from the complications of the Land Question; and the Irish people in all its classes and creeds has used the opportunity with good effect. We are often told that all the wealth, intelligence, and industry of the country are on the side of the sham Union. If so, Irish poverty, ignorance, and indolence are capable of producing striking results. A subscription was raised to defray expenses, and rose to the sum of £1,091, not

including any proceeds from the sale of tickets. Is it likely that the well-to-do classes had no hand in that result? A vast out-door reception by torchlight was organised, in which 120 different bodies, including 20,000 persons, took part, and the march-past occupied an hour and a-half. There was not a hitch in the arrangements from first to last. The police were invisible. Fifty stewards were in charge, and the most perfect order and decorum prevailed, while for artistic effect and popular enthusiasm the splendour of the display could not easily be surpassed. "I have seen in my time," said Mr. Morley, "a good many outpourings of crowds in great capitals, and I say, and say it with all sincerity, that never in my life have I seen a great assemblage animated with so fine a spirit, behaving with such good humour and good nature, showing so clearly that they knew and fully and earnestly appreciated the purpose for which they had gathered together."

A brief study of the constitution of the reception committee, and the general character of the demonstration, is more than sufficient to dispel the Unionists' illusion that they are "the salt of the earth." The committee compares favourably with the Hartington and Goschen committee, of which we heard so much. The former is representative of all classes in Ireland save two, and the latter consisted largely of those two and their personal friends.

From the manner in which their Church has ever identified itself with the "masses" of the Irish people, it was to be expected that the Roman Catholic bishops and clergy should be largely represented. There are twenty-eight Irish Catholic bishoprics, and the names of nineteen bishops are on the list. Two sees are vacant, and the Vicars' Capitular of both have sent in their names. The Archbishop of Dublin was absent in Rome, but wrote two letters signifying his desire to do honour to the English guests, in contradiction to a suggestion made in a hostile quarter that he, as a faithful Catholic, was not disposed favourably towards Mr. Morley. Another bishop not on the list, the Bishop of Limerick, was the first to sign the address from the Royal University to the two visitors. So it appears that at the most only five bishops are unaccounted for out of the twenty-eight.

All the eighty-five Nationalist Irish Members of Parliament put down their names, as a matter of course. They represent the popular vote taken from all classes high and low. But there are other representative bodies elected on a much higher franchise. The municipal, as compared with the parliamentary, vote in Ireland is a middle-class vote. That the strength of the Home Rule movement does not lie solely with

the peasant class is, therefore, strongly emphasised by the fact that *nearly all the representative bodies of the country*, outside the North-East corner, were represented on the committee by the mayors, high sheriffs, chairmen of town councils, town councillors and commissioners, chairmen of unions, and poor law guardians. Nine of the Irish municipalities were directly represented in the City Hall when Lord Ripon and Mr. Morley were made freemen of the city of Dublin. Cork, Drogheda, Sligo, Wexford, Limerick, Waterford, Kilkenny, Monaghan, and Carlow all sent their delegates to add emphasis to this ceremony; and fifty representative bodies presented addresses. Surely it is the wealth and intelligence which associates itself with the idea of popular welfare in representative institutions, and not the wealth and intelligence of the self-isolating classes with their claim for "privilege," that has true political significance.

Two hundred and four deputy-lieutenants and magistrates add another element to the list, and perhaps, to some, an unexpected one. Not less important is the *goodly array of professional names*, the most notable feature of which is the preponderance of members of the healing art. Doctors in this country are so often Conservative, perhaps because of their absorption in an unusually engrossing profession, that the long list of 186 physicians and surgeons in this Nationalist committee is very striking. Dr. Kidd, who described himself as brought to take part in political movements for the first time by his experience of the "tyrannical despotism" of the Government, may no doubt be taken to represent pretty accurately the sentiment of this class of converts. Mr. Balfour is doing good work by rousing the "quiet men" to take the opposition side in politics. That more quiet men will follow there can be little doubt; and they will come over in a body to their natural side of the Government under a system of Home Rule. The quietest of all men, and the most opposed to the disturbance of change, amid his labours of science and learning, is the man whose life is passed in academic shades—the University Professor or Fellow of College. Nevertheless, even he is not absent from the list. Three Professors of Trinity College, Dublin, including the veteran Home Ruler and senior Fellow of the College, Professor Galbraith, supported by Profs. Wright and Sollas, appear on the committee; and an address from Dublin University, as well as one from the younger and more democratic Royal University of Ireland, was presented to the visitors.

Last, but not least, should be noticed the *long array of merchants, manufacturers, and others directly interested in the commercial prosperity*

of the country. No less than 1,144 names come under this category. The Unionists made much of a director of the National Bank on their side. The Home Rulers have the adhesion of Mr. Slattery, the Deputy Vice-Chairman of the National Bank, besides directors of some of the greatest Irish companies, such as the Munster and Leinster Banks, the Hibernian Bank, the Alliance Gas Company, the Dublin Tramway Company, and several lines of railway. The Unionists made much of the fact that the worthy Dublin citizen, John Wigham, was in their camp. The Home Rulers may rejoice that this worthy citizen's equally worthy brother, Henry Wigham, has joined the army of Home Rule.

Manufacturers, like the Mahoneys of Blarney, the Macnamaras of Cork, and many others well known in Ireland, no doubt believe that, in signifying their adhesion to the National cause, they are acting for the material prosperity of the country and the promotion of the industries in which they have a personal interest. And they show their common-sense, as well as their patriotism, for Irish manufacture has received a powerful stimulus during these last few years, which it owes to the general progress of the National movement, and the direct activity of such men as Mr. Michael Davitt more particularly. Forty-five distinct trades bodies turned out to welcome the English Home Rule statesmen; and their welcome, if they thought of it, might have implied a hope more special than the patriotic aspiration which doubtless submerged all else. In an Ireland under Home Rule the interests of all trades, from the chimney sweeps to the silk weavers, will have their best chance of development, no less than the interest, on which so much attention is concentrated at present, of the agrarian classes. It is appropriate, as well as noticeable, therefore, that the *towns of Ireland*, rather than the country, should have contributed the more powerful element to this demonstration.

The Ireland that demonstrated on the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th of February, in favour of Home Rule, was not the Ireland of a class, or even of the masses apart from the classes. Still less was it the Ireland of the agrarian masses mainly. Nor was it the Ireland of the Catholic majority solely. It was *industrial Ireland in all the branches of her industry*, with a plentiful representation from every class except, of course, the officials and the unhappy landlords. The Protestant minority was conspicuously present. The Protestants who sit on the fence are still many, and many more are the Protestants who have got down on the Home Rule side, but will not yet come out into the open; but if it were a question of not counting heads, but calculating energy, the minority of declared Protestant Home Rulers would count for a good many more than they are, and they are

not an inconsiderable body. They constitute "the very backbone of this great movement," says the Catholic *Freeman's Journal*.

The Ireland that demonstrated for Home Rule is the Ireland of the masses, including those sections of all classes which are in sympathy with the popular well-being, and not blinded by prejudice, self-interest, or the spirit of privilege. The Ireland that demonstrated for Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen was the Ireland of officials and bewildered landlords, with such sections of the other classes as are out of sympathy with the masses. Against the masses and some classes stand some classes by themselves.

THE WEARING OF THE GREEN.

(*New Version.*) BY MRS. BEESLY.

Oh! Paddy dear, and did you hear the news that's going round,
Of what the English strangers tell who come on Irish ground?
They say the English people is wakening up at last,
That North and South, and East and West, the truth is spreading fast;
That English hearts for Irish woes thrill with indignant shame,
That English meetings ring with cheers at brave O'Brien's name;
And that all England over a strange new sight is seen,
For English men and women too are wearing now the Green.

This message comes from England: "Dear brothers, far too long Our rulers in the people's name have done you cruel wrong.

For ages they have blinded us, but now at last we see,
And vow that we will never rest till Ireland is free.
No longer shall she suffer, and strong in Freedom's cause,
We'll sweep this Government away and its accursed laws.

Again shall Ireland never see the horrors she has seen;
We pledge our truth to Ireland by the wearing of the Green.

The weary days are full of woe—your martyrdom is long;
But Irish hearts are steadfast, and Irish courage strong.
Your foes are failing, and your friends are strengthening day by day;
The clouds of grief are drifting fast—we see the dawning ray.

Oh! brothers dear, with patience yet a little while endure,
The bitter wrongs shall end at last, the victory is sure.
At last we know each others' hearts. What foe dare come between?
We'll wreath the Shamrock with the Rose, and wear the Red and Green,

HOW THE CRIMES ACT HAS BEEN WORKED.

THE RECORD OF COERCION.

The coercion record is given in the *Freeman's Journal* of January 26th and February 1st, 8th, 16th, and 22nd, with particulars of the individual cases. The total number of prosecutions recorded amounts to 382 for the first period of about five months, to 58 for the second period, to no less than 92 for the third, and to 77 and 80 for the two last weeks respectively. In all there have been 307 cases between January 26th and February 22nd. Mr. Balfour showed, in the House of Commons, that *crime* in Ireland was on the decrease, but the coercion record seems to show that *criminality*, "in the Balfourian sense," is on the increase.

The cases may be classified under seven main heads:—(1) Those arising out of resistance to eviction; (2) those connected with assertion of the right of public meeting; (3) cases of incitement, either to the assertion of this right, or to combine under the Plan of Campaign, or to resist eviction; (4) boycotting cases in all degrees; (5) those connected with the sale and publication of newspapers; (6) refusal to give evidence at the courts of private inquiry—the Balfourian Star Chamber; and (7), a few miscellaneous cases of an unimportant kind.

A careful analysis of the record shows the number of cases under each of these heads to be as follows:—

Class I., including all cases of resisting or obstructing bailiffs, &c., and retaking possession of houses, most cases of "intimidation," and some of conspiracy, 179. Twenty-six out of the total number of these cases were dismissed.

Class II., including meetings of suppressed branches of the League, unlawful assemblies generally, so-called cases of riotous assembly, assaults on the police, and hooting, 338. Mr. Blunt's case comes under this head, as also those of more than one priest; 60 of these prosecutions occurred within the week February 1st to 8th, for demonstrations of sympathy with prisoners or evicted tenants; 16 prosecutions for lighting bonfires on Mr. O'Brien's release took place. Forty-four out of the total number under this head were dismissed.

Class III., including incitements to hold meetings and to resist police, to adopt the Plan of

Campaign, or to resist evictions, 19. The cases of Mr. William O'Brien, Father M'Fadden, Mr. P. O'Brien, Mr. Sheehy, Mr. Cox, and others come under this head. Two of these cases were dismissed, one of them being the only case in which resistance to the police was mentioned.

Class IV., including all boycotting cases, from the 8 cases of exclusive dealing, cited by Mr. Gladstone, to the carmen's refusal to hire out their cars to the police, 136. One typical case is that of the 17 car owners who "conspired" to refuse cars to the police. This class also includes 33 cases for combining to stop the hunt, 20 cases vaguely described, but including a reference to boycotting, some cases of intimidation, and a case of 4 persons sentenced to 3 months' imprisonment for hooting at a family. Eleven of these cases either fell through or were dismissed.

Class V., including 6 cases of publishing, and 6 cases of selling, newspapers containing reports of suppressed branches of the League, 12. None of these have, for evident reasons, occurred lately. Mr. T. D. Sullivan represents one class of these "criminals" and Dennis Macnamara, with his two months' imprisonment, the other.

Class VI., including cases of refusal to give evidence before the court of private inquiry instituted by the Coercion Act, 1. This case occurred last month.

Class VII., including 1 case of resisting a rate-collector, 1 case of having arms in a proclaimed district, and 2 of attacking a house, one of which was dismissed by the magistrate, 4.

The cases under *Class VII.* are the only ones, it should be noticed, that suggest, even ever so distantly, the possible applicability of the act to the genuine law breakers. As a matter of fact, the real criminals in Ireland are not being touched by the Coercion Act, but are dealt with under the common law.

Fifty-two appeals were made from the judgments given by the "Removables" up to February 22nd. In one instance only was the case dismissed, in 22 the sentences were reduced. The appeal, it should be remembered, is only to the county court judge.

The total number of cases amounts to 689, but if the several "offences" committed by each person were reckoned separately, it would amount to more. *United Ireland* put the figure at 687 on February 11th, of whom 540 were sent to prison. The number dismissed was then only 64, but some of the punishments were fines.

Irish "criminality" being a thing capable of increase or decrease according to the humour of the Government and its myrmidons, its increase in the month of February is susceptible of a two-fold explanation. Either the powers that be are getting angry in their tyranny and wild, or the

people are growing more and more defiant of coercion-law the more its terrors are heaped on their heads. Perhaps both effects are taking place. *In one week there has been 60 prosecutions for demonstrations of sympathy with prisoners or evicted tenants*; a large number of these being limited to the lighting of bonfires and burning of tar barrels. In the same week occurred the curious case of two young men at Tralee, who were sentenced to one month's imprisonment for jeering at the police in some way that "was not exactly a boo, but a contraction between a boo and a laugh."

THE FAILURE OF COERCION.

Meanwhile, in Mr. O'Brien's words, the "one redeeming feature" in the Government policy is "its colossal and monumental failure."

(1) It has attacked the National League as a political body, directly and individually, in the 338 prosecutions that touch on the right of public meeting for discussion of grievances or demonstrations of opinion. But the National League flourishes, and still keeps order in the land. There are 1,800 branches of the League in Ireland. Not more than 250 of them have been nominally suppressed. On only one-seventh, or, at most, one-sixth, of the whole organisation has the Government ventured to lay a hand; and the reason is evident—it has not succeeded in suppressing that sixth. The suppressed branches still meet, and the columns of *United Ireland* and other papers testify to the fact, notwithstanding the terrors for editors and newsvendors that Mr. Balfour holds in the hollow of his hand. Mr. Balfour thinks that he has weakened the League in Kerry and Clare, but these are the counties in which the League was notoriously weakest before Mr. Balfour came on the scene, and Mr. O'Brien tells us that the subscriptions are coming in more freely to the suppressed branches in these very counties.

(2) But worse than the League in Government eyes was the terrible Plan of Campaign. The fear of it forced a Land Act, as well as a Coercion Act, from the majority at Westminster. Against it, and its consequences, have been directed all the 179 prosecutions for agrarian resistance and the like, besides most of those that come into Classes II., III., and IV. But the Plan has never been defeated yet, and in all its great battles save three it has definitely won. Forty-two cases in all have been settled under the Plan, and there is, moreover, no case in which payments made under it have been censured as excessive by a single Land Commissioner. In some cases the terms offered by the tenants have been taken in the first instance as a basis of discussion; in every case the original demands, at least, moderate as they uniformly were, have been eventually granted, all costs paid by the landlord, and all the evicted tenants reinstated. One instance will suffice.

Last year Colonel O'Callaghan, of Bodyke, refused an offer of £907 for a year and a-half's rent of fifty-seven tenants; he has now accepted £1,000 to wipe off two years' rent of seventy-two tenants. In other words, he has accepted less than two-thirds of what he refused last year. The battles still unwon are those on the Brooke estate in Wexford, on Lord Massareene's property in Louth, and on the estate of the Marquis of Clanricarde.

DIARY OF THE MOVEMENT.

Feb. 1.—Grand reception of Mr. John Morley and Lord Ripon in Ireland. Magnificent procession through Dublin organised by the trades, fifty-two in number, and forming a column two miles long. Release of Mr. T. D. Sullivan, M.P., from Tullamore Gaol. Trial of Mr. J. R. Cox, M.P., at Ennis, for "inciting to take part in an unlawful assembly." Mr. Cox convicted on police evidence, and sentenced to a month's imprisonment. One of the police witnesses gave from memory his version of Mr. Cox's speech, delivered three months before, while the other admitted that he subsequently altered the long hand report taken at the time. The magistrates refused to have a case stated or to lengthen the term of imprisonment so as to allow of appeal.—The recorder of Cork confirmed the sentence of four month's imprisonment on William Gould for defending himself at Mitchelstown from police violence.

Feb. 2.—Freedom of the City of Dublin presented to Mr. J. Morley and Lord Ripon; in the evening an immense meeting in Leinster Hall, at which 8,000 persons were present. Plan of Campaign triumphant on the Kingston estate. The landlord gives an abatement all round of 20 per cent., bears all costs, restores to their shops all dispossessed shopkeepers, reinstates all tenants evicted since 1st January, 1886, and withdraws all ejectment proceedings.—Mr. Cox., M.P., set to chopping wood and doing gaol work with the ordinary criminals.

Feb. 3.—Mr. Morley and Lord Ripon entertained by the Lord Mayor of Dublin, and presented with addresses of welcome from about sixty local bodies, including municipalities, local boards, commissioners, and academic corporations. Brilliant conversazione held in the evening at Leinster Hall.—Mr. Shaw Lefevre challenges the reply of Lord Clanricarde's agent and gives his reasons for attending the meeting at Loughrea.—The Marquis of Salisbury gives some very cold comfort to a deputation of Irish landlords, assuring them that he will give "a very careful consideration to their suggestions for compensation."—Settlement arrived at between Col. O'Callaghan and his Bodyke tenantry through the exertions

of the Rev. Peter Murphy. The tenants obtain a reduction of nearly 50 per cent., and receive clear receipts up to March last, while those evicted last June are reinstated.—Michael Kennedy prosecuted by the police at Youghal for having lighted a tar-barrel on the occasion of William O'Brien's release; case dismissed. Three men sentenced to short terms of imprisonment for a similar "crime" at Cork.—Three Nationalists sent to Galway Gaol for a week for refusing to give evidence at a private inquisition held at Killimore by Joyce R.M.

Feb. 4.—By a judgment given by Sub-Commissioner Crean in the cases of several of the Clanricarde tenantry an average reduction of 34 per cent. was made.

Feb. 5.—Demonstration of working men held on Tower Hill "to protest against the infamous treatment of Mr. Blunt and other political prisoners in Ireland." There were four platforms, and about 10,000 persons were present.

Feb. 6.—Nonconformist ministers of all denominations representing the counties of Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Shropshire, and Staffordshire, meet in Birmingham, and unanimously pass resolutions condemning Coercion and demanding Home Rule for Ireland.—Conviction of Col. Pearse by the Limerick magistrates for ordering draped flags to be removed from the Mechanics' Institute, Limerick, at a meeting in commemoration of the "Manchester martyrs," quashed by the Queen's Bench in Dublin.—Sir Charles Russell denounces the Balfour régime in a speech to a great meeting of his constituents. Many Home Rule meetings held at Bishop Auckland, Yeovil, Chelmsford, Battle, and other places.

Feb. 7.—It is announced that Sir T. F. Grove and Mr. B. Hingley, hitherto Dissident Liberal, will, in future, act with the Home Rule party.—Sir William Harcourt condemns the Coercive policy in a powerful speech to his constituents at Derby.—In the Dublin Court of Exchequer, John Sullivan, the prisoner in the Curtin boycotting case, was discharged, the Chief Baron and Mr. Justice Andrews holding that there was no evidence to sustain the charge of boycotting against the prisoner. Baron Dowse dissented, but at the same time agreed with much that the Chief Baron had said.

Feb. 8.—Mr. Flynn, M.P., arrested, and charged with conspiracy against the payment of rent and unlawful assembly in Duhallow; remanded on bail to the 24th inst.—Mr. Patrick O'Brien, M.P., tried at Goresbridge for having, in a speech delivered there, incited certain people to combine in order to incite the tenants of Jno. Smithwick to refuse to pay rent, and for inciting persons not to deal with Lord Monck for the purchase of land. Sentence of three month's imprisonment given; whereupon notice of appeal was lodged, and Mr.

O'Brien was admitted to bail.—Mr. Wilfrid Blunt brought from Galway to Dublin to give evidence in his action against Byrne, R.M.; received with enthusiasm by the people, and conveyed to Kilmainham Gaol.—At Hospital, Co. Limerick, an old man named Hayes sentenced to four month's imprisonment with hard labour, his son to six weeks, and his two daughters to seven days each, for defending their home against an evicting bailiff.—Mr. Gladstone meets with enthusiastic receptions on his arrival in England, and tells the Dover people that Italian Democrats favour Irish Home Rule.—University of London Liberal Association "regards with shame and abhorrence" the treatment of Irish political prisoners.—Prof. Stuart announces at a meeting, called to consider the arrangements for the reception of the imprisoned Irish Members, that the Reception Committee had been boycotted by the proprietors of the Aquarium and Her Majesty's Theatre, so that no public meeting can be held.—Clergy memorial in favour of Home Rule, comprising the names of Dean Oakley, Dean Kitchen, Bishop Abraham, Canons Butler, Fremantle, Scott Holland, and Wilberforce, and Messrs. A. T. Lyttelton, Shuttleworth, Eytoun, and J. C. Cox, and Sir J. E. Philips. Canon Barker afterwards adds his name.

Feb. 9.—Meeting of Parliament, and criticism of the Government's Irish Policy by Mr. Gladstone.—Important meeting of Nonconformist ministers, at which resolutions were passed denouncing the Coercion Act, describing the Government's Irish Policy as marked by "vindictive severity," and as being a "peril to English liberties," and calling for a solution of the Irish problem on the basis of Home Rule.—Fourteen men, among them two town councillors, committed for trial at Galway for cheering for Mr. Blunt, groaning at the name of Balfour, and "attacking the police" (*i.e.*, defending themselves from police attacks).—Great demonstration at Youghal in honour of Father Ryan.—Irish Parliamentary Party met at their offices, under the presidency of Mr. Parnell, and passed several resolutions, thanking those English men and women who had visited Ireland and encouraged the Irish people to resist oppression, and also expressing warm sympathy with those Irish Members, and all Irish men, women, and children, who had gone to prison in defence of their country's cause.

Feb. 10.—Two Irish members, Mr. Gilhooley and Mr. Pyne, arrested outside the House of Commons, and removed to Ireland in custody. Mr. Patrick O'Brien wrongfully arrested by a plain clothes' detective. The Houses of Parliament surrounded by detectives.—Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, and other Englishmen, address a mass meeting of nearly 4,000 persons at Loughrea to denounce the conduct of Lord Clanricarde.—The

Irish Court of Queen's Bench quashed the verdict of the coroner's jury in the Michelstown case on the ground of the partiality of the proceedings and the misconduct of the coroner.—Mr. T. D. Sullivan left Kingstown for England, and was most cordially received at Holyhead, Bangor, Llandudno Junction, and Chester.—MEETING OF THE HOME RULE UNION.

Feb. 11.—Commencement of Mr. Blunt's action against Byrne, R.M., in the Dublin Court of Exchequer. Evidence of Mr. Blunt and Mr. T. Lough. During the proceedings it was stated that Mr. Blunt had had no food, save a piece of dry bread, since the day before. The Attorney-General (commonly known as "Peter the Packer"), in cross-examination, jeered at Mr. Blunt because imprisonment had so impaired his sight that he could scarcely see to read a newspaper report.—Enthusiastic reception of Mr. T. D. Sullivan at Rugby and Northampton.

Feb. 13.—Grand reception of Messrs. T. D. Sullivan and E. Harrington in London. The two Irish members were met at Euston and escorted by a procession a mile and a half in length, through densely lined thoroughfares to Hyde Park, where a great meeting of 70,000 persons gave them an extraordinary welcome. An address to the imprisoned Irish members was presented by Prof. Stuart, signed by the Joint Reception Committee, and by the representatives of about 150 Liberal and Radical Associations and Radical Clubs. The banquet in the evening at the Criterion, presided over by Prof. Stuart, was addressed by the Chairman, Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Pickersgill, Mr. Brunner, Mr. Picton, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr. J. Tims, Mr. Harrington, Mr. Bunting, Mr. Morton, Mr. Foote, and Mr. T. E. Gibb.—Parliament: Mr. Balfour was unable to inform Mr. Macdonald how many branches of the National League had been really suppressed. Mr. Picton introduced the question of the arrest of the three members as a matter of privilege in an able speech, and concluding with a motion, "That the wrongful arrest of Mr. P. O'Brien, in going from the House, on Friday, Feb. 10th, was a high infringement of the privilege of Parliament." To this the Attorney-General moved an amendment, regretting the indignity, but declining to proceed further. This having become a substantive motion, Mr. J. Morley moved an amendment to refer Mr. O'Brien's case to the Committee of Privileges, which was rejected by 246 to 151. The debate on the address was then resumed, in the course of which Mr. Parnell delivered a powerful exposure of the Government's Irish Policy.

Feb. 14.—Mr. W. J. Lane, M.P., released from Tullamore in very weak health. At Cork, when the people turned out to welcome him, they were set upon by the police, who knocked down

and injured several men.—The mayor of Cork sentenced to a fortnight's imprisonment for "assaulting" Knox, a policeman, and "obstructing him in the discharge of his duty." The whole of the evidence (except that of the police) went to show that the mayor had really protected Knox. When the mayor was conveyed to gaol the people stoned the police, who charged back with their batons—Mr. T. A. Dickson writes to the *Freeman's Journal* respecting the assertion of Attorney-General O'Brien, that Mr. Shaw Lefevre "sent his emissary to the Castle to promise to be of good behaviour." This assertion he describes as a "most audacious falsehood."—Parliament: debate on the Address resumed in an able speech by Sir G. Trevelyan, followed by some malignant rowdyism from Col. Sauderson, and a powerful exposure of Balfourism by Mr. Labouchere.

Feb. 15.—At the trial of Mr. Pyne, M.P., the constable who had deposed to Mr. Pyne's speech from memory, was tested by having a portion of Mr. Parnell's speech in the House of Commons read to him. He was unable to recall correctly three sentences of the speech. On the evidence of this man, and of another named White, Mr. Pyne was convicted and sentenced to three months' imprisonment. He gave notice of appeal, and was re-arrested for a speech at Clonmel.—Fourteen men, including two Town Commissioners, sentenced to various terms of imprisonment for taking part in the demonstration on the night of Mr. Blunt's arrival in Galway. One Commissioner received an additional week for saying he would do the same again.—Rev. D. Stephens tried on two charges of having incited tenants to join the Plan of Campaign, and sentenced to three months on each charge. Notice of appeal given.

Feb. 16.—The Attorney-General admits in the House of Commons that the Irish Executive has no special right, or any statutory right, to force a reporter through the crowd at a meeting; and the Irish Solicitor-General admits that Seagrave, R.M., of Mitchelstown, had no legal training.—Debate on Mr. Parnell's amendment resumed in a very impressive speech by Mr. William O'Brien.—Mr. J. F. B. Firth elected at Dundee by a majority of 3,639 over the Unionist candidate. On application of Mr. Healy, the Irish Court of Queen's Bench admitted Mr. Gilhooley to bail.—Mr. Pyne brought up at Clonmel; bail offered for him up to £5,000; but Inspector Hamilton said "his instructions were not to accept bail," which was accordingly refused. Over 100 peasants assembled to till Mr. Pyne's farm for him.

Feb. 17.—Adjourned debate on Mr. Parnell's amendment opened by Mr. Balfour. Mr. Gladstone followed, and in the course of a great speech showed that Mr. O'Brien's charges had not been

answered. On a division, the amendment rejected by 317 to 229, all the Dissentients present voting with the Tory Party.—Great Home Rule victory in West Southwark, Mr. R. K. Causton being elected by a majority of 1,194.—Mrs. Moroney evicted at Herbertstown by the sub-sheriff of Limerick, his bailiff, and seventy police.—Twenty publicans of Miltown Malbay sentenced to one month's imprisonment for refusing to supply refreshments to the police.

Feb. 18.—Home Rule victory at West Edinburgh, Mr. T. R. Buchanan being elected over Mr. Raleigh by a majority of 46.—Mr. Blunt's action against Byrne, R.M., resulted in disagreement of the jury, eleven being in favour of a judgment for Mr. Blunt, and one for the defendant Byrne.—Mr. J. Lloyd, Home Rule delegate from East London working men, arrested in Ennis for having incited "divers persons to take part in an unlawful assembly."—Alderman Hooper released from Tullamore Gaol, and meets with a great popular welcome at Cork.

Feb. 20.—Oxford University Home Rule address to Mr. Gladstone, signed by (among others) Dr. J. Franck Bright, Master of University; Dr. Magrath, Provost of Queen's; Professors Freeman, Legge, and Rhys, Mr. S. R. Gardiner, Dr. Fairbairn, Dr. G. Birkbeck Hill, Dr. Markby, Dr. J. A. H. Murray, Mr. York Powell, and Mr. E. B. Nicholson, the University Librarian.—Protest against Coercion from Nonconformist ministers in Norfolk and Devon.—Magnificent reception of Michael Davitt and William O'Brien at a great meeting called to welcome Messrs. Graham and Burns from prison.

Feb. 21.—Powerful speech on the political situation at the Eighty Club, by Sir W. Harcourt.—More protests against Coercion by Nonconformist ministers in Essex and Northampton.—Col. King-Harman informed Mr. Cunningham-Graham that there was no truth in the statement that no more press prosecutions would take place under the Coercion Act.—The Government refused the following return, moved for by Mr. Dillwyn:—Cases tried under Coercion Act to 18th February, date and place of trial, names of magistrates, name and age of accused, date and nature of offence, place where it was committed, sentence (if convicted), whether appealed against, date and place of appeal, with name of appeal judge, and the result of appeal.—Land Sub-Commission reduced rents in Tipperary over 30 per cent.—Thomas Keating, of Laurencetown, evicted by emergency men and forty police for non-payment of rent.—At a meeting of Mr. Chamberlain's constituents, Coercion was unanimously condemned, and the leadership of Mr. Gladstone confirmed. Mr. Chamberlain's action declared to be "ruinous to the Liberal Party, both in municipal and Imperial politics."

Feb. 22.—Return showing that during last four months of 1887, 3,352 eviction notices were filed in Ireland.—Plan of Campaign successful on Sir H. Burke's estate: reinstatement of evicted tenants; reduction of 25 per cent. to those paying before April 1st; landlord to bear law costs and costs of maintaining evicted tenants.—At Clonmel, charge against Mr. Pyne of inciting to intimidation dismissed, and charge of inciting to conspiracy adjourned.—Exchequer Division quash conviction of Mr. Walsh, editor of *Wexford People*, for publishing reports of suppressed branches.—At Ennis, ten persons sentenced to terms of two, three, and four months for refusing to supply police with turf. In evidence it appeared that police asked for the turf at 4.30 a.m.

Feb. 23.—Father Kennedy and eight other persons sentenced to two months' imprisonment by Irwin and Seagrave, resident magistrates, for having taken part in a National League meeting.—Disgraceful conduct of Orangemen in Belfast at funeral of Father MacGee.—Reductions by Sub-Commissioners of 40 per cent. on four estates in County Donegal.—Mr. Shaw Lefevre's amendment raising question of arrears rejected by 261 to 186.

Feb. 24.—Home Rule defeat at Doncaster, Mr. Fitzwilliam being returned by a majority of 211.

Feb. 25.—Mr. Flynn, M.P., sentenced to twenty-one days' imprisonment by Irwin and Seagrave, resident magistrates.—Return of loans and repayments under Land Purchase Act, 1885, showing that sums amounting to not more than £2,288 out of £50,910 are in arrear.

Feb. 27.—Opening of the Clare, the Meath, and the Westmeath assizes. In each case the presiding Judge congratulated the grand jury on the lightness of the calendar. In Clare none of the cases was of a serious character; in Meath, "no boycotting or other agrarian crime"; Westmeath was "in a perfectly quiet state."

RECENT BOOKS ON IRELAND.

The Unionist Handbook: The Truth about Home Rule. (Blackwood.)

THE counterblast of the Unionists to "The Handbook of Home Rule" is before us. The editor is Sir George Baden Powell, who, in addition to a long introduction (evidently written before he found out that Ireland was to have no place in the Local Government Bill), contributes the final article on "Colonial Self-Government." Most of the other articles are written by the leading Liberal Unionists who continue to do the fighting for the cause. The name of Mr. Goschen is absent, so we may assume that he no longer classifies himself amongst the dwindling band, but has finally adopted the Tory colours. We wish to speak with all respect of our oppo-

nents, but in face of such a book it is not easy. Nothing more dreary than this reiteration of the old arguments has issued from the press. We have read it with a sense of wasted time, for each of the distinguished contributors simply elaborates at considerable length the solitary idea which the mention of his name suggests to the student of politics. Thus, the Duke of Argyll, after a few words about the "Anglo-Parnellite Alliance," discourses concerning the sacred rights of property, upon which he feels more keenly than ever since the decisions of the Crofter Commission were published. Lord Derby republishes part of a speech, which he styles "The Plain Principles of the Liberal Unionists," and in which he fondly clings to the notion that he and his friends are Liberals. Lord Bramwell is quite sure that Home Rule means thieving and separation, and says so in his characteristic style, which some people consider sententious, and other people merely rude. Mr. Frederick Pollock contributes a well-written, and in many ways excellent, but altogether irrelevant, article on "Imperial Sovereignty." Lord Selborne protests against the Irish people having control of their police, and Mr. W. E. H. Lecky explains once more why he is not a Home Ruler; and all who have read his "Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland" will admit that this is a point that requires a good deal of elucidation. The least worthy article of all is that entitled "Colonial Self-Government." The editor has shown himself a master of the art of distorting facts and of weaving disingenuous arguments. The *Unionist Handbook* will do us much good. It contains nothing new, and as an answer to the "Handbook of Home Rule" it is a conspicuous failure. There is more freshness and vigour in the single short article by Mr. Gladstone, on "Lessons of Irish History in the 18th Century," than in the whole of this arrogant volume.

Ireland: The Causes of its Present Condition, and the Measures proposed for its Improvement. By EARL GREY. (Murray.)

REFERRING to a declaration made many years ago by Mr. Gladstone, that parliament in legislating for Ireland ought to be guided by the wishes of the Irish people, Earl Grey says, "I venture very confidently to assert that this is not the way in which legislation, either for Ireland or for the rest of the United Kingdom, ought to be conducted." The character of his book may be gathered from this candid statement. Both in regard to land and government the erring Irish must be made to submit themselves to the Imperial Parliament, and to accept such laws as in our wisdom we think meet for them. There must be no further alteration of the land laws in favour of either landlord or tenant, unless it be to undo the work of 1870, 1881, and 1887. The

position of the landlords must be made secure. Earl Grey frankly expresses his agreement with Mr. Parnell that they form the English garrison, and he warns us against destroying what he calls "the most powerful support of Imperial authority." As to the Irish claim for a greater power of self-government, he is at a loss to understand what it means. "The organisation of local authorities," he remarks, with a truly admirable audacity, "'s certainly not less complete than in England." Whether a more popular character might not be given to the existing authorities is a question which raises grave doubts in his mind; but to the suggestion of extension as distinct from popularisation, he will not listen for a moment. The objections to an Irish parliament seem to him so obvious that, as he very prudently says, "it would be a waste of time to describe them." Finally comes his crushing blow. He naively admits that no proposal for the temporary suspension of representative government in Ireland would at present be listened to; but he believes, nevertheless, that it is what, sooner or later, we shall have to come to. And this is the sum of the political wisdom which Earl Grey has gathered during a life nearly as old as the century! These are the lessons to be drawn from what he himself describes "as the evil influence that English party politics have exercised in the management of Irish affairs!" The remedy, forsooth, is to be found on the application of the methods of the nursery to the government of Ireland!

THE LADIES' COMMITTEE.

On the first Thursday in every month, a Committee of twenty-one ladies meets at the offices of the Home Rule Union, under the Presidency of Mrs. Bryant, D.Sc. It is the business of this Committee to consider how the help offered by women towards the object of the Union can be used with most advantage, and also how those can be reached who have not yet been aroused to take an interest in the Irish Question. From time to time, all the women who have joined the Union are invited to a general meeting, to confer with the Ladies' Committee as to methods of work; and those who live at too great a distance to attend personally are consulted by the Secretary through the post, when any matter of importance is under consideration. Several meetings for women only, or for men and women, have been arranged in connection with Women's Liberal Associations, at which delegates from the Home Rule Union have spoken, and a large selection of pamphlets and leaflets has been sent to secretaries and other liberal workers in various parts of the kingdom.

The large number of coercionists returned to Parliament by Metropolitan constituencies makes

the education of London a very important matter, and the Ladies' Committee has had under consideration various schemes for work in this direction. It is believed that a great deal of good is to be done by small house meetings in drawing-rooms or parlours, to which friends and neighbours should be invited without distinction as to the political party they are believed to belong to. If the meeting is likely to be large and well attended there are two programmes, either of which may be adopted. A coercionist may be invited to have a debate with a delegate from the Home Rule Union, rules being arranged beforehand as to how long each is to speak, who is to begin, and so forth. Or if a coercionist cannot be secured for this purpose, a lecturer from the Union can address the meeting, and any who do not agree with him can be invited to ask questions, or criticise, either by speaking or by handing up a written paper to be read by the chairman. If the meeting is a small parlour meeting of a dozen or twenty persons, a lady from the Home Rule Union will read a paper, or make a short speech, and informal discussion will be invited afterwards.

For the purpose of arranging these house meetings, and for the all-important work of distributing suitable literature among all who can be persuaded to read it, the Ladies' Committee have resolved to establish several local centres in different parts of London, so that workers shall be spared the time and fatigue necessitated by coming to the offices at Westminster. Several ladies have already promised to act as honorary secretaries or conveners of these local committees, and it is hoped that about a dozen of them will be in working order before the summer vacation. Any who are willing to help in this scheme in any neighbourhood in or near London, should write as soon as possible to the Secretary of the Ladies' Committee, at the offices of the Union.

EXECUTIVE MEETING.

THE first meeting of the new Executive, elected at the annual meeting, was held in the offices of the Home Rule Union on Tuesday, the 21st February, thirteen members being present. After the routine business, the hon. secretaries reported the result of the banquet given to the released Irish members. Three hundred and forty-nine persons sat down to dinner, and the arrangements had been so successfully and economically carried through that there was a small balance of profit (£10), for which a cheque was drawn in favour of the Reception Committee, as there is still a small deficit in the fund collected to defray the costs of the street demonstration. So far as members of the committee had heard, all who were present had enjoyed the evening immensely.

The next matter dealt with was the Wilfrid Blunt Defence Fund, collected by the Home Rule Union. A rough balance-sheet was read, from which it appeared that altogether £272 had been contributed by members of the Union. The expenses of advertising, postage, &c., amounted to about £60, enabling a cheque to be drawn for an additional £50 (making £200 in all), thus leaving a small balance still in the hands of the Union. It should be added that the collection on this side of the Channel has been augmented by a fund which was started by the *Freeman's Journal* in Dublin, and which now amounts to nearly £1,100. A statement with regard to the finances of the Union was made by Mr. T. Eccleston Gibb, the honorary treasurer. During the past month or two most of the money remitted had been either towards the Reception or Blunt Funds, so that the resources of the Union itself had suffered, and the balance at the bank was low. The committee expressed the hope that the friends of the Union would speedily come to its assistance, and provide the means for carrying on its useful work. Applications for affiliation were read from the Whitehaven Women's Liberal Association, the Southport Working Men's Liberal Association, the East St. Pancras Liberal Union, and the Devon Liberal Federation, and agreed to. Mr. E. J. C. Morton having made a report as to applications for lectures, a proposal was sanctioned to issue a pamphlet containing a list of the speakers and lectures of the Home Rule Union, and the subjects upon which they treat, with a syllabus of each lecture which would show the plan of treatment adopted. The meeting afterwards adjourned till Tuesday, 6th March.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE HOME RULE UNION.

The annual general meeting of the Home Rule Union was held on Feb. 10 at the National Liberal Club, the Right Honourable J. Stansfeld, M.P. in the chair. There was a full attendance, among those present being Mr. J. A. Picton, M.P., Sir W. Lawson, M.P., Sir W. Foster, M.P., Mr. W. H. Channing, M.P., Mr. Schnadhorst, Mr. W. H. Wills, Mr. P. W. Clayden, Mr. Dadhaboi Naoroji, Mr. Jacob Bright, M.P., Professor Thorold Rogers, Rev. G. J. Lawrence, &c.

On the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Professor Thorold Rogers, the report of the Union and the statement of accounts were agreed to, the meeting however insisting that the word "Paper" should be put before the word "Unionists" in the report. Mr. Jacob Bright, M.P., moved:— "That this meeting of the Home Rule Union expresses its thanks to the executive committee

for their past work, and approves of the extension of the operation of the Union by the publication monthly of a journal of the movement." Sir W. Foster, M.P., seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Sir Wilfrid Lawson, M.P., moved:—"That this meeting protests against the tyrannical conduct of the Government in Ireland, and expresses its sympathy with Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, who is now suffering imprisonment for having asserted the right of this Union to hold public meetings in Ireland." The resolution, which was seconded by Mr. J. A. Picton, and supported by Mr. J. Stewart Wallace, was carried unanimously.

A few slight alterations having been made in the rules, the following ladies and gentlemen were elected as the executive committee and officers of the Union for the ensuing year, and the meeting closed with a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman.

Executive Committee:—

Beesly, Mrs.	Eve, Richard
Blunt, Wilfrid S.	Jones, Rev. J. S.
Boyd, H. F.	Macdonell, G. P.
Bright, Jacob, M.P.	Monk, Miss
Brunner, J. T., M.P.	Morton, E. J. C.
Bryant, Mrs., D.Sc.	O'Connor, Dr. B.
Clarke, Wm.	Phillips, William
Clayden, P. W.	Pickersgill, E. H., M.P.
Cobb, H. P., M.P.	Picton, J. A., M.P.
Debenham, Frank	Robson, W. S.
Ellis, B.	Rogers, Prof. Thorold
Ellis, T. E., M.P.	Stuart, Professor, M.P.
Gladstone, H., M.P.	Walford, E.

Treasurer, T. Eccleston Gibb.

Hon. Secretaries, W. Martin Edmunds and Thomas Lough.

REPORT OF THE HOME RULE UNION.

THE Home Rule Union has maintained throughout the past year the position which it assumed at first as an educational body. The necessity for an organised system of propagandism to remove the dense ignorance which existed on the Irish question was apparent when it came into existence, and, through the extraordinary efforts of the Tory Government to perplex the issue before the country, it is not an exaggeration to say that it is no less apparent now. The plan adopted has been that of dealing thoroughly with a single branch of the question at one time, and in a course of lectures or meetings, with the aid of literature, covering the whole.

At first the greatest difficulty was experienced in arranging meetings, but the Home Rule Union did not shrink from the expense of attacking every division in London. A feeling was created which

cannot fail to tell favourably on the Liberal party at the next general election. The bye-elections in London altogether have shown that the Liberal party has returned to at least as good a position as it occupied in November, 1885. Various constituencies and boroughs in the east of London, as well as in the north, have had the whole course of lectures delivered in them, and the executive committee hope to arrange in a systematic manner with counties from which applications are now coming in.

It has been the aim of the Home Rule Union to secure the affiliation of local bodies, and various branches have been formed. Altogether between sixty and seventy clubs are affiliated. The committee feel that this number is quite inadequate, and they have recently relaxed the rule which controls affiliation, and they would appeal to members to try and induce any Liberal Association existing in their district to unite itself with the Home Rule Union.

After the Crimes Act had passed into law, it was suggested to the executive from various quarters that it would be judicious to send a deputation to Ireland to express to the people over there the fact that the proceedings of the Tory Government did not convey any just representation of the feelings of the people of England towards the sister country. The deputation consisted of twenty members, who left London for Dublin on Tuesday, 13th Sept. The deputation held a great number of meetings in almost every part of Ireland, but as a separate report of its proceedings has been issued to all the members of the Union more detailed reference to it now is unnecessary.

About a fortnight after the return of the deputation Mr. Wilfrid Blunt offered to go back and remain in Ireland as the representative of the Union till Christmas, in order to hold meetings, attend evictions, and watch the administration of the Crimes Act, reporting what he saw to the Executive Committee. This offer was accepted, and Mr. Blunt was authorised to attend two or three large meetings which were held during October. On the 23rd of that month the celebrated meeting at Woodford, summoned by him to be addressed by himself and various other members of the Home Rule Union, was proclaimed and dispersed by the Government. For his action on that day Mr. Blunt was sentenced to two months imprisonment by the Woodford magistrates; he appealed against their decision, but the sentence was confirmed on the 7th January at Portumna. The Judge strangely enough admitted that he did not uphold the magistrates' conviction, because of anything Mr. Blunt did on the 23rd, but for his action on the 16th—date which had not been mentioned during the first trial.

No expense arising out of the deputation to

Ireland fell upon the Home Rule Union, and it was Mr. Blunt's intention to have remained there and carried out his original plans entirely at his own cost. It was felt, however, that the cost of his defence and subsequent actions—which it was decided to take against the Government, and which are now pending—should not be borne by him; and an appeal was made, under the title of "Blunt Defence Fund," to defray the legal expenses. In response nearly £300 was received. This sum, however, falls far short of the required amount, but it has been amply supplemented by an appeal made by the *Freeman's Journal* in Ireland. The Union did not undertake any responsibility with regard to this defence of Mr. Blunt, nor apply any subscriptions which were sent for its general fund to that object.

A HOME RULE DEBATE.

WHAT is practically a new departure in the discussion of the Home Rule Question was inaugurated at a large meeting held in Bradford on Wednesday, the 15th February. The spirits of the Unionist party in Bradford had been cheered during the year 1887 by a visit from Mr. Arthur Patton, barrister, of Dublin, and lecturer to the I.L.P.U. So pleased were his hearers with this gentleman's performance when he had the platform to himself that they decided to challenge any representative of the cause of Home Rule to meet him in public debate. Nothing loath, the Home Rulers accepted the challenge, and invited Mr. Thomas Lough (one of the hon. secretaries of the Home Rule Union) to be their champion. The preliminaries were all satisfactorily agreed upon. Admission to the hall was by ticket. It was arranged to decide by lot which Association should appoint the chairman, and which speaker should commence the argument. Three speeches were to be allowed on each side; the first to last half an hour; the second fifteen minutes; and the third, into which no new matter was to be introduced, ten minutes. No division was to be taken, no opinion was to be expressed by the chairman, and no further speeches were to be made except to move votes of thanks. It was a happy augury that the Home Rulers won both lots; and they selected Mr. Garnett, Chairman of the Bradford Liberal Association, to preside. Mr. Lough elected to speak second, and the meeting, which was held in the Mechanics' Institute, proved exceedingly successful, the audience numbering at least from 1,200 to 1,400.

Mr. Patton in his opening speech dwelt on the difficulties which beset the plan of Home Rule—particularly in regard to the exclusion of the Irish members from the Imperial Parliament. He excited considerable merriment by stating that

he would prove that it was impossible to admit them, and equally impossible to exclude them; and he continued to labour the question for twenty minutes. It is a trump card of the Unionists, and one of which they are making the most in every part of the country. Mr. Patton was once or twice rather disconcerted by the ready replies which the Yorkshire audience made to his questions. For instance, when in the course of his argument he asked, "What difference is there between Yorkshire and Ireland?" a voice from the gallery instantly replied, "The plank bed, lad!"

Mr. Lough postponed the main part of his answer to his two shorter speeches, and now devoted himself to a substantive argument in favour of Home Rule, which the audience seemed to appreciate greatly. After defining what Home Rule meant, he asked had not its application been successful in every country, and its refusal fatal. Briefly summing up England's difficulty with Ireland in the past and in the present, he showed that it consisted of a persistent attempt to suppress the Irish idea, and concluded by pointing to the great benefits which would arise to England in the better progress of her own legislation, and in the establishment of peace by the settlement of the Irish question.

Mr. Patton takes up the position of a Liberal Unionist. He is in favour of wide measures of land reform and local government for Ireland. He was therefore somewhat embarrassed when Mr. Lough pressed upon him the refusal of the Ministry to include Ireland in the Local Government Bill; and he attempted no defence whatever of the policy of coercion.

The meeting throughout was very animated, and the audience heartily responded to the votes of thanks which were moved by representatives of each Association. Three-fourths of those present were evidently Home Rulers, and they appeared to be thoroughly well-satisfied with the defence put forward by Mr Lough, while no doubt the Unionists were equally loyal to Mr. Patton. Such meetings would probably do much to break down the barrier that divides the two sections of the party, and Liberals at least have nothing to fear from the free discussion of the question.

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Bird, Dr.	1 0 0
Blagg, J. W.	0 1 0
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Claremont, A. W.	0 5 0
Cobb, J. S.	1 0 0
Colman, J.	1 0 0
Crichton, A. R.	0 1 0
Davies, David	1 1 0
Dawson, F. G.	0 10 6
Dick, Robert S. ...	...	...	0 5 0
Dilke, Lady ...	...	...	2 2 0
Drummond, Miss Mary A. ...	...	...	0 2 6
Duncan, A. G. ...	...	...	1 1 0
Earp, Oswald ...	...	...	2 0 0
Hardcastle, J. ...	...	...	0 5 0
Hertz, Mrs. ...	...	...	1 1 0
Hughes, Miss ...	...	...	0 5 0
Jackson, Miss Sarah ...	...	...	0 10 6
Kernot, A. R. ...	...	...	0 5 0
King, Arthur ...	...	...	0 10 0
Lawrence, Rev. T. L. ...	...	...	1 1 0
Leonard, Mdlle. Marie ...	...	...	0 5 0
Mace, J. H. ...	...	...	1 1 0
Mills, R. E. ...	...	...	0 10 0
Mixey, E. R. ...	...	...	3 3 0
Moorhouse, W. ...	...	...	1 1 0
Moorsom, W. M. ...	...	...	1 1 0
Morris, Miss ...	...	...	0 5 0
Morrison, Rev. W. D. ...	...	...	1 0 0
Morrison, S. ...	...	...	0 10 6
Munich, C. J. ...	...	...	0 5 0
Murray, Oswald ...	...	...	0 5 0
Nicol, Mrs. E. ...	...	...	5 0 0
Osborne, C. T. ...	...	...	1 0 0
Picton, J. A., M.P. ...	...	...	1 1 0
Pryce, F. ....	...	...	0 10 6
Pyman, Frank ...	...	...	1 1 0
Robinson, Frederick John	...	...	1 1 0
Russell, C. (for Meetings) ...	...	...	2 12 0
Showers, Lieut.-Gen. ...	...	...	1 1 0
Spender, Harold... ...	...	...	1 0 0
Stokes, Scott Nasmyth... ...	...	...	1 1 0
Terrero, Manuel M. ...	...	...	1 1 0
Wade, S. D. ...	...	...	0 2 6
Weir, Miss M.A. ...	...	...	1 1 0
Wenthorp, Miss Emily H. ...	...	...	1 1 0
Williams, John ...	...	...	0 2 6
Williams, C. ...	...	...	0 10 0

Subscriptions to the Home Rule Union should be sent to the Hon. Secretaries, 116, Palace Chambers, Westminster. Annual Subscribers of Five Shillings and upwards to the Home Rule Union will receive the Monthly Journal free.

JOURNAL OF THE HOME RULE UNION.

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THE REJECTION OF MR. PARRELL'S BILL.

IT were much to be wished that such Unionists as have not been tempted by the administration of the Crimes Act to fling their Unionism to the winds, would think calmly over the circumstances in which Mr. Parnell's Arrears Bill was thrown out on March 21. As a graphic lesson in Home Rule, the rejection of that bill is only surpassed by the record of coercion. It is the old story. One more moderate proposal has been voted down by men who can never see an Irish grievance till it is lit up by Irish outrages, and once more the defenders of the present régime have lost an opportunity of showing that the maintenance of the

Union is not a pretence for the maintenance of rents. With the details of Mr. Parnell's Bill we need not concern ourselves. The pity of it is that his bills never reach the stage when the discussion of details is of practical use. But it was a very moderate bill, and, more than that, it involved no new principle, but proposed only some simple extensions and amendments of the Land Act of 1887. The operation of that Act, and particularly of the seventh, or "eviction-made-easy," section, which enabled a landlord to evict through the post, has been very remarkable. In the quarter ending September 31st, 1887, the number of evictions was 4,195. In the quarter ending December 31st they were only 550. This sudden lull was not the result of landlord mercy. Section 7 had shown a better way. During the quarter ending December 31st no fewer than 3,352 notices were served, and probably 3,000 more have been served since that date. "These notices," said Mr. T. W. Russell (whose Unionism will never again, we trust, get the better of his knowledge of the facts of Irish landlordism), "had been falling with all the softness of an April shower over all Ireland during the last six months, and as surely as the House was now discussing this question they would blossom into a November hurricane, not only of evictions, but of ruin to tenants and landlords, to the peace of Ireland, and to the union of the two countries." There is so grave a probability that Mr. Russell's prediction will come true that

one almost forgets to give him credit for a figure worthy of Sir Boyle Roche. Mr. Parnell proposed to meet the danger by giving greater powers to the Court in dealing with arrears and in adjusting the terms on which the tenant may redeem. In particular, his bill enabled the Court, in actions either for rent or ejectment, in its discretion to reduce the amount claimed wherever the tenant's inability to pay arrears was not due to his own misconduct. This simple plan of applying to the arrears of rent the same principle which is every day being applied in Ireland to the rents themselves, was rejected, and an amendment carried "that no bill providing for a composition of rent in Ireland will be satisfactory to this House, and effectual for the relief of the tenants, which does not at the same time deal with their debts to other creditors besides the landlords." Outside Birmingham hardly anybody has a word to say in favour of this wild idea of removing one grievance by creating another, of diverting attention from the doings of landlords by a side attack upon shopkeepers. Colonel Saunderson did not like it, and Mr. Balfour let it alone. They begin to see that salvation by bankruptcy alone is a dangerous gospel. But let that pass. The essential fact is that the weight of arrears of rent is a formidable obstacle to a land settlement, and that unless it is surmounted the legislation of recent years cannot have free course. No reason has been given why such rents as the Courts are declaring to be unfair should, like wine, improve by keeping, or ripen into fairness by being in arrear. One would be rather inclined to think that it is the unfairest rents which get into arrear. But the point hardly needs argument, for the existence of the grievance has not been seriously contested. It is equally clear that the settlement of the question cannot be left to the landlords themselves, for everything indicates that they mean to use, rigorously and

unmercifully, the new and cheap mode of eviction. Manifestly it is a case for Parliament to interpose, not, indeed, by hurrying into a change of policy, but by completing that which they have already begun. Mr. Parnell suggested one remedy. The Government have rejected it, but by accepting the Birmingham amendment have admitted the necessity of action. Yet, when questioned next day, Mr. Smith solemnly declared that they had no intention to do anything to give effect to their resolution. They mean to wait for the blossoming of Mr. Russell's hurricane.

It is the old story, as we have said. The Irish are again reminded that the crimelessness of their country must be its own reward. But a change must come, from very shame at our past failures. We cannot for ever go on ignoring the impressive fact, that what Mr. Parnell proposes one year a scared Government carries out the next. Since he succeeded Mr. Butt he has made many predictions, and every one has come true; again and again he has pointed out the duty of Parliament, and in every case he has been attended to just too late. Has he not been forced to play the part of Cassandra long enough? The foundation of Unionism is the belief that we have cast away those old methods which led to the estrangement of the two peoples, and that an English Parliament can now be trusted to deal justly with Ireland. Every day furnishes proof that it is a foundation of sand.

SUBSCRIPTIONS TO THE HOME RULE UNION.

SUBSCRIPTIONS for this year are now due. Every day brings with it pressing demands for literature and help in other ways from all parts of the country. This is a fact which illustrates in a very forcible manner the urgent need for a great extension in every department of

the work now being accomplished by the Home Rule Union. In order to undertake this, and to meet the present opportunity—the importance of which cannot be too highly estimated—it is necessary to increase our income; and to this end the Committee make a strong appeal to the friends of the Cause.

Although subscriptions to the Home Rule Union for 1887 received no less than three public acknowledgments—one in the report published in February, another in the supplementary report of June, and a third in the *Daily News*, about November—it appears that a detailed list, containing the name of every subscriber, never came before the members of the Union. This has led the Executive Committee to publish a supplement to the current issue of the Journal, with a full and revised list in alphabetical order, together with the certificated balance-sheet for the same year, showing the receipts and expenditure. There will also be found a list of subscribers and donations to the Wilfred Blunt Defence Fund; but the statement of accounts will not appear until a later date, as the fund still remains open.

BOYCOTTING.

By PROF. E. S. BEESLY.

"GIVE me," says a French historian, "the administration of the laws, and you may keep the making of them to yourselves as much as you like." The distinctive feature of the Coercion Act of last year is that in a large number of cases it deprives Irishmen on the one hand of the protection of trial by jury, and on the other of an appeal to the higher tribunals, leaving them at the mercy of resident magistrates without legal training, connected with the landed class, and holding their offices at the pleasure of the Government. The avowed object of this measure was to deal with boycotters. By such peculiar tribunals alone did Mr. Balfour see his way to punish boycotters. Evidence of an agreement to boycott is, in the nature of the case, very difficult to obtain—practically impossible. Juries and judges of the High Court, as a rule, require some sort of evidence before they will convict. Mr. Balfour needed tribunals which would convict upon mere

suspicion, and he found them in courts consisting of two resident magistrates.

Now what is this offence, to punish which Mr. Balfour sets aside the most elementary rule of criminal jurisprudence? How far ought boycotting to be made criminal? Ought it to be a crime at all? Is it even necessarily wrong? May it not sometimes be a duty? These are questions which we can examine without entering into any discussion as to its legality. Law and moral right ought not to clash. But in Ireland, unfortunately, they often do clash.

Boycotting is the refusal by a number of persons to hold intercourse with another person. In its milder form it may amount to no more than an avoidance of social intercourse. In its severest form it means the refusal of all commercial dealings and services. Refusal of intercourse by a single person does not constitute boycotting. It may have some influence if that person has so much moral weight that his disapprobation gives pain. But no material inconvenience follows from it, and the law does not punish it. The essence of boycotting is that it should be joined in by a sufficient number of persons to cause more or less material inconvenience to the person boycotted. This the law calls a conspiracy, and tries to put down. Ought it to do so?

All forms of wrong-doing are in the last analysis manifestations of selfishness. The social instincts in individuals taken separately are weaker than the selfish. But society, though composed of selfish individuals, acts in a social spirit; for the existence of society means the maintenance of more or less discipline over the selfishness of individuals. Some forms of wrong-doing are of such a nature as to admit of their being dealt with by the law of the land. But there are many others which the law cannot reach, and ought not to try to reach, because the attempt to do so would have effects on society more mischievous than the evils it was sought to check. These wrongs have to be dealt with by other agencies, some essentially private, others of a more or less collective character. They range from the individual censure of a relative or acquaintance up to the condemnation or excommunication pronounced by a church. The grand difference between the penalties inflicted by the State and those inflicted by other forms of association is that the former are, or may be, carried out by physical force, the exercise of which is interdicted to the latter.

Now these two methods of repression are equally legitimate, and equally indispensable to the well-being of society. The repression exercised by the magistrate is organised, uniform, and tolerably efficacious. It is only a very small minority of the community who venture to steal or murder. The repression exercised by opinion is fitful, irregular, and ill-organised, and leaves much

to be desired in point of efficacy. There has been only one attempt to give it regularity, organisation, and universality. This was when the doctrine of the Catholic Church was unquestioned, and its discipline vigorous. But the need felt by society for protecting itself against many forms of selfishness is constantly leading men to form combinations of a partial and temporary kind, with the view of keeping one another up to the mark in resisting the temptation to act contrary to the interest of the whole body, and of putting pressure on those who do not recognise the obligation or try to shirk it. The aims of such combinations are not all equally wise or equally good. But they are upon the whole useful. They meet evils that cannot be met in any other way—evils which the law of the land cannot touch, and against which individual effort is too feeble. If, occasionally, they are short-sighted or unjust, that is no more than can be said of the law of the land. Full freedom to enter into such combinations cannot be withheld without crippling one of the most important agencies we possess for repressing the selfish, and fostering the social instincts.

Lawyers and judges, while ever eager to enlarge their own jurisdiction, and to usurp the direction and censorship of all departments of human conduct, are excessively jealous of every combination that seems to compete with them in this aim. They have everywhere crippled the disciplinary powers of the churches, thereby throwing away the most valuable check upon selfishness that human wisdom ever devised. They insist that there shall be no organised attempt to prevent any man from doing what they cannot or will not prevent him from doing. Wrong-doing to which their physical force penalty is inapplicable shall be left without any penalty at all.

This is the quarrel between the Government and the National League. Irishmen do not ask the Government to prevent the landgrabber from plying his greedy trade. That is outside the province of government. But they claim the right to show their disapproval by refusing to have any intercourse with the landgrabber. They treat him as the Catholic Church used to treat offenders whom the law of the land could not deal with. They excommunicate him. It is an appropriate punishment for his offence. And for the Government to compel the tailor to make his clothes, the baker to supply him with bread, or the smith to shoe his horses, is a gross and tyrannical interference with individual liberty.

But we hear it constantly said that boycotting means more than this; that it means beating and shooting people, or maiming their cattle. No one has ever denied that the Government ought to punish these or any other resorts to physical force. It is nonsense, and mendacious nonsense,

to mix them up with boycotting or attribute them to the National League. The National League gives no encouragement to such acts. By substituting the penalty of boycotting it has gone far to stop them. It needs a great combination to boycott a man, but it needs no great combination to murder him. Two or three can arrange to commit a murder, or, as is most frequently the case, the person who considers himself aggrieved takes his revenge with his own hand. It is notorious that Kerry, where most outrages have occurred, is a county in which the National League has been prevented from gaining a firm footing.

Boycotting, or excommunication—call it which you will—is in itself a legitimate, healthy, and necessary means for making public indignation felt by sinners whom the law cannot and ought not to touch. It may sometimes be unjust; so sometimes is the law. It may sometimes be administered cruelly or corruptly; so sometimes is the law administered. But that does not prevent both the one and the other from being, on the whole, checks on wrong-doing. The best security for the good working of both is full publicity of their proceedings. Boycotting, as Lord Salisbury once confessed, can never be put down by law. All that his nephew can do is to deprive it of the best guarantee for its exercise in the public interest.

THE HOME RULE AGITATION IN THE COUNTRY.

BY MISS A. MACDONELL.

In view of the great efforts which are undoubtedly being put forth to spread the Home Rule faith, it may sound carping and ungrateful to take exception to the methods of the propaganda. But it must be observed that the question is not where it was eighteen months ago, and the difference in the feelings and in the intelligence of the country with regard to it is perhaps not sufficiently recognised in the practical form of a variation of treatment. It is quite possible to combine a lack of energy with a large amount of effort, and if some of the laborious organisation of meetings, and the frantic scouring up and down the country of platform orators were directed to an intelligent consideration of fresh methods of agitation and of instruction, there would be, I think, no loss, but, on the contrary, a considerable gain to the movement.

In the first place, eighteen months ago, it was not to be lightly inferred that all those who came to a Liberal meeting were in favour of Home Rule for Ireland. Many were hostile, or at least doubtful, but had not, as yet, broken away from

their local organisation. By this time, however, those who have not come over to us have cut themselves adrift from their old friends, and they do not come to Liberal meetings, so that the talents, and the eloquence, and the passionate appeals of the speakers are spent on the righteous who need no repentance. It is a great waste of good work. How to reach the Unionists and bring them into the fold is clearly the most important point to be considered, now that we can feel assured that those who followed Mr. Gladstone when he declared himself for Home Rule, show no sign of wavering in their faith. It is not surprising that the Unionists should prefer to stay at home rather than come to public meetings; for, unless reinforced by Tories, they know they will be in a miserable minority, and in danger of being hooted down by the angry contempt of the others who commonly look on them as little better than deserters. We shall not be able to convert them by means of big meetings. Public or private debates, like that held in Bradford on the 15th of February, or in Mr. Holiday's studio in Hampstead on the 10th of March, seem nearer the mark. With such safeguards as an impartial chairman, and the guarantee of a perfectly fair hearing for both sides, our timid opponents might be enticed to come in whatever numbers they could muster, and what is not less important, the Home Rule speakers would be put on their mettle, and made to give of their best.

Perhaps if the agitation were carried on in a somewhat less conventional manner the result would be better. A little more of the kind of zeal which is wont to kindle religious missions would do no harm in a cause which has a good deal in common with them, and in a question which it is to everybody's benefit should be settled as speedily as possible. That spirit is abroad, I own, and we want more of it. St. Patrick's Day was a bitter one in London, and the wind at night was cruel and cutting. Yet at the corner of a street, about half-past ten o'clock, I saw a little shivering crowd gathered round a speaker—a Londoner, from his accent—who was haranguing them on justice to Ireland. It was enthusiasm of no ordinary type, which, for the chance of touching the hearts of a few stray passers-by, made it seem worth while to preach his gospel in the teeth of such a stinging wind on a dark winter's night. A few more humble road-side and village-green orators might create a demand which would relieve our platforms of a great deal of their superfluous eloquence. Then, since we have already got into undignified ways—for have we not applied the magic lantern to popular politics?—there can be little harm in taking advantage of the means offered by travelling caravans which, during the last two elections, procured a few itinerant agitators an audience in every hamlet, however remote, of converted and

unconverted alike. Some means must be found of getting hold of the electors outside their own particular party organisations. Large one-sided meetings are not what is most wanted. They are good for shooting off our big guns, so that the report may frighten the Tories anxiously listening outside. But our humble orators and advocates who are not too big to penetrate into all the by-ways and dark corners of large towns and wide county divisions, and to tackle one group of men here and another there, have a more important work cut out for them.

With regard to the matter which is preached, would it not be well to have somewhat less rhetoric and somewhat more fresh fact? Of course at the commencement of the agitation the first thing to do was to rouse the imagination and the somewhat sluggish emotions of the average stolid Englishman on a question more picturesque and with more of human interest about it than any he had had to consider this century. That has to a great extent now been done. Good, honest Liberals are ashamed of the English rule in Ireland, and will give out a ringing cheer for Irish nationality and Irish patriots. But the appeal to sentiment and to indignation against vaguely-specified wrongs may be overdone; and my impression is that in some places it has been overdone, with one very unfortunate result, namely, that the Irish question in some constituencies is considered stale before it has been settled. This cannot but happen if you go on wasting your breath uttering Home Rule sentiments to men who were thoroughly convinced on the point long ago. But of the hundreds who come to applaud a Home Rule speaker at a public meeting in an ordinary, not over-intelligent constituency, some of whom are beginning to wish he'd talk of something else, it might be well to consider how many have anything beyond the vaguest notions of the conditions of Irish life as compared with life in England; of what part the Castle plays in it; of what has made and what still makes the Land Question so full of difficulty in Ireland; or of the past and present features of the administration of the law in that country. Of course they are full of right sentiments and correct opinions on these subjects, but their sentiments and convictions, without chapter and verse, will not convert an unimpassionable neighbour who loves facts and figures more than maxims of liberty, however fine. Unfortunately, it is with these unimpassionable neighbours we have now to deal. If the public meeting be not adapted for giving more substantial fare than what is too often supplied, then the more reason for that method of agitation being largely supplemented by others. But the present Local Government Bill will, I imagine, be approached in a very practical spirit at public meetings. When discussing its clauses one by

one, with that close criticism which we are wont to give to the proposals of even Tory revolutionists, there will be an excellent opportunity of comparing the condition of the two countries with regard to Local Government, and of learning what it means to live under the shadow of Dublin Castle. I have hopes that the Tories may be hoist with their own petard, and that the discussion of a Bill which was doubtless meant to distract our minds from Ireland, may, on the contrary, easily be made a means of carrying on our Home Rule propaganda, inculcating, as it assuredly will, Home Rule principles in the minds of the very people we have not yet been able to convert.

It is little good knocking over many of the Tory dummies and scarecrows which are still stuck up for show now and again, but are never seriously believed in even by the Tories themselves. The separation cry is such a scarecrow, and so is the cry about the persecution of the Protestants. We may leave them alone. But there are two objections which still have a great deal of life left in them, with which we have seriously to count. In Unionist circles they are talked of as "tampering with contracts" and "defiance of the law," and in respectable ears these words have a somewhat disreputable sound. The Plan of Campaign has many apologists in this country; it needs a few more bold exponents. The "law and order" cant is still as loud as ever, but surely to the honest minds of those who echo it sincerely it ought not to be a hard task on our part to show on which side is the weight of illegality, and who are the real disturbers of the peace in Ireland.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE BELFAST WATER SUPPLY.

To the Editor of the HOME RULE UNION JOURNAL.

SIR,—Mr. Chamberlain has returned from America. It would be interesting to know whether he has seen reason to modify his opinion as to Irish incapacity to govern. I wonder whether in any of the American cities over which the South Irish rule he found anything to equal the following instance of mismanagement in his pet Belfast.

He recently drew a comparison between the municipal rates in Belfast and Dublin. In the Belfast rate he did not include tenpence in the pound which is levied as a special water rate by special Water Commissioners. These Water Commissioners have obtained Parliamentary powers not merely to levy the rates, but also to stop all private supplies, it being understood that in return they would provide a new and adequate

supply. They have levied the rate; they have rigorously prosecuted the owner of private tap or pump; but the reservoir is still in limbo. A distinguished physician in Belfast assured me some little time ago that they could not get enough water to give a bath to the patients in the hospital.

I told these facts recently at a meeting in Mid-Oxfordshire. A man in the crowd at once corroborated me. The Tory candidate for North Oxfordshire had been in Belfast, but could not get a bath in the Orange city.

Compare Dublin. There an excellent water supply has for very many years been provided out of the city rates, chiefly owing to the exertions of Sir John Gray.

I doubt whether Orange administration is cheaper. It is certainly dirtier.

I am,

Yours obediently,

E. F. V. KNOX.

NOTES BY THE WAY.

MR. BALFOUR has laid on the table of the House of Commons a comparison of the proceedings under the Coercion Acts of 1882 and 1887. The most striking contrast is shown in the fact that while the convictions under the earlier Act were only 40 per cent. of the prosecutions, under the Act of 1887 they have risen to 66 per cent. How much more perfectly the Tory mind adapts itself to the use of the coercive weapon! The Government prosecutes, and the Government's "removables" convict. Everything depends on having the "removables" well in hand. Mr. Balfour should be congratulated.

We are glad to see that a fitting record of the visit of Lord Ripon and Mr. Morley has appeared in a detailed account of all that was said and done from the beginning of the visit to the end. The thick pamphlet (published by Browne and Nolan, Nassau Street, Dublin) contains not only the speeches made, but also a list of the Reception Committee, of the Corporations, and other societies which presented addresses, and a number of other matters connected with the visit. It more than bears out the account of the demonstration given in last month's JOURNAL. To mention only one point, it will surprise those who have not looked into the matter to see how largely the Irish educational bodies are represented. The list of names appended to the addresses from the Dublin University Home Rule Association and the Royal University is very imposing.

The feeling of King-Harman is not more scandalous than a great many of the other doings

of the Government; its only remarkable feature is that the breach of faith is so peculiarly barefaced. On April 14th, 1887, Mr. Balfour said: "There is no salary attached to the office;" and he gave as a reason why the new Parliamentary Under-Secretary's seat was not to be vacated that the office was "not an office of profit under the Crown" (*Hansard*, cxiii. p. 888). On the following day Mr. Smith declared, with a reckless lack of foresight: "It is right to state distinctly that no salary or profit is attached to the office" (page 1003). But, after all, the Government were probably right to change their mind. The labourer is worthy of his hire. And few of us would be willing to sacrifice so much as Col. King-Harman, the ex-Home Ruler, has done, even for the reward of an office of profit under the Crown.

Home Rulers may look with profound satisfaction on the bringing in of a revolutionary Local Government Bill for England, for it is at once a result of the awakening caused by the Home Rule agitation and a lesson in Home Rule itself. Ireland is excluded from the Bill. Of course it is. If Home Rule is wrong, an extension of Self-Government in every shape and form is wrong too; and the notion that Unionism is compatible with any sort of representative county board or council only shows into what a fog some of our politicians have fallen. Those who cling to this fig-leaf of Liberalism cannot do better than turn to Professor Dicey's "Unionist Delusions" (a book which, together with its author's "Case against Home Rule," we never fail to include in our Home Rule literature), and read his fifth letter "on the belief in Local Self-Government." But, it may be urged, to refuse an extension of Local Self-Government is in conflict with all Liberal teaching and all experience. No doubt it is. And if this be so, had we not better allow an Irish Parliament to frame its own scheme of Local Self-Government? There is no other way.

Unionists can boycott as well as other men. Professor Barnett of the Royal College of Science, Dublin, happens to be a Home Ruler as well as a skilful scientific lecturer and teacher. At the request of the Rev. Mr. Punfrey, curate of the parish, he undertook to deliver a scientific lecture in the school-house of St. James's, Kilmainham. Thereupon the wrath of the loyal and patriotic vicar, the Rev. Mr. Tomlinson, was roused, and he wrote to expostulate indignantly with his curate. "I am sure you did not know," he writes, "that Professor Barrett was a Home Ruler when you asked him to lecture in my school-house. . . . I will not permit any Home Ruler in St. James's school-house." So the science-loving parishioners lost their expected lecture.

Lord Brassey has signified his willingness to become a Vice-President of the Home Rule Union.

CRIMELESS IRELAND.

THE EVIDENCE OF THE SPRING ASSIZES.

COMPILED BY MR. E. J. C. MORTON.

THE following extracts are taken from the charges of the Irish judges to the grand juries. A reference to the charges of last year has been added wherever reports could be obtained; but the comparison is unfortunately incomplete. The character of the omitted cases, however, may be inferred from the fact that the only unfavourable charges which the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union produced last spring were those of Clare, Cork Co., Galway, Kerry, Mayo, and Wexford, all of which are here mentioned. Even in these cases a great improvement had taken place before the summer assizes. For the present we print the extracts without comment:—

ANTRIM—*March 15, 1888.*—Palles, C.B.: "With one single exception . . . the county in every part of it is in a most satisfactory condition."

March 22, 1887.—Fitzgibbon, L.J., contrasted the state of the county with the crime which had prevailed in Belfast during last summer, and which unfortunately only too often showed fresh signs of renewal. . . . They heard sometimes of claims put forward for the inhabitants of the North of Ireland that they were not as other men. But crimes of violence and defiance of authority and of lawless disorder had sprung up among them, entailing a long-continued disgrace on the county.

ARMAGH—*March 5, 1888.*—Palles, C.B., was happy to tell them, upon the authority of the county inspector, that the county was in an eminently satisfactory condition.

CARLOW—*February 28, 1888.*—O'Brien, J., formed the opinion that there was an entire absence of serious crime in the county.

March 1, 1887.—Dowse, B.: The number of cases to go before you is very small. . . . I was never in a county where such a satisfactory state of things exists, and where every reported crime has been traced up and brought before you.

CAVAN—*February 29, 1888.*—Mr. Justice Harrison: There was nothing to convey anything else but that the county was in a peaceable state.

1887.—Palles, C.B., congratulated the Grand Jury on the state of the county. There were only three bills of an unimportant character.

CLARE—*February 27, 1888.*—Holmes, J.: The calendar which has been read before me on my arrival in this county is very light.

February 28, 1887.—O'Brien, J.: Law, to a great extent, has ceased to exist in this county.

CORK CITY—*March 15, 1888.*—Holmes, J., congratulated the Grand Jury on the peace of the city. There were only three cases to go before them.

March 17, 1887.—J. O'Brien: The business before you is so very trifling that it is hardly worth the solemn formality you have witnessed.

CORK CO.—*March 12, 1888.*—Gibson, J.: The bills which were to go before them at these assizes were not more numerous than might be expected from the magnitude of that county. . . . So far as the information placed before him enabled him to judge, the returns do not present features of a discouraging character as to the state of crime.

March 14, 1887.—Johnson, J.: I am unable to say that this great county is in an orderly or satisfactory state.

DONEGAL—*March 12, 1888.*—Andrews, J.: There were only five bills to go before them for consideration, and none of them were of a serious nature.

DOWN—*March 12, 1888.*—Dowse, B., congratulated the Grand Jury on the peaceable condition of the county. There was no grave disturbance of any nature as he had been informed; he had also been told that there were no evictions in the county, and that was a very satisfactory thing to know.

DROGHEDA—*February 28, 1888.*—Dowse, B.: “White Gloves.”

(“White Gloves” also at the Summer Assizes, 1887.)

FERMANAGH—*March 3, 1888.*—Andrews, J.: There are only four cases to go before you. . . . Your county is in an orderly state, and it gives me great pleasure to congratulate you upon it.

March 5, 1887.—Palles, C.B., congratulated the Grand Jury on the peaceable state of the county.

GALWAY CITY—*March 12, 1888.*—Morris, C.J., congratulated the Grand Jury of the county and of the town on the lightness of the calendar, which consisted of three trivial cases.

March 14, 1887.—Lawson, J., said there was really no case to go before them. There was a charge of malicious injury to a sheep, which they might now retire to consider.

The Grand Jury unanimously found “no bill” in the case.

GALWAY CO.—*March 12, 1888.*—Murphy, J.: There were now only twenty-four bills to go before them.

KERRY—*March 7, 1888.*—Holmes, J.: There are, I understand, twelve bills to go before you, and there are none of these bills of a serious character. . . . There are three or four other crimes that have been committed in the county of Kerry, which will be the subject of investigation elsewhere, and these crimes are beyond all doubt exceedingly serious. . . . It would, therefore, be impossible for a judge to congratulate you on the peaceable state of your county.

March 10, 1887.—O'Brien, J.: There exists . . . open war with all forms of authority, and even I may say, without exaggeration, with the necessary institutions of a civilised life. When I come to compare the official returns of crime with those of the preceding period, I find that the total offences of this county since the last assizes is somewhat less in number than in the corresponding period of last year.

KILDARE—*March 2, 1888.*—Johnson, J.: The number of bills which would be sent up to them was, he understood, thirteen. . . . They were not serious in character, with three exceptions.

KILKENNY CO.—*March 10, 1888.*—O'Brien, J.: A state of things exists in this county at present by no means leading to the conclusion that any wide or general form of disturbance exists.

March 14, 1887.—Dowse, B., congratulated them on the peaceable state of the county.

KING'S CO.—*February 27, 1888.*—Morris, C.J.: The calendar was very light. . . . This comparative immunity from crime spoke well for the character of their important county.

February 28, 1887.—Lawson, J.: The business to go before them was extremely light. . . . The county inspector had also reported that the county was in a satisfactory condition.

LEITRIM—*February 28, 1888.*—Murphy, J., said he was very happy to find their county free from crime.

March 1, 1887.—Murphy, J.: There were only four bills in all to be sent up. . . . If the condition of their county was manifested by this record, it would appear to be a peaceable one.

LIMERICK CITY—*March 1, 1888.*—Holmes, J.: As far as crime is concerned, your city is in a satisfactory condition.

March 8, 1887.—O'Brien, J.: Substantially and really there is no crime at all with which you will be called upon to deal.

LIMERICK CO.—*March 1, 1888.*—Gibson, J.: I think there is some ground for satisfaction and a well-founded belief that there is an improvement in the condition of your county.

March 3, 1887.—Johnson, J.: The disorderly state of the county shows no improvement.

LONDONDERRY CITY AND CO.—*March 16, 1888.*—Harrison, J.: There were less cases reported to the police than last year; he observed that there had been riots and disturbances in the city on the removal of a certain person under the Crimes Act.

LONGFORD—*February 28, 1888.*—Andrews, J.: The state of your county is very satisfactory.

MARCH 1, 1887.—Palles, C.B.: Their bills would be light, there being only five bills of indictment to go before them.

LOUTH—*February 29, 1888.*—Palles, C.B.: The bills to go before you will be in respect of only four offences, which substantially represented the crime committed in the county since the last assizes.

MARCH 2, 1887.—FitzGibbon, L.J., congratulated them on the quiet condition of the county.

MAYO—*March 7, 1888.*—Morris, C.J., congratulated the Grand Jury on the condition of their county; he was glad to inform them that the criminal business to go before them was very light.

MARCH 29, 1887.—Lawson, J., could not congratulate them on the condition of the county, judging from the official returns laid before him; he regretted to say that the county appeared in a state of disorganisation. The existing state of things was most unsatisfactory, and according to the reports made to him approached as near to a revolt and rebellion against the existing authorities as anything short of civil war could do.

MEATH—*February 27, 1888.*—Palles, C.B.: The number of cases that have been specially reported by the constabulary since the last assizes is the same as for the corresponding period of last year—viz., eighteen for each period; that is a very small number considering the extent of the county.

FEBRUARY 28, 1887.—Fitzgibbon, L.J.: Your county is in what I am glad to believe its usual condition—that is to say, there is an absence of anything of the character of serious crime throughout the county.

MONAGHAN, *March 20, 1888.*—Dowse, B.: You have very good reason to be satisfied with the condition of your county.

QUEEN'S CO.—*March 8, 1888.*—Johnson, J.: So orderly a county he had not met with, and it was now in the same orderly and peaceful state in which he found it on his last visit.

MARCH 5, 1887.—Dowse, B.: The county, on the whole, is very peaceful.

ROSCOMMON—*March 5, 1888.*—Murphy, J., congratulated the Grand Jury on the condition of their county.

MARCH 7, 1887.—Murphy, J., congratulated them on the condition of their county.

SLIGO, *March 1, 1888.*—Morris, C.J.: There was an immunity from crime in the county Sligo, as remarkable as ever had been his lordship's experience to observe in Ireland during the whole course of his long experience.

MARCH 2, 1887.—Lawson, J., had to congratulate them on the condition of their county.

TIPPERARY CO., NORTH—*March 5, 1888.*—O'Brien, J.: There were only six cases to go before them, which were of a trifling nature.

MARCH 8, 1887.—Dowse, B.: The business of the assizes was very light.

TIPPERARY CO., SOUTH—*March 13, 1888.*—Johnson, J.: The number of bills to be sent before them was very small, and the offences of a very mitigated character.

MARCH 16, 1887.—Andrews, J., was unable to say that the state of the county was satisfactory, but it was less unsatisfactory than many other districts of the county.

TYRONE—*March 6, 1888.*—Harrison, J.: The cases they had to investigate were very trifling, and very few in number. . . . It was a matter of the greatest pleasure to every person interested to find Tyrone present such an example of peace within its borders.

MARCH 8, 1887.—Morris, C.J.: Bills in nine cases were to go before them for consideration; so far as he was able to see, none of them presented any feature of legal difficulty or were likely to engage their attention for any considerable time.

WATERFORD CITY—*March 16, 1888.*—Johnston, J.: There was only one small bill to go before them, and he had to congratulate them on the peaceable state of their city.

MARCH 21, 1887.—Andrews, J.: I am glad to be able to congratulate you on the favourable condition in which these returns show your city to be.

WATERFORD CO.—*March 21, 1888.*—Dowse, B.: There was nothing to induce him to think that this county was not in a very satisfactory state.

MARCH 23, 1887.—O'Brien, J.: I am pleased to draw the conclusion that there is a scarcity in this county of any form of interference with personal liberty, except it may be in very rare and individual cases.

WEST MEATH—*February 27, 1888.*—Harrison, J., was told that the county was in a very quiet state. . . . The cases that appeared upon the bills reported seemed rather more numerous than last year, forty-two against thirty-five; but there was nothing of a very serious nature in them.

FEBRUARY 28, 1887.—Morris, C.J.: There is but one bill to go before you.

The Grand Jury found "no bill" in this case.

WEXFORD—*March 21, 1888.*—Johnson J.: There were only six trifling bills, but there was an increase in the number of cases specially reported. . . . So far as he could see, the county was not in an unsatisfactory state.

March 24, 1887.—Andrews, J., could not congratulate the Grand Jury; for, although there were districts where law and order prevailed, there were other parts of the county where law and order were not maintained.

WICKLOW—*1888.*—O'Brien, J.: From the county Wicklow there was no case at all to be sent to them, and the record of crime in this county was an entire blank.

March 28, 1887.—Dowsé, B.: The condition of the county was generally satisfactory.

THE RECORD OF COERCION.

SINCE our last issue, the *Freeman's Journal* has published in pamphlet form the list of Government prosecutions under the Crimes Act, from August 18th, 1887, to February 6th, 1888, compiled by the National League from the newspapers. The pamphlet can be obtained from the Irish Press Agency, and is of a most useful character. The following is its summary of the total result:—

Number of persons charged	562
Convicted	354
Dismissed	64
Admitted to bail	19
No rule	21
Not yet heard	78
Allowed out on undertaking not to sell papers again	2
Withdrawn	24
	<hr/>
	562

The analysis we published last month showed the total for the same period to amount to 532 only, but this discrepancy is, no doubt, due to the fact that we did not count as two cases those in which the same person was charged twice.

Accepting the number 562 as correct for the period mentioned of 25 weeks, we find the average number of prosecutions to have been 22½ per week, but, as we have before pointed out, the number rose for the last week of January to 58, and for the first week in February to 92. In fact, while Mr. Balfour and his friends have been boasting of the decrease of crime in Ireland due to the operation of the Crimes Act, the operation of the same Act has been disproving their contention by the well-known logical method of a *reductio ad absurdum*. The Crimes Act is not the cause of the diminution in crime, say we, because, if it were, the prosecutions under it would have shown a decrease in the later period of

its application; but, far from doing so, they show an increase.

For the second and third weeks in February the number kept at the high total of 77 and 80 respectively. After that an improvement set in, and the three following weeks show the more moderate totals of 34, 27 and 35. Whether this improvement is due to accident, or unknown causes, or to the fact that Parliament met on February 9th and after a week or two began to affect the Government conscience unconsciously, we do not presume to determine. It is certainly not likely to be due to the operation of Government terrorism on the Irish people being more effective when Parliament is sitting than when it is not. The third week in March, however, shows a return of the tendency to high numbers, reaching a total of 57; and it contains some cases of a very extraordinary character. At Miltown Malbay, on March 15th, ten persons were prosecuted for unlawful assembly, because they had dared to supply the families of coercion prisoners with potatoes. Five of the cases were dismissed, but the other five persons were condemned to terms of imprisonment varying from six weeks to two months. We also notice the prosecution of two men, who were, however, admitted to bail, on the mysterious-sounding charge of Whiteboyism. Now the Whiteboy Acts were passed a long time ago for application to a particular condition of things which has long since passed away. The Acts have not been repealed, but they have very properly fallen into disuse, and now are only brought out against persons whom it is felt desirable to prosecute for something, when nothing else but an offence under the Whiteboy Acts is found to be available.

The following is a summary of the number of offences per week.

Average number of prosecutions per week for the 23 weeks ending	Jan. 26	18
Number of prosecutions for week ending		
Feb. 1	58	
Do. do. ,,	8 92	
Do. do. ,,	16 77	
Do. do. ,,	22 80	
Do. do. ,,	29 34	
Do. do. Mar. 7 27		
Do. do. ,,	13 35	
Do. do. ,,	21 57	

The total number to March 21st amounts thus to 872, as nearly as can be made out from such sources of knowledge as are available to the public.

As regards the quality of the offences alleged to have been committed during the four weeks from February 22nd to March 21st, the most noticeable facts are the relative smallness of the number of those connected with agrarian disturbance, and the relative largeness of the number of boycotting

cases. With the latter we have indeed reckoned seven cases of so-called intimidation, which word might mean many things, and one of refusing to billet the police, the meaning of which is obscure, the phrase has such a mediæval flavour about it. It is an interesting fact, however, that the cases of genuine boycotting—*i.e.*, the refusal to supply goods to obnoxious persons—as coming under the operation of the Crimes' Act, have much increased since the beginning of the year. The fact is interesting because it is so difficult to reconcile it with Mr. Balfour's statistics and his inference showing the great decrease of boycotting under the beneficial operation of the Act. The statistics were brought down to the end of the year. The cases dealt with by the summary courts up to January 26th were as follows, making thirty-two in all:—Eight cases only of boycotting proper (three of the persons being emergency men), nineteen of refusing cars to police, three of conspiracy to boycott, two of conspiracy to prevent a man working. During the last four weeks, however, there have been thirty-one cases, either of refusing to supply something to the police, such as turf or cars, or inducing persons not to work for the police; and the total number, including the seven intimidating cases, amounts to forty-one. For refusing cars, three persons were condemned to imprisonment for two months.

The analysis of the cases from February 22nd to March 21st, is as follows:—

Class I.—Agrarian cases ...	15	: 5	dismissed.
,, II.—Public Meeting cases, &c. ...	64	: 7	several out on bail.
,, III.—Incitement cases ...	6	: 1	dismissed.
,, IV.—Boycotting cases, &c. ...	48	: 13	"
,, V.—Newspaper cases ...	14	: 9	"
,, VI.—Star chamber cases; refusal to give evidence (the same two persons twice punished) ...	4		
Whiteboyism ...	2		out on bail.
Total	153	: 35	dismissed.
		31	adjourned.

Figures are notoriously dry things, but we imagine that many of our readers will not need Mr. Goschen's "passion for statistics" to find some material for interest in these.

DIARY OF THE MOVEMENT.

Feb. 28.—Mr. J. R. Cox, M.P., released from Limerick Gaol and received by the Mayor, High Sheriff, &c., of Limerick.—At the fortnightly meeting of the National League letters were read

giving evidence as to the activity of nominally suppressed branches.—Evicted tenants of Sir H. Burke reinstated, amid great enthusiasm, on the terms enacted from the landlord by the Plan of Campaign.

Feb. 29.—At Clonmel, Mr. J. Douglas Pyne, M.P., sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment for inciting persons to boycott.—At Donadea, Kildare, four young men charged with the "crime" of lighting a bonfire and shouting "Down with Salisbury and Balfour" on a public road. Three were fined, the fourth dismissed.—Mr. Finlay, Town Councillor of Galway, sentenced to a month's imprisonment for urging tenants to adopt Plan of Campaign.—At Dunmanway, co. Cork, four men and one woman charged with conspiracy to boycott. One charge was dismissed and the second charge adjourned.

March 1st.—Home Rule address to Mr. Gladstone from clergy of the Church of England, upwards of 250 signatures attached.—The Irish Solicitor-General promised a return of R.M.'s "of whose legal knowledge and legal experience" the Lord Chancellor had satisfied himself.

March 2nd.—Patrick Ferriter sentenced to three months' imprisonment, with hard labour, for selling copies of *United Ireland* containing reports of nominally suppressed branches of the National League. He was admitted to bail pending an appeal.—Reductions of rents on the Kingston estate from 5 to 30 per cent. by Land Sub-Commissioners.—Lord Ebrington, Coercionist M.P. for the Tavistock Division of Devon, addressed his constituents at Holsworthy, when a vote of want of confidence in him was carried by a large majority.—J. Stewart Wallace, Vice-President of the Irish Protestant Home Rule Union, unanimously chosen by the Liberal and Radical Council as Liberal candidate for Limehouse.

March 3.—Banquet of Oxford University Home Rule Union, Professor Freeman in the chair. Speeches by Lord Ripon, Sir Charles Russell, Mr. A. Sidgwick, Dr. Fairbairn, &c. —Enthusiastic reception of Mr. John Dillon at Darlington.—Clanricarde institutes proceedings against the Lougheea guardians, who are legally his tenants, for £200 rent due. The guardians claim same reduction as other tenants.

March 5.—The council of the London Liberal and Radical Union condemns the action of the Tory Government in Ireland, "in its administration of the Coercion Act, and its suspension of the rights of free combination, free public meeting, and free press."—Great demonstration at Cork, at the reception of the remains of Stephen J. Meany, which had been brought over from America for burial. Mr. Meany had been twice imprisoned, his latter term extending over eight years.—Mr. T. Sexton presided for the first time

over a meeting of the Dublin corporation.—Mr. O'Keefe selected as Nationalist candidate for Limerick.

March 6.—Mr. Wilfrid Blunt released from Kilmainham Gaol, and received with much enthusiasm by the people.—Mr. Gilhooley, M.P., sentenced to two months' imprisonment, without hard labour, for intimidation. He was liberated on lodging an appeal, and then re-arrested for assaulting Inspector Hayes at Schull, but was allowed out on bail. Cross-summons was granted him against the County Inspector for assault.—Mr. Snelling, delegate from English Anti-Coercion Association, arrested at Newmarket, co. Limerick, for a speech at Six-mile Bridge advocating the Plan of Campaign.

March 7.—Lord Hartington addressed a large meeting of Tories, under the guise of "Liberal Unionists," at Ipswich. A strong Home Rule opposition was present.—Crowded meeting of the National League at Oxford.—At the North Dublin Board of Guardians it was reported that the number of people receiving out-door relief was 1,085, as against 539 in the corresponding period last year.—At Dromore, co. Tyrone, John O'Neill sentenced by French and Nagle, R.M.'s, to one month with hard labour for assaulting a policeman who was interfering with a celebration in honour of William O'Brien.

March 8.—Patrick Corcoran, foreman printer of the *Cork Examiner*, released from prison and warmly welcomed by the Mayor and citizens of Cork.—Mr. Balfour informs Mr. Dillon that a great force of military and police had been drafted into Youghal to prevent a public meeting from taking place.

March 9.—The King-Harman salary job advanced in the House of Commons by resolution. Strong speeches, in protest, made by Mr. Dillon, Mr. J. Morley, Sir W. Harcourt, Mr. Healy, Mr. Russell, Mr. Hunter, Mr. Picton, Mr. J. Ellis, and Mr. E. Harrington. After Mr. W. H. Smith had stopped the debate by the closure, the resolution was carried by 182 to 132. King-Harman was absent during the debate.—Mr. A. J. Balfour declined to state the nature of his interviews at Dublin Castle with resident magistrates.

March 10.—Mr. Wilfrid Blunt welcomed home by neighbours, sympathisers, and tenants. A torchlight procession organised and a meeting of 2,000 people held.—Remains of Stephen J. Meany interred at Ennis, large contingents from Cork and Limerick being present.

March 12.—Colonel King-Harman states in House of Commons that 2,000 fair-rent cases per month are being heard in Irish land courts, that there is no unnecessary delay, but that it is contemplated to appoint new commissioners.

March 13.—Percy H. Snelling, of the London

Anti-Coercion Committee prosecuted at Six-mile Bridge for a speech delivered there on Feb. 29, advocating the Plan of Campaign and advising his hearers to stand by the National League. The Magistrates were Captain Welsh and Cecil Roche. District-Inspector Rainsford admitted that he did not take a full report but filled in portions afterwards. On his evidence Mr. Snelling was convicted, and sentenced to seven months' imprisonment with hard labour—one month for advocating Plan of Campaign, six months for inciting to join the National League. Appeal lodged against the second sentence.—Protest against Irish Coercion signed by Nonconformist ministers in Cambridgeshire.

March 14th.—Estimates of Irish Land Commission show a reduction of 15 sub-commissioners, while the number of cases is increased by 50,000.—Messrs. William O'Brien, T. D. Sullivan, and Wilfrid Blunt entertained at great banquet by National Reform Union in Free Trade Hall, Manchester.—London Board of Congregational ministers expresses sympathy with the Irish people.

March 15th.—At Cork Board of Guardians, resolution condemning the action of Cork grand jury in awarding Constable Leahy £1,000 compensation for injuries received at Mitchelstown carried unanimously, the Conservative guardians retiring from the room.—At Rathmore, co. Kerry, Daniel O'Connor, postmaster, sentenced to three weeks' imprisonment on a charge of intimidation.—Mr. W. H. Smith informed Mr. Healy that Mr. Geoffrey Browning, solicitor to the Irish Land Commission, and Prof. Brougham Leach, Examiner on Title to the Land Purchase Commission, took part in the Goschen-Hartington meeting in Dublin "in their private capacities."

March 16.—Meeting of Liberal Unionists, Lord Hartington presiding, at which differences respecting Mr. Parnell's Arrears Bill were disclosed.—Mr. J. C. Flynn, M.P., released from Cork Prison, and met by a large gathering of citizens.—Colonel King-Harman stated in Parliament that Cecil Roche had been made a permanent magistrate, and that he "had special qualifications for the post."

March 17.—St. Patrick's Day: "Wearing of the green" very general in London among the working classes.—Great meeting in Birmingham, addressed by Mr. William O'Brien, who exposed the conduct of Mr. Chamberlain.—Banquet at Cannon-street Hotel, presided over by Mr. John Dillon.—Great meeting at Bradford, addressed by Messrs. T. D. Sullivan and E. Harrington.—Conflicts between police and people at Limerick and at Drumlish, co. Longford.—Protests against Irish Coercion, signed by 73 Nonconformist ministers in Gloucestershire, and by 65 in Leicestershire.

March 19.—Important elections connected with the Birmingham Liberal Association result in the complete defeat of the "Unionist" faction.—Col. King-Harman stated in the House of Commons that the number of applications for judicial rents entertained in the Land Courts on 1st March was 62,157.—Mr. Stanhope admitted that at the Meany funeral the troops, who had been at the Ennis Court-house during the funeral, marched to their barracks singing "Rule Britannia," and that Captain Walsh expressed no disapproval.—The King-Harman salary job came up in the House in the form of a resolution moved by Mr. Balfour, which, after strong protests from Mr. J. Morley, Sir Charles Russell, Mr. Dillon, and others, was carried by 159 to 103.

March 20th.—Mr. Chamberlain unsuccessfully tries to evade Mr. W. O'Brien's charges, which the latter repeats and amplifies.—Protest against Coercion from Nonconformist ministers in the Gainsborough Division of Lincoln—M. Barrett and T. Costello, for refusing to answer questions before R. M. sentenced at Carrick-on-Shannon to seven days' imprisonment.—Ten people charged at Athlone with cheering for Blunt and groaning for Balfour. Three dismissed, six ordered to give bail for good behaviour, one imprisoned for a month for alleged assault on policeman.

March 21.—Mr. Parnell's Bill dealing with arrears rejected in the House of Commons on second reading by 328 to 243, and amendment of Mr. Powell Williams carried by 320 to 230.—Lord Hartington declares at Carlisle that he did not deny the capacity of the Irish for self-government, nor did he ask them to renounce their nationality.—Sir G. Trevelyan denounces coercion at Cirencester, and Mr. J. Dillon has a magnificent reception at Brighton.—Sub-Sheriff of Armagh prevented from selling farm produce, for £120 rent due, by a crowd of 500 farmers, who cheered for the "Plan of Campaign."

March 22.—James Lloyd, delegate from London Anti-Coercion Committee released from Limerick Prison.—Col. King-Harman said in the House that the Government were "anxiously considering" the question of strengthening the Irish Land Commission, whereon Mr. T. W. Russell said that precisely the same answer had been given to him four weeks before.—Mr. W. H. Smith could give no intelligent answer as to whether a civil servant could be a member of the Irish National League.—On the Criminal Evidence Bill objection was taken to extending its provisions to Ireland, and Mr. Healy moved an amendment to that effect which was defeated by 173 to 119.

March 23.—Appeal of Messrs. P. O'Brien, J. P. Hayden, and T. Byrne against the sentences passed on them on January 26th, heard at Athlone before County Court Judge Morris. The sentence confirmed, but the two former to be

treated as first-class misdemeanants.—Great meeting at Canning Town addressed by Mr. Michael Davitt. The only hall in the district being refused, the meeting was held in a large tent.

March 24.—Mr. A. J. Balfour addresses a large audience, comprising many Orangemen, at Stalybridge. Several persons in the audience expressed the desire that Mr. Gladstone should be shot—an utterance that called forth no disapproval from Mr. Balfour.

March 25.—Mr. William O'Brien arrives at an early hour in Youghal, and holds a meeting of the Ponsonby tenants. Later in the day police and military drafted into the town, under Plunkett and Redmond, R.M., to whom Mr. O'Brien stated that the proclamation forbidding the meeting was illegal, and that he should speak, unless prevented by force. Mr. O'Brien began to speak, when the police rushed on the crowd with batons. Plunkett then came up and struck a man, who struck him back. He received another stout blow and fell to the ground. Mr. O'Brien then adjourned to the house of Canon Keller, and addressed the people on his premises.

March 26.—Mr. W. O'Brien, on his return to Dublin, was received with enthusiasm at stations *en route*. Speaking at Killeagh, he congratulated the people on the victory for free speech won at Youghal.—Bill brought in by Mr. Balfour to regulate future proceedings of Land Courts.

March 27.—Discussion of Irish administration, and particularly of the suppression of the Youghal meeting, stopped by the Closure; no answer to Mr. Balfour being permitted.—Mr. Bright's eldest son chosen as the Coercionist candidate for Rochdale.—Death of Mr. E. Dwyer Gray, M.P., managing director of *Freeman's Journal*.

March 28.—Mr. Chamberlain presented with the freedom of Birmingham. At the banquet given in his honour, Mr. Bright took occasion to describe the scheme of imperial federation as "impossible, and no better than a dream."—Mr. Randell, Liberal, elected member for Gower Division of Glamorganshire by 606 votes.

LITERATURE.

Home Rule and State Supremacy; or, Nationality reconciled with Empire. By W. DIGBY SEYMOUR, Q.C. (Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co.)

MR. DIGBY SEYMOUR's book consists of a draft Home Rule Bill (or Irish Federal Union Bill, as he calls it), and an introductory and explanatory essay. His plan is the gradual concession to Ireland of full powers of managing her own affairs, firstly, by the immediate creation of four Provincial Legislatures, and secondly, after the lapse of five years, by the establishment of a national Parliament. For the most part the Bill is drawn, from

Mr. Seymour's point of view, with great practical shrewdness (although the idea of having two Chambers in the Provincial Council is a little absurd), and deserves the careful examination even of those who may think his restrictions fatal to the success of any such measure. Both as to the Provincial Councils and the future Parliament, his method is first to provide specifically (as in Mr. Gladstone's Bill) for the powers which shall not be exercised, and then to set out with similar particularity the powers which may be exercised. He has thus had occasion to draw up a very useful list of "home affairs," which forms one of the schedules to the Bill. In this division of powers lies the whole difficulty, and though Mr. Seymour's Bill goes a long way (a very long way indeed for a "Liberal-Constitutionalist," and a believer in Lord Hartington), yet it stops shorts at a vital point in refusing to trust the Irish people with the administration of justice. On that point the whole question of Home Rule must be fought out, and for our own part we fail to see how a people can at the same time be considered fit for self-government and suspected of a desire to use their judges and police for purposes of injustice. Such fair-minded men as Mr. Seymour, who see the necessity of giving frank recognition to the Irish sentiment of nationality, cannot stop where they are. They must go further, and trust the Irish people freely.

Glimpses of Early Ireland. By THOMAS LOUGH.
(Published by the Home Rule Union, 1d.)

If we may be permitted to praise the work of one of our own secretaries, this is an admirable sketch of a part of Irish history which has hitherto been too much left in the dark. Even apart from its lessons with regard to the present controversy, the period of which Mr. Lough treats, and which ends with the 12th century, must ever have a profound interest and fascination for those who seek to follow out the development of art, law, and institutions. It is the story of the movements of the Irish genius before it was chilled by English rule; and it has been told in the little work before us in the critical spirit which it demands, and with the enthusiasm which it deserves.

Strongbow's Conquest of Ireland, 1166-1188.
Edited by F. A. BARNARD. (Nutt.)

This is one of the early volumes of an excellent series, which Mr. York Powell is editing, and the aim of which is to tell English history in the words of contemporary writers. The chief source of information as to Strongbow's conquest, and the condition of Ireland, is Giraldus Cambrensis, with extracts from whom Mr. Barnard has mainly woven together his story. Giraldus is not by any means a trustworthy authority, and too often writes in the style of a special correspondent of a Unionist

newspaper. But as the editor truly says, the very extravagance of his faults as a historian is their corrective, and were he less obviously unfair, he would be the more delusive. Any way, a study of his work (and a very good notion of it is given even by these extracts) is essential to a knowledge of the great event which he records. It will show, as an historian of our own day has said, that "mere self-interest, rapacious and irresponsible, was the guise in which the English connection first appeared on Irish soil."

Irish Press Agency Pamphlets.—No. 26. *Experiences of an Irish Landowner.* By MABEL SHARMAN CRAWFORD.

MISS SHARMAN CRAWFORD became a landowner in order to show, by a practical test, how false is the notion that Irish poverty and agitation are the necessary results of the Irish character. Every one should read the narrative of her successful experiment.

No. 27.—"Unionists" brought to Book. By MICHAEL DAVITT.

A CONVINCING reply by Mr. Davitt to the chief misrepresentations to which he has been subjected by "loyal and patriotic" opponents.

A LETTER FROM MR. GLADSTONE.

SINCE our last issue, a pamphlet on the Lecture Scheme of the Home Rule Union has been prepared by Mr. E. J. C. Morton, the Chairman of the Lectures Sub-Committee. It contains an account of the educational method adopted by the Union, and gives the names of over thirty lecturers, with the subjects of which they treat, together with a syllabus of each lecture. Mr. Morton sent a copy of this pamphlet to Mr. Gladstone, and received the following reply:—

"SIR,—I have examined with much interest the tract you have been kind enough to send. I am much pleased with the outline of your Society's operations, not least with their historical character, and I trust that they may be extensively useful.

"I remain, sir,

"Your very faithful servant,
"W. E. GLADSTONE.

"March 24th, 1888."

THE LADIES' COMMITTEE.

THIS Committee has been engaged during the past month in the practical work of forming local centres throughout London, for the distribution and sale of Home Rule literature. A list of the leaflets issued by the Irish Press Agency has been drawn up and classified according to the different phases of the Home Rule question which they deal with, for the use of those who may undertake to become agents for their own neighbourhood. Already a great number of ladies have

volunteered, and, to their credit be it said, several stationers and newsagents, in defiance of possible boycotting, have expressed their willingness to keep a constant supply of Home Rule literature in their shops.

When the scheme is in full working order, it is hoped that there will be few neighbourhoods where it will be difficult to procure the best and most recent contributions to the Irish question.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

DURING the month of March the Executive Committee have met twice.

On the first occasion, Professor Stuart, M.P., presided, and there were also present—Mrs. Beesly, Mrs. Bryant, Mr. E. Walford, Mr. E. J. C. Morton, Mr. G. P. Macdonell, Mr. W. Phillips, Mr. B. Ellis, Dr. B. O'Connor, Mr. T. E. Gibb, (hon. treasurer), and Mr. W. Martin Edmunds, and Mr. Thomas Lough (hon. secs.).

It was decided to purchase and circulate 4,000 copies of Mr. Lough's pamphlet, "Glimpses of early Ireland," and to order 5,000 additional copies of the first number of the JOURNAL, which it appears had had a circulation of upwards of 4,000. Mr. Walford kindly volunteered to bear the expense of providing 500 extra copies of next month's JOURNAL, printed on one side only to facilitate cuttings for insertion in provincial papers, and at the suggestion of Mr. Lough, Mr. Walford's offer was accepted. It was also resolved to print a leaflet containing verses by Mrs. Beesly, Mr. E. Walford, and Mr. T. E. Gibb; and 5,000 copies of a new lecture syllabus, the latter to be sent to all Liberal Associations in the country and to the members of the Union. Cheques were drawn for £20 odd.

Messrs. H. Bischoff, W. S. Norton, Priestly Casson, Donald Murray, and C. H. Radford were elected members of the Council; and Mr. C. J. Heald and Mr. T. A. Spalding members of the Executive Committee.

The second meeting was held on Friday, March 23rd, and Professor Stuart again occupied the chair: There were present—Mrs. Beesly, Mrs. Bryant, Miss Monk, Mr. Herbert Gladstone, M.P., Mr. J. A. Picton, M.P., Mr. P. W. Clayden, Mr. Richard Eve, Mr. Heald, Dr. B. O'Connor, Mr. E. J. C. Morton, the Rev. J. Jones, Mr. E. Walford, and Mr. W. Martin Edmunds, and Mr. Thomas Lough (hon. secs.) It was stated that the additional copies of the first number of the JOURNAL ordered at the last meeting, had nearly been disposed of, thus bringing the total circulation up to nearly 10,000, a fact which the Committee considered very gratifying. The question of moving into larger offices, on the ground floor of Palace Chambers, was considered, and left in the hands of the hon. secretaries. Applica-

tions for affiliation were read from the following Associations, and sanctioned:—Dulwich Reform Club, Southern Division of the Forest of Dean Liberal Association, Northfleet Liberal and Radical Association, Ambleside District Women's Liberal Association, Bournemouth Women's Liberal Association, and Wolverhampton Women's Liberal Association. A vote of thanks was next passed to Mrs. Bates for her kind assistance in office work. Cheques having been drawn for £25 odd, the Committee adjourned till Tuesday, April 17th.

ANOTHER HOME RULE DEBATE.

THE "new departure" we referred to last month seems likely to be extensively pursued. A debate on "Law and Order in connection with the Irish prosecutions" was held in Mr. Holiday's studio, at Oak Tree House, Hampstead, on Saturday, the 10th of March. One hundred and ninety guests were present, all specially invited, and probably the majority were opponents of Home Rule. The "Unionists" were led by Mr. Bond, and the Home Rulers by Mr. Hobson. For the first speech of each 15 minutes were allowed; for the second 10 minutes; the subsequent speakers were limited to 5 minutes each; and Mr. Bond and Mr. Hobson then summed up. The Chairman (Mr. Lea), whose impartiality was evidenced—to use his own words in closing the meeting—"by the fact that no one there present could tell whether he was a Home Ruler or not," was inexorable in applying the closure at the end of the time allotted to each speaker. No division was taken, but it was generally felt that the Home Rulers had far the best of the argument, and many who came into the room avowed opponents of Home Rule have since declared that they have been considerably shaken in their "Unionist" convictions by the debate.

Mr. Bond said that the question, to a great extent, was concerned with the Crimes Act, the provisions of which he explained. He asserted that the Land League "did not scruple to use violent means to attain their ends," and that marked the beginning of Mr. Parnell's obtaining wide popular support in Ireland. The Crimes Act was aimed principally at the National League, the successor of the Land League. No new crime was created, but "a strange and abnormal state of things may require certain modifications" of the law, and the object was "to secure that honest citizens should live in perfect liberty." The "Plan of Campaign" was "mere swindling." The Connell case showed the cruelty of boycotting, and Mr. Parnell's denial of Mr. Balfour's facts turned out to be unfounded.

Mr. Hobson justified the Plan of Campaign—

He argued that the Irish prosecutions were illegal as well as immoral, and he instanced the meetings at Ennis, Mitchelstown, and Woodford. He called attention to the arrest of Mr. O'Brien, by Captain Stokes, in court before the Recorder of Cork; to the refusal of the Government to stay evictions pending the passage of the Land Act of 1887; to Mr. O'Brien's arrest and prosecution for attempting to stay the hand of the executioner. He could not trust himself to discuss with patience the treatment such a man as Mr. O'Brien had received. The point, for maintaining which Mr. O'Brien was punished, was ultimately yielded by the landlord. He referred to Lord Clanricarde's treatment of his tenants, and Chief Baron Palles's observations thereon. He then considered Mr. Blunt's case, and maintained, on the authority of Sir Charles Russell and other eminent lawyers, that his action was wholly legal. He concluded by showing that Mr. Balfour had promised an appeal in all cases under the Crimes Act, and had broken his promise.

Mr. Bond, in reply, maintained that the people of Ireland were induced to take part in the land agitation by the persecution of the National League, and claimed for the Crimes Act the credit of the present peace of the country.

Mr. Hobson pointed out that the decrease in boycotting and similar offences was due to the decrease in evictions, and that the National League flourishes under coercion. He quoted the amazing statement of the *Times*, that the decision of the Exchequer Division that some legal evidence must be given before anyone could be sentenced under the Crimes Act "will hamper the authorities in the working of the Act."

The subsequent speakers included Mr. Blyth, Miss Hagemann, Mr. Holiday, Mr. Bompas, Q.C., Mr. Crook, Mrs. Bryant, Mr. E. J. C. Morton, and Mr. Vincent Scully, an Irish landlord, who said he was boycotted by his own class because he was a Nationalist.

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* * Communications, &c., relating to the supply of the JOURNAL should be addressed to the Hon. Treasurer; other communications to the Editor of the JOURNAL, 116, Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, Westminster.

COERCION IN ITS DOTAGE.

DURING the past month the political temperature has been rising, and we have had frequent proof of the fact that the most effective advocates of Home Rule are its opponents. Their blunders, their contradictions, and their misfortunes, are far more telling than the most cogent arguments that we ourselves can employ. More and more are people thus being impressed, not so much by the oppressiveness of Coercion, as by its dull, stupid inefficacy. We have seen Mr. Balfour going out of his way to prove the vitality of the National League. In the suppressed districts, he said, the League is a thing of the past. Could any more foolish words have been spoken? Instead of trying to divert attention from the League, which was obviously the safest policy for the Government, he issued a deliberate challenge to the Irish Nationalists to show their strength. Of course the challenge was accepted. But the Government ran away from their position, declined to allow their boast to be put to the proof, and used

very substantial weapons against the shadow of the League. They proclaimed the meetings; the magistrates and the police displayed their usual indiscretion in exciting peaceable assemblies to tumult; Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Dillon, albeit members of a defunct association, have been arrested as disturbers of the peace; and, thanks to the apathy of the comfortable English people, they will very likely spend the summer in prison. If there ever had been any doubt about it, this display of authority would have convinced us that even in the suppressed districts the League is as strong as ever. But Mr. Balfour was surely unwise in thus calling attention to the failure of the Crimes Act.

After all, however, it matters little what the Government does at Westminster, when we consider the way in which their servants in Ireland are bringing, not only the Act, but the law itself into discredit. The record of coercion has grown so monotonous that our sense of indignation is in danger of getting blunted. We should be grateful, therefore, for the recent novelty which has been introduced. Suddenly and simultaneously, by one of those inspirations which come to great minds, three county court judges—Mr. Henn, Mr. Hickson, and Dr. Webb—have discovered that, on appeal, they may increase the sentences imposed by the resident magistrates, and they have availed themselves of their power. It was only needed to complete the scandal that one of the accused should be Father McFadden, the brave, zealous, and humane priest of Gweedore, and that his judge should be Dr. Webb, who qualified for his position by the writing of acrid pamphlets against Mr. Gladstone. The Government, and the less cautious among their friends, have defended the action of the judges, though it seems that instructions have been given which will prevent the same thing from happening again. There is no need to discuss the general question whether it is right or legal to use a prisoner's appeal as a means of increasing the sentence. At the best it certainly implies a very Irish notion of an appeal. Pedants say the operation is legal, as if that were the point. Plain-minded electors will not trouble their minds with legal subtleties.

They remember that the right of appeal, under the Crimes Act, was given for the protection of the accused, that contrary to solemn pledges it has been greatly abridged, and that, in the form of cumulative sentences, it has been unjustly withheld. They will regard this new attempt to convert the right into a weapon of offence as yet another step in the degradation of the law.

Unionists dwell on the fact that there is no respect for the law in Ireland. Does it not occur to them that it cannot be otherwise if the law has ceased to be respectable? And does not this declining respect for the law furnish one of the strongest reasons for Home Rule? There is no other remedy for the evil. The system of Coercion is worn out. After an active life of nearly four-score years and ten it has passed into a fumbling dotage. We must seek other instruments of government.

THE MUNICIPAL FRANCHISE IN IRELAND.

BY AN EX-LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN.

AT a time when no more legislation for Ireland seems to be the parliamentary doctrine of the Ministry, and the reform, or rather the revolution, of English Local Government their chief care, a glance at the state of the Irish Municipal Franchise may be of some interest. It will be found to be one of the most startling of political anomalies. Shortly stated, the qualification for a municipal vote is a £5 valuation in the towns which are still regulated by the Act of 1828; £10 in cities and towns (with the exception of Dublin and Belfast) under the Corporation Reform Act of 1840; and £4 in towns under the Improvement Act of 1854. A few towns have special Acts. Now, it will be remembered that the Act of 1840, which fixes the highest qualification, applies to the chief towns of Ireland, and as rents are considerably in excess of valuation a £10 valuation implies a house quite beyond the means of the ordinary labourer or artizan. In fact, these classes are utterly excluded from any share whatever in municipal affairs. The following figures will make the fact evident. In the city of Cork, with a population of 80,000, there are, since the Reform Act of 1824, nearly 15,000 parliamentary and only 1,800 municipal electors. In the city of Limerick, with a population of nearly 40,000 people, there are not 400 burgesses, while there are over 5,000 parliamentary electors. In one ward of that city there are hardly twenty municipal voters, and it is a conceivable event that a contest might be impossible, owing to there not being a sufficient number of burgesses to sign two nomination papers. This absurd state of affairs is not confined to the south. In Londonderry, where a

late Lord Mayor of Dublin was nearly assassinated for daring to lecture on the franchise, there are only a few hundred municipal, as compared with about 4,000 parliamentary electors. In this very city, some years ago, one of the Irish judges, Mr. Baron Dowse, drew attention to the fact that a man who could interfere in the government of India had no influence in the management of his own city. Among other cases, we may mention Waterford, with 22,457 inhabitants, and less than 700 burgesses; Kilkenny, with 12,299 inhabitants and 261 burgesses; Wexford, with 12,163 inhabitants and 203 burgesses; Sligo, with 10,808 inhabitants and 352 burgesses; and Clonmel, with 9,325 inhabitants and 278 burgesses. There is no need to point out the glaring contrast which these figures reveal between the system of municipal government in England and in Ireland.

Belfast and Dublin require separate notice. Of Belfast it is enough to say that up to last year it was subject to the disabilities of other Irish towns. Its governing body is now elected by the inhabitant householders, without a valuation limit; and this reform it owes to the exertions of its Home Rule member, Mr. Sexton. In Dublin, by a special Act, 12 and 13 Vic. c. 85, a household municipal franchise was established, ostensibly, as the preamble said, to assimilate the qualification of burgesses to that of boroughs in England and Scotland. But how illusory was the concession! What the Legislature gave with the one hand it took back with the other. The Act required three years' occupation of the house in respect of which the qualification was claimed and residence during the same three years in or near the borough of Dublin. By another Act passed in the same year (12 and 13 Vic. c. 91), in the case of property under £8 valuation or let to weekly or monthly tenants, the owner instead of the occupier was to be rated; and consequently the occupier, not paying the rate (unless he made a special claim to be rated and actually paid the rate), had no vote. The effect of these provisions has been the disfranchisement of the labourers and artizans of Dublin. We find that in 1883, out of a population of 250,000, there were only about 6,000 burgesses. Bristol, to take an English illustration, with only 200,000 population, has over 26,000 municipal voters. And this is assimilating the franchise of the two countries! During the Parliament of 1880-85, by the exertions of the Irish Parliamentary party, one of these barriers, the three years' residence, was removed and one year substituted (48 and 49 Vic. c. 9). But the retention of the other restrictions still leaves the working classes almost utterly deprived of the municipal franchise in Dublin. This clearly appears from the fact that whilst there are now in Dublin about 30,000 Parlia-

mentary electors within the borough, there are now only 8,000 municipal voters.

A good many Englishmen share the opinion which that distinguished Unionist, Mr. Chamberlain, frequently expressed in his pre-union days, that the development of municipal institutions has tended to the peace and security of England. The story of the municipal franchise in Ireland may be of some interest to them. It may even lead some of those who have continued to believe in Mr. Chamberlain to reflect whether after all they had not better have believed in the principle of self-government. It should at least put an end to the absurd talk one hears that an Irish citizen has the same position as an English citizen.

A LETTER FROM THE REAL CROMWELL TO THE SHAM.

For the Right Honourable Arthur James Balfour, Esquire, Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant: These—

SIR,—I have seen with much concern that of late you have had great trouble with the rebellious Irish, and divers politicians with whom I have had talks do assure me (though I can hardly tell what to believe when one report doth contradict another) that you would fain subdue them even as I did. And yet it was not I, for I never did boast myself of the seasonable mercies which were vouchsafed to me at Drogheda, Wexford, and other places, but rather did pray that God might have all the glory thereof; so that it becomes me not to dwell upon these matters. Howbeit, I am informed from good hands that the name of such a poor worm and weak servant as myself hath been bestowed upon you; nay, it doth seem that divers vain-minded persons bestow it with many scornful additions, calling you a "pasteboard Cromwell," a "plaster-of-Paris Cromwell," "Cromwell and water," and other sorts of Cromwells. Which manner of speech (though I would have you not be mindful of these triflers) hath caused me to reflect upon your troubles, with the result that I am now bold to address to you some words of counsel and remonstrance, whereof my experience will be my excuse. Now, what is it that I hear of you?—for I desire to use this plainness with you. That for the checking of wildness of speech, which you say hath passed all bounds, and doth lead evil-disposed men to the breaking of the laws, you are putting in prison editors and printers and vendors of newspapers, which seem nevertheless to be edited and printed and vended; proclaiming meetings, which do nevertheless take place; and suppressing branches of the League, which, in spite of you,

still put out new leaves and blossom. And I hear further that you permit your soldiers and policemen to assist wicked and powerful landlords in turning their poor tenants out of their homes, and that having hitherto had an ill success in that matter you have begged for or bought the assistance of the Pope of Rome. All which doth appear to me very vain trifling, so that I marvel at you. What then do I advise? Nay, but I am afraid that what I would that you cannot. For truly in these evil days on which you have fallen it were a vain exercise to consider what might come if you could rid your Parliament of Irish members, have your own way with agitators, and lock up every papist chapel, and banish every priest, though I have misgivings even if these things were not denied you whether you could carry the business through. But let us not speak of that, though very likely you know my thoughts concerning the absoluteness of parliaments. The case stands simply thus: you cannot go beyond your instrument of Government. Then may it not be your wiser course, and indeed I believe it is, to see if perchance you cannot make fair terms with the rebels? Which doth make me think that there may be a better way than either yours or mine; and truly I did myself have a glimpse thereof, for I remember that in writing to my worthy friend, Mr. John Sadler, offering him the place of Lord Justice in the province of Munster, I spoke of the poor people of Ireland as having been "accustomed to as much injustice, tyranny, and oppression from their landlords, the great men, and those that should have done them right, as (I believe) any people in that which we call Christendom," and I said this further, if I may still use my own poor words, that "if justice were freely and impartially administered here, the foregoing darkness and corruption would make it look so much the more glorious and beautiful." And, indeed, I now wish that I had thought more often about these poor people. But I doubt not that you, though but a butterfly reader, have observed that it was ever my chiefest care to promote God's glory by putting down the saying of mass, as to which my mind was not troubled with any philosophic doubts whatsoever. But to you it doth seem that mass or no mass maketh little difference; wherefore I marvel greatly that you should be at such pains to stir up hatred and strife against yourself and your friends. For God is my witness that but for the mass I should not have been found taking part with the oppressors. And, therefore, I beseech you, as you tender the good of your country, to consider whether you cannot even now at this eleventh hour conclude an honourable peace. Verily, though I pray pardon for pressing you with such words, it behoves us to agree with our adversaries quickly whilsts we are in the way

with them (Matt. v. 25). And who knows that a period may not thus be put to the strife which hath so long separated the two countries? Than which no worldly thing is more desired by your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT FOR IRELAND.

THE Government majority seem to care as little for logic as for humanity; but the Tory solution of the Irish question develops itself logically nevertheless, and Unionist practice, in consequence, diverges ever more and more from Unionist theory. It was the greatness of this divergence which gave such dramatic force to Lord Randolph Churchill's attack. "We pledged ourselves," he said, referring to the election of 1886, "that we would at the very earliest opportunity extend to Ireland the same amount of local government which we might give to England. I venture to say—and I do not care how much I am contradicted, or what the consequences might be—that that was the foundation of the Unionist party; and I venture to say more—that that is the only platform on which you can resist repeal." And he disclosed the fact that his famous declaration concerning equality, similarity, and simultaneity was, "as far as it related to Ireland, a written declaration. Every sentence of it, I might almost go so far as to say every word of it, represented the opinions of the Government, and had been submitted to and assented to by the Prime Minister himself, and by the Chief Secretary for Ireland of that day." As regards his future action, and as indicating the beginning of a Unionist split, the importance of Lord Randolph's present attitude cannot be exaggerated; but there is nothing new in his revelations except the care which he took in 1886 to identify his colleagues with himself in his extreme statement of the doctrine of simultaneity. Liberal Unionists vied with Tory Unionists in their burning zeal for the extension of local government. Lord Hartington, for instance, even went so far as to say that "she should have it, if a case could be made out for it, in a greater and further, and more generous degree than England and Scotland." But Liberal sentiments are of little avail when men have bound themselves over to the support of a policy of unadulterated Toryism—a policy that denies to a people their right to have a strong opinion on the subject of their own self-government. Mr. Smith, in reply to questions, has announced that the Government will have "no indisposition" to take into consideration the question of extending local government to Irish counties when the Irish people have

shown that they would exercise their powers in a spirit of *loyalty to the Crown and the Constitution*;" and, later, he made the matter plainer by saying that he was not prepared to put a weapon into the hands of the National League which would hand over to them the control of the district councils in *every county in Ireland*. It is satisfactory, after all we have been told about the silence of the real voice of the Irish people, to find the Leader of the House of Commons making the admission that every county in Ireland would go the way of the National League—that "thing of the past." To the common sense of a sane Tory, like Mr. Smith, it is plain that the Irish people would use any local power conferred on them as a stepping-stone to Home Rule. But, whatever happens, they must not have Home Rule, because that is what they ask for, and it is dangerous to give people what they ask for, lest they should ask for more. Therefore, they must not have local government till the day comes that they have proved their loyalty to the Crown and Constitution by entirely abandoning their demand for Home Rule. How curious must be the Tory notion of the mental powers by which persons and nations develop! The Irish people are not to have that measure of self-government which the Unionist conscience deems right and just, until they have proved themselves to be either a nation of slaves, or a nation of hypocrites. Will Unionists seriously accept this logical inference from the policy they are pursuing? Surely not; and so we invite them to study the *reductio ad absurdum* of that policy which it implies.

CORRESPONDENCE.

AN IRISH FARMER'S LAMENT.

To the Editor of the HOME RULE UNION JOURNAL.

SIR,—Before leaving this country, it occurs to me to detail to you briefly some of the reasons which are compelling me to emigrate. The general facts concerning Ireland will be pretty well known to your readers, who will have observed, that while the stress of agricultural depression during the last twenty years has been equally felt by farmers in Great Britain and Ireland, in the former country land has not gone out of cultivation; but, on the contrary, nearly 2,000,000 acres have been added to the cultivable area; here, where we depend entirely upon agriculture, over half a million acres have relapsed into waste. This is but the sign which creeps into the statistical books of the troubled state of affairs with which I, and such as I, have been trying in vain to contend. In the county in which my farm lies the population has fallen to one-half of

what it was forty years ago. Many of the districts are peopled with Protestants, like myself; but we all live on the best possible terms with our Catholic neighbours, who are in a great majority. There is little crime, no boycotting, and no agrarian outrages; yet from day to day one can see all life and activity oozing away. The prospect completely enervates me, and makes it impossible for me longer to remain at anchor. House after house that a short time before was prosperous, is now closed up and the households are gone. The markets that I remember fairly crowded are growing thinner week by week. You cannot find anyone who by fair and honest work is improving his position and accumulating capital, the only exception to this rule being the official class and the solicitors, who fatten on the people. The gentry have suffered as much as the farmers. The county is dotted over with residences, but four out of five are empty and falling to ruin. Various small local manufacturers which I can remember in my youth, have entirely disappeared. I do not believe the causes to be temporary, or that they will be removed for many years to come. With regard to politics, I keep on hoping that some party may grow strong enough to break the evil spell. I have gradually and somewhat reluctantly developed into a Home Ruler, who takes no part in the agitation. There is no choice open to us. No other party asks for our suffrages or promises any relief. I have struggled on until my capital has almost entirely disappeared, and now with the little remnant must try my fortune where, I hope, destiny will be less severe.—I am, Sir, &c.,

ONE OF THE DWINDLING IRISH.

NOTES BY THE WAY.

The Removables.—Parliamentary returns are not generally amusing reading, but last month one was issued which, if it had been written as a satire on the administration of law in Ireland, might have fitly appeared in a column of *Punch*. It is a list of the R.M.'s—the Re-Moveables (or Resident Magistrates as they are commonly called)—with their ages, their districts, their qualifications as shown by their former vocations, and their salaries. These men, one must remember, have duties of no ordinary difficulty to perform, which require a very rare freedom from prejudice, a calm mind, and a capacity to be acquired only by long training for weighing conflicting evidence with scrupulous care. At the first blush one might think that the most necessary qualification for administering the law in this state of things was a knowledge of law. But as we learn from the return it is the qualification which can be most

easily dispensed with. Out of the seventy-five magistrates only twelve have had even a pretence of legal training; though a thirteenth is oddly described as having "kept all terms for the bar, but for family reasons was not called." The army and the constabulary furnish the great majority. "In the army," "served in army for twenty years," "constabulary officers," &c.; so are described the former vocations of between forty and fifty of the judges to whom we confide the decision of grave constitutional questions. The last column is not less deserving of attention. It is headed, "Tenure of office," and the entry opposite each of the seventy-five names is, without exception, "pleasure."

A Parallel from Roumania.—The *Standard* correspondent makes the following interesting statement, concerning the recent agrarian revolt in Roumania:—"An official inquiry has been instituted into the origin and causes of the movement, and the trial of the ringleaders will doubtless help to elucidate many points now hopelessly obscure. Amidst the mass of conflicting evidence, two facts stand out clearly; first, that the great agrarian reform law of 1864 has broken down, owing to the absence of provision for the natural increase of the population on the land then given to the peasantry, and the consequent sub-division of the land into infinitesimal fractions insufficient to sustain life. Secondly, that absentee landlordism has handed over the peasantry to the tender mercies of middlemen, whose exactions the weak provincial administrations and their electoral necessities have not been able effectually to check. These long-standing evils were suddenly exaggerated by last year's bad harvests, and especially by the total failure of the maize crop, the staple food of the peasantry. The discontent ripened into maturity for unlawful action under the influence of the violent Party passions let loose throughout the country during the recent electoral campaign. How far the actual outbreak was really spontaneous or was provoked by direct encouragement from Party agitators at home or from foreign emissaries, only a stringent inquiry may succeed in establishing, and it is by no means certain that the truth will be found out." The parallel with Ireland is very instructive. Like causes produce like effects. It is not original sin, but hardship and wrong that produce agrarian revolts.

Irish Fisheries.—The second report of the Commission on Irish public works gives an account of Irish fisheries which excites many sad reflections. Forty years ago there were nearly 20,000 boats, employing 113,000 men and boys; there are now less than 6,000 boats, employing 21,000 men and boys. This is bad enough. But even more sug-

gestive is the following passage in the report : " It is a remarkable fact," say the Commissioners, " that there are practically no curing establishments in Ireland. We do not mean that no fish are salted or smoke-dried in the country, for in favourable seasons a considerable quantity is so disposed of, and we have seen at Baltimore, an establishment, no longer, however, in use, for extracting the oil from pilchards. A small " kippering " establishment has been established at Dungarvan ; and a similar enterprise has been started at Castletown, Berehaven. Otherwise no attempt has been made, so far as we can learn, even in a rough-and-ready fashion, at curing fish on a large scale, as is done in Scotland. In consequence of this state of things, when the take of herring or mackerel is abundant, no adequate market exists at the time for fresh fish ; great waste and depression of prices therefore takes place, quantities of fish being sometimes thrown into the sea, or used as manure. It is notable that cured herrings are brought into Ireland from Scotland in considerable quantities, the fish having sometimes, it is said, been actually caught off the Irish coast." Now we may be too sanguine, but it seems to us that this state of things could not continue in a self-governed Ireland. The development of Irish fisheries would be one of the first results of that feeling of hope and confidence which Home Rule would spread throughout the country.

The Pope and the Plan of Campaign.—After long and discreditable intrigues at the Vatican, the Pope has condemned the Plan of Campaign and the practice of boycotting. The condemnation is accompanied by reasons which require very careful attention, for, unless they are sound, they obviously qualify and weaken the expression of opinion. In fact they are painfully unsound. The first is " that it is unlawful to break voluntary contracts freely entered into between landlord and tenant." Clearly this has no application, for the Plan of Campaign has not been adopted on any estate where the landlord and his tenants have freely entered into voluntary contracts. Secondly, " that the Land Courts are available to tenants who believe that they have unfair rents to pay." His Holiness has been misinformed, for the Plan of Campaign was devised because the Land Courts were not available ; and if their doors are wider now the change is largely due to the Plan of Campaign. Thirdly, " that the funds collected under the Plan of Campaign have been extorted from those contributing to it." Undoubtedly this is an evil, if it be the case, but the Plan does not thereby stand condemned. No better way has yet been devised for preventing another form of extortion, in the form of rent ; and till this better way be pointed out the Pope

will not be obeyed, because he cannot be obeyed. We have spoken of the circular as a condemnation, but it is only an expression of disapproval. The unfavourable opinion is given, and then the Bishops of Ireland are required " prudently but effectually to advise and exhort the clergy and the laity not to transgress the bounds of Christian charity and justice, whilst they are striving for a remedy for their distressed condition." But there is no suggestion of ecclesiastical censure in case of disobedience. *Roma locuta est, causa finita est* is a maxim which refers to matters of faith and discipline, but which has no application to questions of opinion and expediency. The justice of the Plan of Campaign and of boycotting is a question of the latter character ; and Irish Catholics, while hearing with respect the opinion of the Pope, must act as they did on the occasion of the Parnell tribute—upon their own judgment of the actual necessity of the case. We Home Rulers, at any rate, have no reason to complain of the circular. We suffered a good deal at many elections from the rabid " No Popery " cry ; but now in this Unionist intrigue for the support of Rome we have a sweet revenge, and for the future a sure protection.

Pope Gregory I. as a Landlord.—In Dean Church's essay on "The Letters of Pope Gregory I." (reprinted in his recent volume of "Miscellaneous Essays") occurs an interesting account of Gregory as a beneficent absentee landlord. "The property of the Church," says the Dean, "was managed by local agents, and by semi-ecclesiastical officers, *sub-deacons* sent from Rome ; and the *masse* or farms, with the tenants and labourers attached to them, were leased to farmers(*conductores*), who were responsible for the rents in money or kind. In a disorganised time like the sixth century, it may be imagined how fraud and wrong had it their own way among the poor tenants of a distant absentee landlord." The situation is the same as that which existed in the worst days of Irish landlordism—absentee owners, omnipotent agents, middlemen, and oppressed tenants. Pope Gregory, however, felt that property had its duties as well as its rights. So he gives very strict orders to the manager of the Sicilian estates, Peter the sub-deacon, to see that justice was done. "Be sure," he says, "that you are winning for me great gain, if you gather for me a reward rather than a rich income." He enters into every detail in his instructions. Unfair rents had been charged ; henceforth they must depend on the public market price of wheat. Agents were no longer to derive profit from false measures and illicit surcharges. Tenants are to live in security, and on their death their children are to be allowed to succeed. One passage, full of an

admirable thoughtfulness, may be quoted. It refers to a land-tax, payable in three instalments in the year:—"We have learned that the first instalment presses very hard on our tenants; for before they are able to sell their produce, they have to discharge the tax, and as they have no means of their own they are forced to borrow from money-lenders, and have to pay heavy interest on the loan, by which they are involved in ruinous expense. Therefore, we order that what they would have to borrow for this purpose from outsiders may be openly advanced to them by you, and be received back from the tenants by degrees as they realise their produce; so that they may not be driven hard for time and be forced to sell at a lower price what would have been quite sufficient at its proper price for their contributions." We prefer the methods of Gregory I. to those which landlord intrigues have forced Leo. XIII. to adopt.

An Oasis in Irish Landlordism.—A correspondent of the *Bradford Observer*, who has lately visited the Ponsonby Estate, gives an interesting and sad account of the state of the peasantry, which entirely confirms what we had heard through Canon Keller. The picture, however, is relieved by some pleasant contrasts. After mentioning favourably the estates of the Duke of Devonshire and of a Mr. Young, a Tory landlord of Cork, the writer says: "But the most striking contrast is furnished by Mount Melleray, the monastery of Trappist monks which abuts upon Sir Richard Kane's land, another of the rack-renting crew. The Brothers, being driven from France in 1832, bought from Sir Richard 500 acres of mountain land—mere bog and furze—and have made the wilderness blossom as the rose. They are a blessing to the whole countryside. Their fine, ample buildings, guest-houses, schools, and cottages, well-fenced fields, and excellent farming show what may be done with the land under the most forbidding circumstances. Their hospitality is without limit. None are turned empty away, but payment is accepted when offered. The brother who kindly acted as our cicerone said that this winter, so heavy was the distress, that, for the first time within their experience, able-bodied men had come to them for food. The Brotherhood's sympathies are strongly with the people, and notices of National League meetings at Cappoquin were posted on their gates."

Police Protection.—On Sunday, April 29th, Mr. Wilfrid Blunt addressed a meeting at Woodford, and as the police did not interfere there was no disturbance. In the course of his speech, he related this interesting incident. "When he came

to Woodford two years ago," he said, "he called upon the widow of the man Finlay, and he found her guarded by police. She said that some of her neighbours shunned her, and she was uncomfortable in many ways in her position. He called upon her again this morning, as he was anxious to find out whether the circumstances, which had been made so much of by the Attorney-General, had any foundation in the present circumstances of Mrs. Finlay's living. He was glad to learn from her that from the moment that she had been relieved from police protection, fifteen months ago, she had absolutely nothing that she could complain of on the part of her neighbours, and not a single angry word had been spoken to her. This was a wonderful illustration of the way in which mischief was made in this country between neighbour and neighbour."

Control of the Police.—In the course of his Ulster visit, Mr. Chamberlain did good service by his declaration that there was no fear of religious persecution in Ireland. He has lately made a still more significant declaration, the exact terms of which it is well to record. Speaking, on April 16, in the debate on the second reading of the Local Government Bill, he said:—"There is, I know, one objection to my proposal on this point, which I do not like to pass over—namely, that if we give the control of the police to the county councils in England, we shall have to give it hereafter to Ireland. I say frankly that that is not a prospect that greatly alarms me. I am in favour of giving the control of the police to all popularly elected bodies, in Ireland, as well as in England, and I believe that the adoption of such a course would have a good effect. I believe that the responsibility which we should thereby throw upon the elected bodies would conduce to good order and to peace in Ireland. I do not say that we might not be compelled, perhaps, in the peculiar circumstances of Ireland, to come to have for a while an Imperial police in Ireland for Imperial purposes, but I am speaking now of police for purely municipal work, the control of which might safely be intrusted to local bodies both in Ireland and England." Mr. Chamberlain and his followers should be pinned to this declaration. If they are sincere in their belief that the Irish people cannot be trusted to govern themselves, then the suggestion that they should have control of their own police (though it be for purely municipal work) is simply immoral. Between control of the police and Home Rule there is no midway station.

An Incident in the Plan of Campaign.—One of the grounds on which the Plan of Campaign is denounced is that the tenants do not

enter into it voluntarily. As a general statement this is, of course, absurd. Unless the vast majority of the tenants joined heartily together, the Plan could never be worked. Addressing a meeting of the Ponsonby tenants after the issue of the circular from Rome, Mr. Lane ridiculed the notion that Canon Keller and Father Murphy could be parties to a system of extortion; and he mentioned this striking circumstance: "Was it not a fact," he said, "that about five or six months ago, when he (Mr. Lane) was last with them in the Town Hall at Youghal, in connection with the attempt to settle this matter, that they voluntarily offered to pay in another half-year's rent to the fund, less the reduction they were claiming from the beginning; and that he (Mr. Lane) said he did not want it?" Several tenants said such was the fact. Mr. Lane, continuing, said, "That was not like intimidation or extortion when the member of Parliament who was connected with the Plan of Campaign actually refused to take a second half year's rent on the ground which he had mentioned, that as long as there was a penny in the National exchequer so long they would not ask them to contribute another farthing towards the expense of the Plan of Campaign, and neither would they."

CRIMELESS IRELAND.

By MR. E. J. C. MORTON.

IN the April number of this JOURNAL there were published extracts from the charges of Judges to the Grand Juries at the Spring Assizes of this year in thirty-seven of the thirty-eight counties and counties of cities and towns in Ireland. In all but eight of these the charges at the Spring Assizes of last year were also given. From these charges it appears that Ireland is singularly free from serious crime.

Comparing the two years, we find that this year, under Coercion, there was a slight increase of crime in the counties of Westmeath and Wexford, as compared with last year, when the country was "under what is called "the ordinary law"; and there is no case in which crime is definitely alleged to have decreased, though in the counties of Clare, Cork, Kerry, Limerick, Mayo, South Tipperary, and Wexford, it is asserted that order and respect for the law is more prevalent this year than last. If, however, we bear in mind that nearly all the Judges of Ireland are notoriously partisan, and are bitter opponents of Home Rule and the National League, we may accept as probable that the "order" which they say has extended its reign in Ireland during the last year is of the same character as the "order" that has been established in Warsaw.

It is, however, still so constantly asserted by the so-called "Unionists" that Ireland needs coercion, and that crime is most prevalent where the League is strongest, that it is worth while to examine and expose these assertions.

The last year for which the Blue Books on criminal and judicial statistics for England and Wales and for Ireland is the year 1886; and the statistics for that year are particularly important, not only as being the latest obtainable, but also because that was one of the only two complete years since the passage of the Act of Union in which Ireland has been governed under the same law as England. It will, therefore, be instructive to compare the state of crime in Ireland with that in England for that year.

But what class of crime forms the test? We will accept the opinions expressed in the Blue Book itself. In the Irish Blue Book (p. 16) it is stated that "offences not disposed of summarily, constituting the more serious group of crimes, are somewhat more numerous than any of the three years immediately preceding, but show a decrease of 3,291 as compared with the year 1882; and the absolute number (7,315) of these offences and their ratio to the estimated population (150 per 1,000) are below the corresponding averages for the five years ending with 1881." And again (p. 21), referring to a summary of offences not dealt with summarily—that is, of indictable offences—"This statement shows that in 1886 the total number of serious crimes was much below the average for the preceding seven years."

From this it appears that the true test of "serious crime" is the number of indictable offences committed, and that the number of these offences was 150 per 10,000 of population in Ireland. The Blue Book for England and Wales nowhere states the proportion of indictable offences to population, but gives (p. x.) the population of England and Wales as 25,974,439; and (p. xv.) the number of indictable offences committed as 44,925; from which it appears that the number of these offences was 17.3 per 10,000 of population—that is, 2.3 per 10,000 of population more than in Ireland. Yet it is for Ireland alone that a Coercion Act has been passed.

But even these figures do not tell the whole tale. The only entry of cases of intimidation or threatening letters in England and Wales, is under the head of "Sending letters threatening to burn houses," and of the 44,925 indictable offences committed in England and Wales in 1886, there are entered under this head only two cases.

It is evident from this that no record is kept of threatening letters in England; indeed, the present writer himself received more than two threatening letters in 1886. But when we turn to the Irish statistics, of the 7,315 indictable offences committed in 1886, no less than 740 are entered

as "Intimidation by threatening letters, notices, or otherwise." This fact reduces the percentage of serious crime in favour of Ireland, or increases it as against England and Wales.

But a closer investigation brings out the crimelessness of Ireland in a still more striking light. If we examine the distribution of crime in England and Wales given in the Blue Book, we find there is no great concentration of crime anywhere sufficient to disturb, to any considerable extent, the proportion of crime to population, in any considerable district in England and Wales, so that the amount of crime per 10,000 of the population is nowhere very different from the 17·3 which we have already quoted as the amount for the whole country.

But when we turn to Ireland we are at once met with the striking fact that of the total crime in Ireland, amounting to 7,315 cases, no less than 3,350 occurred in the Dublin metropolitan district. What the cause of this may be does not appear on the surface, and we are not concerned here with entering into the elaborate discussion which must be necessary for its explanation; but at any rate, no one can contend that it is due to the action of the National League. The population of the Metropolitan Police District is less than one-twelfth of the whole of Ireland, and if we deduct the population and the crime of this district from the population and crime, respectively, of all Ireland, we find that in the rest of the country the crime amounts to 8·7 per 10,000 of the population, or about one-half of what it is for England and Wales.

And this proportion is not reduced to its small amount by "Protestant Ulster," for the crime in Belfast amounts to 19·7 per 10,000 of the population. As, however, if we exclude the metropolitan district, the whole population of Ireland is practically agricultural, it would be obviously unfair to include the great town population of Belfast; we have, therefore, omitted it altogether from the table given below. The effect of this may be to some extent indicated by the fact that if we include Belfast, the crime per 10,000 of the population in Antrim is 11·5, but if we exclude Belfast, it is 3·5.

It is important to ascertain, if possible, the cause of such crime as does exist in Ireland. There are only three causes that are commonly suggested, besides the obvious one of the terrible poverty of the people, which operates pretty uniformly over the whole country, but is perhaps most influential in Dublin. These three causes are the influence or weakness of the National League, the number of evictions, and the repression or excitement of crime by the police. It would be well, therefore, to estimate the strength of these three causes together with the

proportion of crime to population in each of the counties of Ireland.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to estimate the strength of the National League in each county numerically. No record is kept of the number of members of the League in each county at the central office, and the only way to ascertain it would be to write separately to each of the 19,000 branches of the League—a labour we have not yet found time to undertake. We have, however, been favoured with an account of the number of branches in each county; but this is obviously a very poor test, for the numbers of each branch, even in the country districts, varies from fifty to 1,000, but the numbers of evictions and of police can be more accurately ascertained.

In the following table the number of police per 10,000 of the population, for the year 1886, given in the third column, is taken from "Thom's Directory," for 1888:—

County.	Crimes	Evictions.	Police.
Antrim	4	7	11
Armagh	4	18	12
Carlow	5	15	24
Cavan	5	51	18
Clare	20	28	36
Cork	9	42	25
Donegal	3	37	24
Down	3	5	11
Dublin	5	8	32
Fermanagh... ...	6	46	18
Galway	12	37	37
Kerry	26	170	38
Kildare	8	7	25
Kilkenny	6	32	34
King's County ...	7	27	34
Leitrim	7	100	29
Limerick	16	32	40
Londonderry ...	8	13	14
Longford	12	34	31
Louth	5	5	26
Mayo	5	106	21
Meath	7	25	37
Monaghan	4	49	16
Queen's County...	9	42	28
Roscommon ...	6	93	28
Sligo	6	28	22
Tipperary	11	27	37
Tyrone	6	31	12
Waterford	8	27	31
Westmeath ...	14	34	44
Wexford	5	28	19
Wicklow	6	15	26

The population for each county has been

obtained by taking the mean of the population estimated for the 31st of December, 1885 and 1886, given in "Thom"; the number of crimes for each county has been taken from the Blue Book on criminal and judicial statistics for 1886, and the number of evictions in each county has been taken from the quarterly returns of evictions issued by Government. From these data, the numbers of crimes and of evictions, per 10,000 of the population in each county, has been calculated, and the nearest integers are given in the first and second columns of the table respectively. From these estimates the metropolitan police district, and the town of Belfast, have been excluded.

One fact is obvious from these numbers. It cannot possibly be maintained that the absence of crime is due to repression by the police, for wherever crime is great, there the police are numerous, and wherever crime is small, there the police are few. The most obvious explanation is that their number in any locality is the consequence of the prevalence of crime; it is not the cause of the absence of crime.

There remain the effects of the influence of evictions and of the National League to be taken into account. Now the average crime of the whole country is, in integers, 9 per 10,000 of the population. There are only seven counties that exceed that amount, and they are: Clare, Galway, Kerry, Limerick, Longford, Tipperary, and Westmeath. But the average they exceed is only about half the average crime for England and Wales. There are only two that exceed the average crime of England and Wales, namely, Clare and Kerry.

The average number of persons evicted per 10,000 in 1886 was 40. There were nine counties in which this number was exceeded: Cavan, Cork, Fermanagh, Kerry, Leitrim, Mayo, Monaghan, Queen's County, and Roscommon. In four it was far exceeded: Kerry with 170, Leitrim with 110, Mayo with 106, and Roscommon with 93. The next was Cavan with 51. These four, then, would seem to be the test counties.

Placing the two sets of figures side by side, we find that Kerry stands highest, in the proportion to population, both of evictions and crimes; but in the other three counties—Leitrim, Mayo, and Roscommon—though the proportion of evictions was high, the proportion of crime was low. Taking the remaining five counties in which the proportion of evictions was above the average, viz., Cavan, Cork, Fermanagh, Monaghan, and Queen's County—we find that in Cork and Queen's County the crime reached the average; while in Cavan, Fermanagh, and Monaghan it was below the average.

In Clare, again, where crime was very prevalent, the evictions, though numerous, did not

reach the average. But in the counties of Galway, Limerick, Longford, Tipperary, and Westmeath, though the crime was above the average for Ireland, it was below the average for England and Wales, and therefore, though the evictions were below the average, we can scarcely regard the evidence as significant.

The net result is that, though in the most extreme case evictions seem to have been a cause of crime, we cannot regard evictions alone as the determining cause of crime in the counties of Ireland in 1886.

Let us now turn to the influence of the National League. As we have said, it is impossible to express this in numbers. But there are five counties in which the League is notoriously weak. There are Antrim and Armagh, the home of Orangeism, and Clare, Kerry, and Limerick. Its weakness in the last three counties seems to be in great part due to the hostility of Dr. Higgins, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Kerry, and the indifference, if not hostility, of Dr. O'Dwyer, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Limerick. On the other hand, no one will dispute that the counties where the League is strongest are Cork, Galway, Leitrim, Mayo, Monaghan, Roscommon, Tipperary, Waterford, and Wexford. A glance at the table given above shows at once that the League cannot be, as is so often asserted, the cause of crime; for where crime is most prevalent there the League is weakest.

But, on the other hand, we cannot regard the weakness of the National League in any Irish county as the determining cause of the crime in that county; for though in Kerry, Clare, and Limerick, where the League is weak, crime is more prevalent than in any of the other counties of Ireland, yet in Antrim and Armagh, where the League is weak, there is practically no crime at all. Still it is a remarkable fact that in no single case where the League is strong is crime very prevalent. In Cork it is just the average for Ireland, in Galway and Tipperary it is a little above the average; in all the other six counties it is well below even the low average for Ireland.

The true explanation is to be found, if we consider the joint effect of evictions and the National League. It is this. Evictions form the main stimulus of Irish crime, the National League forms the main check; where, therefore, the League is strong crime is small, though the number of evictions may be great, as in Leitrim, Mayo, and Roscommon. Where evictions are few, crime is small, though the League may be weak; where evictions are numerous and the League is weak, crime is great, as in Kerry, Clare, and Limerick.

We may seem to have built too large a theory upon the statistics of a single year, and it may be

said that we ought to have analysed the various classes of crime in order to demonstrate the full meaning of our statistics. However this may be, there is one broad fact which no analysis can explain away, and no criticism can refute: that in the last year for which trustworthy statistics can be obtained, when crime was neither stimulated nor repressed by Coercion, the number of "serious crimes" committed in Ireland was 15 per 10,000 of the population, while in England and Wales it was over 17.

THE RECORD OF COERCION.

So far as mere numbers go, the coercion record for the four weeks from March 21st to April 17th presents no very remarkable results. The total amounts to 111, 43 of which were dismissed, as against 153, of which 35 were dismissed during the previous four weeks. It should be noticed, however, that the struggle between Government and people, which these numbers register, rages this month more closely than ever round the question of the right of public meeting. No less than 72 cases out of the 111 come under this head. Of these, 15 only have reference to conflicts between the police and people, while 14 offences lie in attending meetings of that "thing of the past," the suppressed branches of the League, and the remainder are demonstrations of sympathy with coercion prisoners and the like. These latter cases were, however, dismissed, with the notable exception of 10 at Carrick-on-Shannon, in which the persons were charged with "unlawful assembly." This, on examination, turned out to have consisted in *groaning for Mr. Balfour*, and a local removable of the name of Joyce. Mr. Henry Turner, R.M., on cross-examination, said that "Carrick-on-Shannon is the quietest town I was ever in during my life." Nevertheless Mr. Beckett, the presiding removable, informed the defendants that they were *liable to six months' imprisonment*, but that he would let them off with a *fortnight*. The hardened offenders expressed their sense of this kindness by hearty cheers for William O'Brien, and a chorus of "God save Ireland."

All the magistrates are not so lenient. At Newmarket, on April 6th, Father Kennedy and ten others were sentenced to three months' imprisonment for attending the meeting of a suppressed branch, and three men at Kanturk were sentenced for twice that period. It must be admitted, however, that it is a much greater offence against the Government to disprove Mr. Balfour's statement, as to the recent sudden death of the National League, than it is merely to give him a groan or two.

The following is a summary of the number of cases per week:—

Prosecutions for week ending—

Mar. 27	...	...	14:	I dismissed,
April 3	...	...	13:	2 "
" 10	...	...	49:	17 "
" 17	...	...	35:	23 "

As regards the quality of the alleged offences, our analysis yields the following result:—

Class I.—Agrarian cases	...	6:	5 dismissed, bail, or withdrawn
II.—Public meeting cases, &c.	...	72:	35 dismissed
III.—Incitement cases (all agrarian)	...	5:	0 "
IV.—Boycotting cases, &c.	26:	3 "	
VI.—"Star Chamber" cases	...	1:	0 "
Arms in proclaimed district	...	1:	0 "

Total 111: 43 "

This brings the total number of cases up to 883, on April 17th.

The large number of 20 appeals were heard in the same period of four weeks. In 10 of these the sentences were confirmed, 8 were reduced, and in 2 the county court judge took the extraordinary, if not absolutely unprecedented, course of *increasing them from 6 weeks to 3 and 4 months respectively*. This occurred in Galway, on April 16th, and the appellants, Mr. J. Kilmartin and Mr. T. N. Coffey, had been guilty of that worst of all offences in Tory eyes—they had incited tenants to defend themselves and their neighbours from injustice, by joining the Plan of Campaign.

So foreign to English principles of justice is this procedure that on inquiry in the House of Commons on Monday night, the 23rd ult., neither the English Home Secretary, the Scotch Lord Advocate, the Irish Solicitor-General, nor any one else, could quote a single previous instance from any part of the United Kingdom in which a sentence had been increased on appeal. As an example of Tory Constitutionalism, this is instructive. But it is instructive in a much more curious and practical way when we note, in its light, the odd coincidence that the happy inspiration of preventing appeals by the "awful warning" of increased sentences, which occurred to Judge Henn in Galway on the 16th, occurred also to Judge Webb in Donegal on the 19th; and to another county court judge at Ennis. Mr. Blane, M.P., on appeal had his sentence increased from four months to six, and Father McFadden's sentence of three months was doubled by Judge Webb. As in the Galway cases the offence was in citemet to join the Plan of Campaign. In Ennis, three persons on the 19th, and one on the 21st, had their sentences increased from three months

to six. It is odd that three county court judges should simultaneously have been moved to do an unprecedented thing, in blank opposition to the spirit of the law which gives an appeal to the prisoner but none to the Crown. It is so odd that one cannot but suspect some moving agent common to the legal consciences of the three.

After this it is pleasant to contemplate Judge Waters, at Waterford, exercising his independence as well as his judgment, by reversing Mr. Pyne's sentence of three months brought up from the court below. This is the first definite instance of a successful appeal from the decision of the Crimes Act Courts.

DIARY OF THE MOVEMENT.

March 28.—Numerously signed protest of West Riding Nonconformist ministers against the Irish policy of the Government.—The Irish Parliamentary Fund Association of New York decide to forward the sum of 10,000 dollars to Mr. Parnell.

March 30.—Mr. Gilhooly charged with assaulting Inspector Hayes. The accused said he only acted in self-defence, and called a dozen witnesses, including two Catholic clergy, in support; but he was convicted and sentenced to fourteen days' imprisonment without hard labour.

March 31.—Complaint of H. P. Snelling, London Home Rule delegate, that on his appeal against his second sentence of six months, his diet was changed from the third to the lowest class, and he was placed on a plank bed.

April 2.—Mr. William O'Brien addresses an enormous gathering of his constituents at Mitchelstown, the authorities applying to Mr. O'Brien for a Government note-taker to be allowed on the platform.

April 3.—Mr. W. O'Brien made a patron of the Gaelic Athletic Association.—Mr. W. S. Caine thinks that, before 1890, it may be "safe and possible" to extend the benefits of the Local Government Scheme to Ireland.

April 4.—Mr. John Morley criticizes the Government's Irish policy at Newcastle.—Mr. D. Sheehy liberated from Sligo Gaol.—Mr. W. Abraham elected Chairman of Limerick Board of Guardians by a unanimous vote. Mr. Abraham is a Protestant, and the majority of the members are Catholics.

April 5.—Exasperated by the recent elections to the Birmingham Liberal Association, Mr. Chamberlain and his friends determine to found a new dissentient caucus.—Timothy Murray, news-agent, of Midleton, near Cork, aged sixty, sentenced to fourteen days' imprisonment for

displaying a copy of the Plan of Campaign in his shop window.

April 6.—Rev. M. B. Kennedy, of Meelin, and twelve farmers of the neighbourhood sentenced, on the evidence of Sergeant Lynch, to three months' imprisonment for having attended a meeting of the National League. A case was stated for the Court of Exchequer, and the defendants were released on bail.—Sergeant Hoban fined £5 for assaulting a man in custody.

April 7.—Meeting of the Irish National League at Loughrea, Kilrush, Ennis, and Kanturk, Messrs. W. O'Brien, Michael Davitt, John O'Connor, T. M. Healy, J. E. Redmond, Condon, Crilly, &c., being among the leaders present. At Loughrea Mr. O'Brien spoke, and there was little disturbance. At Kilrush the police and military charged the people, many of whom were wounded. At Ennis the police made an unprovoked attack on a corn store, in which an informal meeting was held, and the people were sabred by hussars. Orderly meetings, attended by large numbers, were held at Miltown-Malbay and at Tullyallen, county Louth, where Mr. Dillon advised the people to adopt the Plan of Campaign.

April 9.—Liberals of East Birmingham protest against Government tyranny in Ireland, and resolve to contest Matthews's seat.—Messrs. F. Powell, and R. Tangye, of the Birmingham Liberal Association, state that Mr. Chamberlain's assertions respecting the packing of the recent meetings of the Association are absolutely false.—Mr. Balfour said in the House of Commons that persons like Irwin, R.M., could hold at the same time judicial and political positions.—The resolution for making provision for King-Harman's salary carried in the House by 184 to 109.

April 10.—Lord Salisbury at Carnarvon thought "they could congratulate themselves on the state of matters now existing in Ireland."—Determined resistance to eviction on the estate of Mr. Glasscott, at Whitechurch, county Wexford.—Appeal of Mr. P. J. O'Brien, M.P., against the decision of Goresbridge magistrates dismissed by Judge De Moleyns at Thomastown Quarter Sessions. Mr. O'Brien to be imprisoned three months as a first-class misdemeanant.—It is announced at Birmingham that twenty members have left the "400," and eight have left the "2,000," as the result of Mr. Chamberlain's exhortation to "come out."—Mr. W. H. Smith stated in the House of Commons that "there will be no indisposition to extend to Ireland an improved system of local government when it is made clear that the people are prepared to receive and work it in a spirit of loyalty to the Crown and constitution."—Mr. Balfour said that he had not seen the report that the correspondent of the *Irish Times* was wounded by the soldiery at Ennis; and he

subsequently stated that all unnecessary attacks (by the police) are illegal.

April 11.—In a speech at the National Liberal Club, Mr. Gladstone accused the Government and their supporters of breaking their election pledges by their denial to Ireland of the benefits of the Local Government Bill.—Mr. A. J. Balfour entertained at a banquet of the National Conservative Union: he indulged in many pleasantries with regard to Ireland.—The National Liberal Federation passed a resolution that Ireland should be included in the Local Government Bill.—Protest against Irish Coercion by Nonconformist Ministers of Portsmouth, Bedfordshire, and the Spalding district:—Mr. Blane's measure for the relief of agricultural tenants in Ireland rejected by the House of Commons by 247 to 190.

April 12.—Mr. Parnell moves the adjournment of the House, for the purpose of discussing the attack made by police and military on the people at Ennis. Speeches by Messrs. Parnell, Gladstone, O'Brien, Healy, Dillon, Morley, Balfour, and Sir G. Trevelyan. Balfour, relying solely on official statements, said that "the police had acted with rare judgment and self-control." Motion rejected by 249 to 179.

April 13.—Protest against Irish Coercion by the Congregational and Baptist Ministers of Hertfordshire.—Dr. Murphy, of Dublin, denies the truthfulness of Mr. Balfour's statement respecting the condition of the *Irish Times* reporter who was wounded by the Hussars at Ennis.—Mr. Gilhooley released from Cork Gaol and met by a great body of the people and clergy.

April 14.—Protest against Irish Coercion from Nonconformist Ministers of Bedfordshire.—Mr. William O'Brien arrested at Kingston for having taken part in, and incited other persons to take part in, an illegal assembly. He was conveyed to Loughrea, charged before the R.M., and admitted to bail.

April 16.—Stinging rebuke of the Midlothian Unionists by Mr. Gladstone published.—Appeal of Messrs. Coffey, Kilmartin, and Higgins, from R. M. decisions, heard before County-court Judge Henn. The sentence on the last-named confirmed; those on the two former increased.—Soldiers of the Derbyshire Regiment cause disturbances in Limerick.

April 17.—Mr. John Dillon arrested at Dublin, conveyed to Drogheda, charged before Kilkelly, R.M., and remanded on bail.—Evictions carried out at Herbertstown by the aid of eighty armed police.—F. A. O'Keefe elected without opposition M.P. for Limerick.

April 18.—Five prisoners, who had been committed for cheering for Wilfrid Blunt, released from Galway Gaol. When near Athenry the procession escorting them attacked by the police with batons.

April 19.—Trial of William O'Brien commenced at Loughrea. At Letterkenny County-court Judge Webb gave judgment in the appeals of Mr. Blane and Fathers McFadden and Stephens. Mr. Blane's sentence increased from three to six months, and in the other instances the judgment below confirmed. Mr. Dillon spoke at Letterkenny about the proceedings in court, and said "a more downright scene of ruffianism he had never witnessed."—Appeals of Hynes, Collins, and O'Brien, of Miltown Malbay, against sentence of three months for refusing to supply necessities to a boycotted person, heard at Ennis before County-court Judge Hickson. Sentence in each case increased to six months with hard labour.

April 20.—Mr. J. Morley addresses a great meeting at Rawtenstall, to help on the campaign against Lord Hartington.—Sentences on Mr. J. R. Cox and Mr. Snelling (the English Home Rule delegate) reduced to one month each by County-court Judge Hickson at Ennis.—Mr. Gilhooley sentenced at Skibbereen to two weeks' imprisonment.—Colonel Turner under cross-examination by Mr. Harrington at Ennis.

April 21.—A force of police scoured the streets of Skibbereen, and batoned men, women, and children indiscriminately.—Sentence of three months' imprisonment on Patrick Ferriter for selling *United Ireland* confirmed.—Sentence of six weeks' imprisonment on Mr. Pyne, M.P., confirmed at Clonmel Quarter Sessions.

April 22.—Great demonstration at Fermoy addressed by Mr. William O'Brien, who showed the success of the Plan of Campaign against Lord Dunsandie.

April 23.—Mr. Condon, M.P., arrested and charged at Fermoy with taking part in a "criminal conspiracy," by advising the people not to pay the Leahy tax, and with taking part in an unlawful assembly. Admitted to bail.—Mr. James Halpin, of Ennis, sentenced to three months' imprisonment for taking part in an illegal assembly. He gave notice of appeal, and was admitted to bail.—A labourer at Fermoy sentenced to fourteen days imprisonment for refusing to deliver coals at the police barrack.—The Solicitor-General for Ireland, when asked if he knew of cases in which the sentence appealed against was increased on appeal, took refuge in prevarication and pleas of ignorance.—At Tralee, before Roche and Massey, R.M.'s, Timothy Sullivan charged under Peace Preservation Act with having a bullet in his possession. Three months hard labour.

April 24.—Mr. Justin McCarthy moved the adjournment of the house to discuss the new practice of increasing sentences on appeal under the Coercion Act. Sir W. Harcourt charged the Chief Secretary with "deliberate bad faith," to which Mr. Balfour attempted to reply. A great

speech from Mr. Gladstone followed, and, after further discussion, the motion was rejected by 219 to 165.—County-court Judge Waters quashed the conviction of Mr. J. Douglas Pyne under the Coercion Act.—Mr. Wilfrid Blunt spoke at the fortnightly meeting in Dublin of the Irish National League, and was announced as the Nationalist candidate for the Stephen's Green Division of Dublin.—Mr. John Dillon invited to contest East Manchester against Mr. A. J. Balfour.

April 25.—Mr. Carew moved in the House of Commons the second reading of the County Government Bill, which was supported by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. J. Morley, and opposed by Mr. Balfour, Sir C. Lewis, Col. Waring, and Mr. J. Chamberlain. Lord Randolph Churchill delivered a striking speech, in which he vigorously condemned the Tory and Unionist parties for being false to their election pledges with respect to equal laws and equal self government for England and Ireland. An amendment by Mr. Smith-Barry, declaring the inexpediency of constitutional change in Ireland carried by 282 to 195.

April 27.—Election of Mr. J. W. Philipps for Mid-Lanark, with increased Liberal majority, in spite of the division caused by the Labour candidate.

April 28.—Circular from the Pope to the Bishops of Ireland, disapproving of the Plan of Campaign and boycotting.

April 30.—King-Harman Payment of Wages Bill passed second reading by majority of only 49.—Blunt Defence Fund closed, having reached total of £1,365.

LITERATURE.

A Diary of Coercion. By T. HARRINGTON, M.P. (Dublin: *Nation* Office.)

A GOOD political pamphlet is so rare a thing that when it comes no opportunity should be lost of making it widely known. Therefore not only do we commend to our readers Mr. T. Harrington's "Diary of Coercion," but we appeal to them to do whatever they can in helping to spread it broadcast. It is a simple list of the cases tried under the Crimes Act from 17th August, 1887, to 16th March, 1888, with brief explanations, and with extracts from the newspaper reports of the trials. Anything more persuasive than this shameful record of misrule can hardly be imagined. People sneer at the rhetoric of Irish and English Home Rulers. They display a most laudable desire for facts. Well, here they have facts, and when they have studied the facts, they will find (we speak of honest, open-minded men and women, who really care to know

the truth) that what they have hitherto called mere rhetoric is the natural expression of indignation excited by a national disgrace. Let us quote one case. Six men were tried by Mr. Eaton and Captain Seagrave at Kanturk, for taking part in a criminal conspiracy to compel and induce shopkeepers not to deal with Mr. Leader, a local landlord; and three were sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment. The following is Mr. Harrington's note:—

"Mr. Leader, a landlord on whose estate the Plan of Campaign had been adopted, selected the prominent members of the National League for imprisonment. He swore at the trial that he had never before dealt with these men, and that he could get the goods elsewhere in the town. The following passage from the *Cork Examiner's* report of the trial is illustrative of the manner in which the Coercion Act is worked for the private uses of the landlords:—

"Mr. Sullivan (counsel for the defence) to Mr. Leader—'I put it to you on your oath, why did you go to these men whose doors you never darkened before?'

"Witness—'I knew they were the most hostile people in the town, and that is why I went.'

"Did you expect you would be supplied? 'I was sure I should not be served.'

"Knowing you would not be served, why did you go if it was not for the purpose of getting up a prosecution against these men? (Considerable hesitation.)

"Can you answer? 'I do not deny that I wanted to get up a prosecution.'

"Did you communicate to any person your intention of going there that day? (The witness paused and did not reply.)

The question was repeated, and the answer was, 'I did.'

"Knowing you would be refused? 'Yes.'

"Yet, after these admissions, the magistrates convicted, and their decision was upheld on appeal to the county court judge."

And this sort of thing is going on in Ireland every day. It will continue until the English people begin to realise what it means. Facts! We are eager to have facts instead of rhetoric. And so we recommend this "Diary of Coercion," believing it to be more potent than many speeches.

The New British Constitution and its Master-Builders. By the DUKE OF ARGYLL. (Edinburgh: Douglas).

It is always well to listen to what our opponents have to say. Perhaps it is a counsel of perfection to say that one ought to read the Duke of Argyll's books, but even from him something may be learned. The Duke is a very remarkable person, if person we may presume to call him. Other

men seek knowledge; he has found it. Other men are groping specialists; he moves in an atmosphere of omniscience. Whether he is teaching science to Professor Huxley, or politics to Mr. Gladstone, the Duke of Argyll is always and above everything a superior person. So we have turned to his account of the *New British Constitution* in order to see the Irish question from the superior person's point of view. We have found, however, that this point of view is at such a distance from the facts to be surveyed that nothing can be clearly discerned; and, looking through a misty atmosphere, the Duke may be pardoned if he mistakes Mr. Gladstone for an ogre devouring the constitution, and Mr. Parnell for the chief of a band of cut-throats. He has nothing to tell us but this: that the constitution is a very sacred thing, that Mr. Gladstone has laid sacrilegious hands upon it, and that Liberal Unionists do not deserve to be called Liberal Dissentients. A frank coercionist we can understand, and in a manner respect, but this mere word-spinning, in face of a question so grave, fills the mind with a sense of dreariness. It shows that there are still persons, even superior persons, who do not yet realise what the Irish question is. The mass of ignorance, prejudice, and vanity here revealed reminds us Home Rulers that we have still, to use Mr. Biglow's words, "a darned long row to hoe."

Among recent pamphlets we may mention:—
Local and Centralised Government in Ireland.

By W. F. BAILEY. (Cassell & Co.)

It contains in a short compass by far the best account of the Irish system of government which we have met with. It is full of information, and, so far as we have tested it, we have found it accurate.

Village Home Rule or Self-Government in our Rural Districts. (National Press Agency.)

In this pamphlet Dr. Summerhayes describes some of the essential features of a reformed system.

THE SHAN VAN VOCHT.*

(*New Version.*)

THERE'S a whisper on the breeze,
Says the *shan van vocht*,
Coming soft across the seas,
Says the *shan van vocht*;

* The "shan van vocht" means the "poor old woman," and was used as a name for Ireland in 1797-8 to which period the original version of this ballad, and probably its well-known tune belongs.

Sure, it says to you and me—
Oh, my children, can it be?—
That ere long we shall be free,
Says the *shan van vocht*.

Chorus: Sure, it says to you and me, &c.

Not a hundred years ago,
Says the *shan van vocht*,
Our one hope was England's woe,
Says the *shan van vocht*,
That swift vengeance we might wreak
On a foe by war made weak,
In her ill our good to seek,
Says the *shan van vocht*.

Chorus: That just vengeance we might wreak, &c.

Now, the message is of peace,
Says the *shan van vocht*,
That sore strife and woe shall cease,
Says the *shan van vocht*.
'Tis our ancient enemy
Speaks across the narrow sea,
And she swears we shall be free,
Says the *shan van vocht*.

Chorus: 'Tis our ancient enemy, &c.

And the "old House on the Green,"
Says the *shan van vocht*,
Will again be open seen,
Says the *shan van vocht*.
And our leaders will be there—
Oh, 'twill be a sight so fair—
While all Ireland breathes a prayer
For the *shan van vocht*.

Chorus: And "our boys" they will be there, &c.

All—yes, Saxon, Celt, and Dane,
Says the *shan van vocht*,
I have loved each, not in vain,
Says the *shan van vocht*.
'Tis one Ireland we shall be,
From the centre to the sea,
Then, for Parnell three times three,
Says the *shan van vocht*.

Chorus:

Yes, one Ireland we shall be,
From the centre to the sea,
Then, for Gladstone three times three,
Says the *shan van vocht*. S. B.

"Of the kingdom of Ireland I have been informed by many that have had judicial places there, and partly of my own knowledge, that there is no nation in the Christian world that are greater lovers of justice than they are; which virtue must be accompanied by many others."

—Sir E. Coke.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

A MEETING of the Executive Committee was held on the 17th of April. The attendance included Mr. G. P. Macdonell (who presided), Mrs. Beesly, Mrs. Bryant, Miss Monck, Messrs. Walford, Heald, Eve, Clarke, Morton, Spalding, Dr. O'Connor, and the Hon. Secs.

It was stated that Mr. Coldstream, of Edinburgh, had made a grant of 400 pamphlets to the Union, and that the Rev. Rage Hoppes had also promised to give some leaflets to the value of £1. It appeared from the report of the Hon. Secs. that the JOURNAL had been most favourably received, and might be considered a success; and a sub-committee was appointed to deal with matters relating to advertisements.

The Committee next had under its consideration the arrest of Mr. William O'Brien; and the following resolution, proposed by Mr. Lough and seconded by Mr. Martin Edmunds, was unanimously carried:—"That this meeting of the Executive Committee of the Home Rule Union indignantly protests against the re-arrest of Mr. William O'Brien and the arbitrary suppression of public meetings and the right of free speech in Ireland; and calls upon the leaders of the Liberal Party in the House of Commons to withhold all facilities from the Government until the Crimes Act is more humanely administered and the Members of Parliament are released." It was further resolved, that copies of the foregoing resolution should be sent to the following gentlemen:—Earl Granville, Lord Houghton, Mr. Gladstone, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. J. Morley, Sir G. Trevelyan, Mr. J. Stansfeld, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Dillon, and Mr. O'Brien.

A letter was next read from the Metropolitan Radical Federation inviting the Home Rule Union to send three representatives to a meeting, to be held on April 18, for the purpose of considering what steps should be taken to assert the right of public meeting in Trafalgar Square; and Mr. Martin Edmunds, Professor Stuart, and Mr. William Clarke were selected to represent the Union at the meeting.

The affiliation to the Home Rule Union of the following bodies was sanctioned:—The Castle Ward Women's Liberal Association, Nottingham; the Hendon Liberal and Radical Association, Hendon; the Women's Liberal Association, Chesterfield Division, Derbyshire; the East Somersetshire Liberal Association, Somerset; the Strand Women's Liberal Association; and the West Southwark Liberal and Radical Association.

A letter was read from Lord Brassey, who consented to become a Vice-President of the Home Rule Union.

After transacting other business of a routine nature the Committee adjourned till May 8.

SUBSCRIPTIONS RECEIVED SINCE LAST ISSUE.

Adams, Adam	...	...	...	£1	0	0
Ager, R. Stride	...	...	...	0	5	0
Ashby, J. J.P.	...	...	...	0	18	6
Bateson, Miss Edith	...	...	...	0	10	0
Beesly, Mrs.	...	...	...	1	0	0
Blake, W. F.	...	...	...	1	1	0
Brightman, E. W.	...	.	...	0	10	0
Buss, Mrs. Septimus	...	...	...	1	1	0
Cobbold, Rev. R. F.	...	...	...	0	10	6
Coldstream, John P. (Literature)	...	...	...	1	5	0
Comforth, W.	...	...	...	0	10	0
Cotton, Mrs.	...	...	...	1	1	0
Cowen, Mrs.	...	...	...	0	5	0
Estlin, Miss	...	...	...	5	0	0
Hagemann, Miss	...	...	...	0	5	0
Hale, Jas.	...	...	...	0	5	0
Hamilton, Fred H.	...	...	...	3	0	0
Hanson, Miss Fanny	...	...	...	0	5	0
Harwoods, Miss	...	...	...	0	10	0
Heath, C. A.	...	...	...	0	5	0
Hill, Mrs. Birkbeck	...	...	...	0	5	0
Holmes, Henry	...	...	...	1	1	0
Holmes, Mrs. Henry	...	...	...	1	1	0
Hopps, Rev. J. Page (Literature)	...	...	...	1	0	0
Littleboy, C. W.	...	...	...	1	1	0
Kitchin, Mrs.	...	...	...	0	5	0
Luttrell, H. L.	...	...	...	1	0	0
MacAlister, Donald	...	...	...	1	0	0
Macintosh, A.	...	...	...	0	5	0
Martineau, Miss L. E.	...	...	...	0	10	0
Nodal, T. H.	...	...	...	0	5	0
Norton, J. R.	...	...	...	0	10	0
Overton, J. W.	...	...	...	0	5	0
Peterson, A. F.	...	...	...	10	0	0
Prentice, Miss	...	...	...	0	5	0
Roberts, W.	...	...	...	0	5	0
Shaw, C. Knox	...	...	...	0	10	6
Smith, Harry	...	...	...	0	5	0
Smith, Mrs. Shore	...	...	...	0	5	0
Smithson, Mrs.	...	...	...	1	0	0
Summerhayes, Dr.	...	...	...	1	0	0
Tisdale, Miss E.	...	...	...	0	5	0
Turle, Miss	...	...	...	0	10	0
Wiebbe, Miss	...	...	...	0	5	0
Williams, Miss	...	...	...	1	1	0
Wood, Rev. Canon	...	...	...	0	5	0

In the list of subscriptions published in the Supplement to last month's JOURNAL, Morton Small should have been Morton Smale; A Friend, A Friend, per J. R. Turle; Mrs. Harvey, Mrs. Harvey Orrinsmith; Miss Georgina Williams, Miss Gwynne.

Subscriptions to the Home Rule Union should be sent to the Hon. Secretaries, 116, Palace Chambers, Westminster. Annual Subscribers of Five Shillings and upwards to the Home Rule Union will receive the Monthly Journal free.

JOURNAL OF THE HOME RULE UNION.

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* * * Communications, &c., relating to the supply of the JOURNAL should be addressed to the Hon. Treasurer; other communications to the Editor of the JOURNAL, 17 & 18, Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, Westminster.

GOVERNMENT BY BOGEY.

BY J. ALLANSON PICTON, M.P.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, at Croydon, satirised with much incisive humour "the old political weapon" of "bogeyism." He showed how Mr. Bright, Mr. Chamberlain, and even Mr. Jesse Collings had been made available for terrorising the Tory nursery of political innocents, and how the memory of those objects of horror had paled before the grand old bogey, whose name now accentuates the crack of the Tory whip. But there is another and a more serious side to the theme. For government by bogey has been long condemned in the nursery, because it sacrifices the higher ends of education to momentary con-

venience; because it tends to produce cowardice, insincerity, distrust, and all manner of demoralization. We maintain that its effects are closely analogous when it is applied to the political education of a people. Democracy, in any full and adequate sense of the term, is so young, so unformed, so capable of development either way, towards infinite good or infinite evil, that it demands precisely the same sort of tender reverence which Juvenal claimed for the child. And, therefore, those who see that popular political education is as much the need of the nineteenth century as religious reformation was of the sixteenth, or as the emancipation of Parliament was of the seventeenth, may well watch with disgust the appeals made by coercionists to fears which they know in their inmost consciousness to be just as unreal, as impossible, as ridiculous as the "black man" or bogey of the vulgar nurse.

What are these terrors to which they appeal? They are the fear that Home Rule means "disintegration"; that it means the legalisation of social tyranny, religious persecution, plunder, and murder in Ireland. They used to say that "Home Rule means Rome Rule." But after their pusillanimous shrieks of joy at the recent rescript of the Pope, which in their view—and only in their view—consigned the National Leaguer to hell after the plank bed, they will have to relegate this particular bogey to villages innocent of newspapers. What is it then that makes "disintegration" impossible now? It is

physical force ; nothing else. But if the Irish had a statutory Parliament of their own, how would that diminish our physical force ? Let any one point out in Mr. Gladstone's Bill for the better government of Ireland a single line which diminishes imperial control of military and naval forces, or lessens the discretion of the Crown as to the number of troops to be stationed there. The one and only power that now avails to keep Ireland bound to us would be precisely as strong, or might even be made stronger than now. But, at the same time, the disintegrating influence of discontent would be removed, or at least would be lessened. Now, if you keep the binding force the same, and lessen the severing force, it stands to common sense that you make the union of the two nations stronger, not weaker. The fears about social tyranny, plunder, and all the rest of it, are just as ridiculous. The experience of Picardy in France, and of the Southern States in America, shows that social disorders of this kind can never be put down, except by removing their causes. And in Ireland the causes cannot be removed, except by a native Parliament and Home Rule. It is very hard to credit coercionists with any sincere belief that landowners like Mr. Parnell, Sir Thomas Esmonde, Sir Joseph Mackenna, Mr. Vincent Scully, and others, are likely to favour a policy of confiscation. But the pretence does very well for a bogey to frighten our squires and capitalists.

For this system of government by bogey we are already paying dear, and are likely to pay dearer still. Politicians with whom temper and vindictiveness count for more than policy may be unmoved by Mr. Gladstone's catalogue of the risks chanced "against an old man's life." But surely amongst the rank and file, whose votes, after all, are the deciding force, there must be many who find a retrograde budget, the discouragement of commerce with France, and worrying

taxes on trade, to be rather a heavy insurance to pay for protection against unreal dangers, which statesmen like Lord Spencer and Lord Ripon declare to have no existence. Unequal death duties, however, and buried industries are not the only, nor perhaps the most serious, consequences of our political demoralization. Men, no less than children, who are victimised by one superstitious terror become an easy prey to others. Foolish fear is not conducive to "straight thinking." Like the nursery bogey, it engenders habits of cowardice, insincerity and distrust. The terror which, if boldly faced, turns out to be an empty shadow, may drive the coward over a precipice or into the flood. Heaven forbid that this should be our national fate ; but it is to a catastrophe of this kind that government by bogey may very easily bring us.

It would seem to be the *ne plus ultra* of irrationality that the very men who insist on governing Ireland by a system that locks up thirty thousand troops there, should dare to play with the fire of international jealousies in Europe. Yet that is what they are doing, by whatever diplomatic forms they may disguise their impolicy. They call Ireland rebellious ; they persist in keeping her rebellious by a treatment which never has had, and never can have, any other effect. And then, with a rebellious province flanking the citadel of the empire, naturally and justly ready to welcome any aid that will deliver her from a barbarous and intolerable yoke, they proceed to irritate France, to heap insult on Russia, to treat Constantinople as under a British protectorate, and to stake the blood and life of the empire on the maintenance of an imaginary boundary across an inaccessible Asiatic desert. It may not be this year that the heavy war cloud bursts over Europe. But its portentous weight can hardly be conjured away now by any atmospheric change. As men and women,

to whom nothing human is alien, we must look forward to such a peril with aching hearts and eager sympathy for all sufferers. But geographical position, the needs of a growing democracy, the independence assured to us by a world-wide confederation of blood, if not of policy, all point to absolute neutrality as our duty, equally with our interest. A glance at the political balance of parties at home will prove that the Home Rulers show an enormous preponderance in favour of this wise and righteous feeling; while on the other hand the coercionists, whether Tory, Whig, or so-called Radicals, are almost to a man tainted with Jingoism. The cowardice that is terrified by the bogey of separation in Ireland, also goes into hysterics about British interests in Bulgaria. Should government by bogey involve us in a European war, the Nemesis of our wickedness in Ireland will be one of the most terrible portents in history.

THE WORKING CLASSES AND IRELAND.

BY MISS FANNY HANSON (Bradford).

Is the Home Rule cause really progressing? Are we making any impression on this apathetic people? Is it indeed possible to rouse the enthusiasm of the working classes for any cause which does not touch their own interests directly? These questions are constantly asked by the friends of Home Rule, and often in a despairing tone, which seems to imply that the true answer must be in the negative. Such, however, is not the impression made upon me during the short time that I have worked for the Irish cause.

It is a certain fact that our strength lies in the working classes. On them we must depend for our main support. The consideration of their capacity for enthusiasm in a right cause for its own sake is, therefore, a most important one for us. One of the great merits of the Irish question is that it tests them on this point, and in my opinion they have stood the test well.

It is not surprising that working men and women should have been ignorant of Irish history, of the cruel oppression and constant mistakes which have marked our government of Ireland. Such ignorance, till lately, was almost universal. How many fairly educated persons had realised

the horrors of the penal code, or had reflected on the long injustice which lay at the root of agrarian discontent? Few indeed. Much less, therefore, could we have expected sound knowledge in these subjects from the masses of the people. So long as this state of ignorance continued it was impossible to remove the prejudice against Ireland and the Irish which prevailed among us, and which led us to find the causes of Irish poverty and discontent in defects of race and character. This prejudice was, no doubt, increased by the over-crowding of the English labour market, which followed the famine of 1847; and, unfortunately, the ordinary Englishman was tempted to form wrong ideas of the Irish people from the character and condition of the unhappy immigrants thus suddenly thrown into a strange land. No account was taken of their unfortunate position—of the effect likely to follow a sudden removal from a simple rural life to the temptations and degradations of a large town. Mr. A. M. Sullivan, in *New Ireland*, speaks touchingly of the pain it caused him to see his compatriots in England losing their primitive virtues — their simple hospitality, their native courtesy and kindness—and degenerating among their new surroundings. These people were the only Irish known to the English working-man. How difficult a task it must have been to create enthusiasm for a people and a country so little known and so much misunderstood! When this is taken into consideration, it must be acknowledged that the progress made has been wonderfully rapid, especially among the members of that class most strongly prejudiced against the Irish.

In the north of England, at least, I believe, our progress has been more decided than we could have expected. There, working men and women are deeply interested in the cause of justice. But the question, of course, is—how do they show their interest? Is their work practical? I believe it is. In the first place I have been much struck by their eagerness to learn. They understand that knowledge is what they want, and they are never weary of receiving information about Ireland. They are thirsting for instruction, demanding facts rather than fine speeches. A short time after the course of Home Rule lectures had been delivered in Bradford last year, a working man observed to a Liberal in the town that it was quite time another meeting was held. "What kind of meeting?" he was asked. "Irish, of course!" was the reply. The same man testified to the wonderful transformation that had taken place in the feelings of his fellow-workers towards Ireland. In factory and workshop a revolution had been accomplished. The old feelings, whether of distrust, dislike, hatred, or at best indifference, had disappeared before the terrible facts that had been placed before

them. He declared they welcomed nothing so much as new information on the question. The spread of Home Rule literature is an important item. At one of our small meetings we disposed of fifty copies of the "Hand-book of Home Rule," and it is unlikely that a working man or woman will pay ninepence for a book and then leave it unread.

In the second place our workers are anxious to make use of the information they get, and by means of it to strengthen the wavering and convert the faithless. A cheering story of a woman's efforts in this direction was told to me not long ago. She lived with her brother, with whom she was accustomed to discuss political questions. Both were Home Rulers, the sister being a member of the Women's Liberal Association. One evening the young man came home late, after spending some hours with a Unionist friend, who had been plying him with arguments on his own side. He returned with his faith rather shaken, for being a busy man he had had little time to read or gather information on the question. Finding his sister had gone to bed, he knocked at her door to bid her good-night, and added, "I have been talking over Home Rule with Smith, and I really think those Unionists have a great deal on their side." The sister sprang up at once. "Stop," she cried; "don't go to bed. I will get up and light the gas, and we must have this out before you sleep to-night." It is pleasant to be able to affirm that this enthusiasm was not in vain. Her brother laid before her the arguments to which he had been listening, and she was able to refute them to his complete satisfaction. He left her thoroughly confirmed in his belief in Home Rule.

These are but instances of the warm feeling for Ireland, and the hearty work in its cause which I believe are to be found among the working classes of England. When Home Rule is won, as soon or late it must be, there will be no necessity for them to look back with regret on their part in the great contest now going on. About the upper and middle classes I say nothing, but I hold the opinion that to the spirit shown by the labourers in our great towns is due much of the feeling of fellowship and affection growing up now in Ireland. I do not wish to overlook other help, nor to underrate the generosity of the Irish, which leads them so readily to forgive the wrongs of centuries. But the feeling of kindness must be reciprocated, and it is, after all, to the union of the democracies of Britain and Ireland that we must look for our coming victory.

"I would have the Irish Government regulated by Irish notions and Irish prejudices, and I am convinced that the more she is under Irish Government the more she will be bound to English interests." —Fox.

THE UNCOMFORTABLE CREED OF UNIONISM.

UNIONISM must be the most uncomfortable of creeds. It has many prophets, who speak with many and changing voices. The faithful believer must follow Mr. Balfour in clinging to the idea that Mr. Gladstone's coercion of six years ago marked the height of political wisdom; with Mr. Smith and Lord Hartington he must fumble over the notion that if Ireland be very, very good, local government in minute doses may be administered to her some day; and at the same time he must listen with respect to the solemn warning which from time to time Lord Randolph Churchill and Mr. Chamberlain utter, "Remember the pledges of 1886." If, moreover, he inclines to Liberalism on other questions than that of Ireland, he must sternly repress his feelings, and must be prepared to let wealth and commerce, laws and learning die, in order to save what he is pleased to call the Union. This is the nature of the Unionist faith, which unless a man believe and act upon he runs the risk of seeing Mr. Gladstone restored to power. And after that the deluge, when it will be nobody's interest to take the Liberal Unionists into the ark. It is indeed an uncomfortable creed.

Lord Randolph, the ungovernable conscience of the Unionist party, has long been impressed by the unnaturalness of the situation, and by the sense of coming trouble. His warnings that something must be done in the matter of local government for Ireland, show that he is preparing for the next election, when he will be able to appeal to the country, and say, "I at least have been faithful to the pledges of 1886; give me a party, and I will still carry them out." After many shiftings, and many declarations that Parliament cannot afford to give all its attention to Ireland, Mr. Chamberlain has followed Lord Randolph's lead. In the pages of his organ, the *Birmingham Daily Post*, he has begun to lay down the lines of a Unionist policy, which we summarise elsewhere, and which would form a very pretty programme at the next election. We who stand outside the chaos of Unionist contradictions, can watch with equanimity these efforts to infuse new life into the pledges of 1886; for every convert that either Lord Randolph or Mr. Chamberlain makes is a convert to Home Rule. It is the first step on the road to Home Rule that is the difficulty. When that is taken, there is no stopping till we reach at least as large a measure of legislative independence as was proposed in Mr. Gladstone's Bill. The true coercionist recognises this fact, and he will struggle hard against the spread of the Birmingham heresy. So that as time goes on the faithful Unionist, who owes obedience to all his leaders,

will find his uncomfortable creed grow more uncomfortable still.

The Birmingham plan, like most proposals for Ireland, comes too late. There was a time, not distant, when much might have been said for it. Had something like it been carried in Mr. Butt's time, we should not, indeed, have witnessed a final solution of the Irish question, but we should have made the inevitable passage to Home Rule more gradual and easy than it is now possible to be. The Unionist method, says Lord Randolph, is "to build up local government from the bottom on sound and sure foundations. It is to establish local institutions under the guidance and under the protection of the Imperial Parliament at Westminster, and it is to educate and to train the Irish people by degrees in the art of self-government, which partly from their own fault, and partly from our fault, they had so long neglected." There is a superficial air of political wisdom about this idea of building upwards instead of downwards, an idea to which all our constitutional writers have accustomed us, and which seems to agree with the very order of nature. But reasoning by metaphor and analogy has this great defect, that it invariably begs the question at issue. What is the foundation on which we can build a solid and enduring constitution for Ireland? That is the question. We say that the only foundation is the national spirit of the Irish people. All else is but as the shifting sand. Lord Randolph and Mr. Chamberlain bid us begin with County Boards and Provincial Councils, so that the people may be led by experience into steady habits of self-government. But we know perfectly well they will use these County Boards and Provincial Councils for one object, and one object only; namely, the attainment of Home Rule. Such powers of self-government will have no educating influence whatsoever in the present state of Ireland; they will only add to the confusion and irritation; and they will have the effect at once of making the claim for Home Rule irresistible, and its satisfaction more difficult than it is at present. Therefore, the bold course is the only prudent and safe one. We must give Home Rule openly and frankly, and not in disguise. It should be conceded by us and not extorted from us. One way or other it must come; and the knowledge of this is perhaps the most uncomfortable thing in the uncomfortable situation of the Unionists.

Act of 1870, and is said to have had a great circulation among Irish tenant-farmers.]

"What is your name?"

"Oppression."

"Who gave you this name?"

"My landlord and agent in the days of my youth, wherein I was made a child of toil, a man of sorrow, and an inheritor of a bundle of rags."

"What did your landlord and agent then for you?"

"They did promise and vow three things in my name: first, that I should renounce all the comforts of this life, and all the pleasures found therein; secondly, that I should be a hewer of wood and drawer of water; and thirdly, that I should be a slave for them all the days of my life."

"Dost thou not think that thou art bound to believe and to do as they imposed upon you?"

"No verily, and by God's help I will endeavour to shake off the chains by which I am bound, better my condition, and continue in the same until my life's end."

"Rehearse the articles of thy belief."

"I believe that God is no respecter of persons, and that He is King of Kings and Lord of Lords; and that He created all things for the good of man, and that every man should enjoy the fruits of his labour; for the labourer is worthy of his hire. I also believe that I do not enjoy the fruits of my labour, for I am compelled to give it to men who reap where they do not sow, and gather where they have not strewn, who are better known in the banqueting hall, the foreign club-house, or on the betting field than in the school of industry or amongst their honest care-worn tenantry, save when the corn is ripe. I also believe that I am not able to pay my rent from the produce of my farm, and that the pomp and vanity of those men who, like birds of passage, leave when they get the last grain of corn; men who live in ease and indolence, rolling about in purple and fine linen, and faring sumptuously every day on the toil and sweat of their fellow-creatures, and revelling on the bread of idleness, have reached its highest climax, and that it is full time they should be brought to know and feel that the stalwart farmers are the bone and sinew of the land, and that they will no longer endure or submit to the burdens heaped on them by a class of extravagant landlords, who are the chief cause of the grievances of this country. I believe in the fall of rents, the lowering of taxes, the suppression of crime, and the emancipation of all slaves."

"What dost thou chiefly learn in these articles of thy belief?"

"First, I learn that justice demands such a state of things to cease, that rents must fall, and that tenant-right must be carried, to the satisfaction of the people, no matter what Government rules, or who yields the sceptre; and, secondly,

THE IRISH FARMER'S CATECHISM.

[THOUGH things have changed a good deal in Ireland since the following Catechism was composed, it is still worth preserving, and it may be new to most of our readers. It was written during the agitation which preceded the Land

that honest independent men must be sent out to value the land, and a fair price laid on according to quality; and that no lands must exceed 25s. per acre, no matter what quality, for according to the terms of the Ulster plantation landlords are not entitled to benefits arising from the improvement of the soil, as all is owing to the labour of the industrious farmer, and further, that proper security must be given to the tenant-farmer, that he, or his heirs, cannot be removed so long as they pay their rents and conduct themselves as becometh honest, peaceful members of society; and, thirdly, that all classes will go hand in hand, and stand shoulder to shoulder, in this legal warfare, and never give up till they bring landlord and tenant on a closer equality; and, if needs be, stand their opponents to the face in the hour of battle; for he who would not fight for his bread would not fight for his Sovereign.

" You said that your landlord and agent did bind you to keep all their laws and commandments. Tell me how many there be ? "

" Ten. "

" Which be they ? "

" The same which they spake in their office when they brought me out of the land of peace into the land of bondage.

" 1st Commandment.—Thou shalt have no tenant-right.

" 2nd.—Thou shalt not make to thyself any changes on thy farm, nor buy nor sell without our consent, nor complain against us for rearing game thereon for our own amusement on coursing days, nor keep dog, nor gun, nor cat, to disturb them in any way, no matter what damage thou mayst sustain thereby; thou shalt bow down and pay obeisance unto us, for we are thy landlords and jealous ones who shall visit thee and thy children with heavy rents, notices and ejectment processes, if thou disobey us or neglect to pay thy rents.

" 3rd.—Thou shalt not take the name of thy landlord nor agent in vain, nor speak slightly of us, no matter what we do, for we will not hold him guiltless who taketh our name in vain.

" 4th.—Remember that thou art a tenant at will; 365 days shalt thou labour and do all that thou hast to do; but the first day of November in each year is our rent day, in which thou shalt do no manner of work till thou dost reach our office and pay us to the uttermost farthing.

" 5th.—Honour thy landlord and thine agent with hat in hand, and be punctual in thy payments, so that thy days may be long in the farm which we give unto thee.

" 6th.—Thou shalt not kill any of our game.

" 7th.—Thou shalt not commit thyself by violating any of our rules, or by disobeying any of our imperative commands, even to the obeying of our whippers-in or bailiffs.

" 8th.—Thou shalt not cut down or remove any

of our trees or turbary, no matter what thy wants may be, or how they may inconvenience thee, for all that grows thereon is ours, no matter who planted it.

" 9th.—Thou shalt not murmur or complain against us or expose our misgivings in courts of law or through the public press, but endure with all patience, forbearance, and long-suffering, so that thou mayest be called a profitable servant.

" 10th.—Thou shalt not covet thy landlord's house; thou shalt not covet thy landlord's wife, nor his servants, nor his maids, nor his oxen, nor his asses, nor anything that is his, though all is-supported and procured by the toil and sweat of his tenantry."

NOTES BY THE WAY.

The Southampton Election.—In the midst of their natural dismay at the result of the Southampton Election, Tories and Unionists have found some grains of cold comfort in repeating to one another that it all came of those licensing clauses in the Local Government Bill. We have no intention of inquiring minutely how much or how little these clauses had to do with the matter. For our own part, we find an easier explanation in the simple fact, that during the last two months the Government have been steadily losing prestige. Their evasive budget has proved a failure; the weak places of the Local Government Bill are being found out; and they have at last been compelled to acknowledge that they have no thought of redeeming their pledges with regard to Ireland. But suppose for a moment that compensation was the cause of the Government disaster. It has come then to this that the British elector has been so little impressed with the red-hot Unionist phrases about dismemberment and other evils that he forgets to be afraid when he is in face of a real question like that of conferring vested interests on publicans. Only a very sanguine Unionist can find satisfaction in this view of the case.

The Plan of Campaign.—The plan of campaign is denounced on many grounds, but chiefly because where the majority of the tenants on an estate have resolved upon its adoption, a dissentient minority have no means of holding aloof: they dare not, it is said, refuse to join in the struggle with the landlord. Where unanimity exists, hardly any objection can be urged against the plan which has not been repeatedly urged against trade unions, and no question can arise of conspiracy or intimidation. Now, we do not doubt that there are cases of tenants who have paid their rents into the common fund against their own judgment. No strike was ever free

from such cases. But it has been our experience in this country that such evils diminish in proportion as we recognise freely and openly the right of combination; and we have every reason to suppose that if the Crimes Act, or the ordinary law in Ireland, were directed merely against criminal conspiracy and intimidation and not against combination, the worst features of the Plan of Campaign would disappear. Had it not been in the first place for the indecent haste with which the Government plunged into coercion, and, in the second place, for the recent Papal interference, a better form of tenant defence would have been found. "I believe," said Mr. Parnell to the Eighty Club, "that in all probability in a short while the Plan of Campaign, in the natural course would have been gradually succeeded by a method of agrarian organisation which I have for some time been engaged in maturing, and which would have been, I think, free from those political defects which were incidental to the Plan of Campaign, and which would have absolutely corresponded in every respect with the system of organisation known as trades unionism in this country." We shall now have to wait, he adds. The evils of the Plan, however, have been greatly exaggerated, and the evidence is clear that cases of compulsion are exceptional. At the great meeting at Limerick, on May 27th, Mr. O'Brien made an interesting statement with regard to the Herbertstown Estate, an estate which is constantly quoted in proof of the abuse of the plan. "The two largest of the tenants," he said, "never joined the combination at all, and not a hair of their heads had been molested." And this further fact should be remembered, that so far from the Plan being forced upon tenants from outside, the influence of the Irish leaders is strenuously and uniformly exercised in the direction of moderation and caution. The Plan is a rough remedy, no doubt, but it was forced upon the tenants; and, in its essential features, it has been justified by the course of judicial reductions.

An Irish Landlord's Approval of the Plan of Campaign.—The following letter from Mr. Vincent Scully, an Irish landlord, and a Home Ruler, appeared in the *Daily News* :—"Sir,—The difference between the Holy Office and the Irish people in regard to the Rescript would seem to resolve itself in a great measure into a dispute as to matters of Irish fact. If you think what I have to say may help in any way towards a solution of the difficulty, please to publish this letter. I have not been 'campaigned' by my tenants, nor have I been engaged in campaigning any of my fellows, but my being both landlord and National Leaguer has led me to study this Plan from more than one point of view, and I have had opportunity of knowing the principles and details of the Plan in

actual working. I have no hesitation in saying that, as far as my knowledge goes, the 'data' as to the plan of Campaign on which the Rescript is apparently founded are not correct, and that I am confident this Plan, as sanctioned by some of our leaders, has not been abused in the manner suggested. In proof of this confidence I am quite content to have my rent fixed by Mr. William O'Brien or Mr. John Dillon (or anyone of their selection) on lines similar to those of the Plan of Campaign, and would accept the results of my being campaigned in this fashion as a fairer settlement between landlord and tenant than any I have been able to arrive at through my own or through public valuators. And why? Simply because the new arbitrators would be quite as conscientious as the others, and, on account of possessing in a great degree a knowledge of the country and the confidence of the people, they would be more competent to arrive at the real facts on which to base a fair decision as between man and man.—Faithfully yours, VINCENT SCULLY. Dublin, May 24."

The Irish Bishops and the Papal Rescript.—The Irish Bishops have met to consider the Papal Rescript, and the resolutions which they unanimously adopted have been published. They emphatically assert that the Rescript "was intended to affect the domain of morals alone, and in no way to interfere with politics, as such, in this country." The second resolution is still more decided:—"Even this very day we have had from our Holy Father the Pope direct and unequivocal assurances of his deep and paternal interest in the temporal welfare of our country, and that, so far from intending by this Decree to injure our National movement, it was the hope and purpose of his Holiness to remove those things which he judged might, in the long run, be obstacles to its advancement and ultimate success." They then proceed to warn the people against hasty or irreverent language against the Sovereign Pontiff, and "while expressing our deep and lasting gratitude to the leaders of the National movement for the signal services they have rendered to religion and country," to remind them of the Roman Pontiff's inalienable right to speak with authority on all questions appertaining to faith and morals. Thus the attempt to use the fidelity of the Irish people to their religion as a means of checking the progress of their National movement has ended in discreditable failure. There should now be an end of the Papal Rescript. We at any rate have lost nothing by it. If, in the coming election, any cautious Unionist shall seek to revive the cry of Home Rule, which proved so efficacious in 1886, his hearers will not need to be reminded in the first place who it was that sought help from

Rome, and in the second place with what moderation, firmness, and success the Catholics of Ireland resented the interference, and claimed absolute freedom of action in political matters.

Mr. Chamberlain's Scheme of Self-Government for Ireland.—The *Birmingham Daily Post* is publishing a series of articles on "The Unionist Policy." Though not signed by Mr. Chamberlain, there is no doubt that they embody his views, even if they have not proceeded from his pen. We speak elsewhere of the impracticable nature of the policy which they propound, but its importance is very great as an admission of the claim of Ireland to self-government. Accordingly we give without comment a short summary of the proposals. The aim of the policy is said to be "to place Ireland on an equal footing with England and Scotland, and ensure to her the right of Local Self-Government." With this end in view we must proceed in three directions—(1) *Public Works*. We must make "a large and liberal contribution from Imperial funds, to improve the arterial drainage of Ireland; to embank the rivers; to improve and, in many instances, to create the fisheries; to bring the railway system into reasonable co-ordination, and to extend it so as to connect remote parts of the country with the main lines of communication." The State is to acquire, either by purchase or guarantee, control of the railways; if purchased, they should not be worked directly by Government, but should be leased or entrusted to the local authority. We may note in passing that the Railway Commission in the time of Thomas Drummond reported strongly in favour of the State obtaining control of the Irish railways, but that Parliament rejected the scheme as economically unsound. (2) *Land Purchase*. The county authorities are to purchase and become owners of the lands dealt with in each district, the vendors being paid by land debenture bonds issued by a Land Bank, and the interest coupons of such bonds being receivable in payment of all Irish local taxes. The tenant would pay a fair fixed rent, diminishing with the amount of the unpaid purchase instalments till it merged into a perpetual land-tax; this rent the county authority would collect, and after certain deductions for local purposes, pay it into the Land Bank to meet the debenture bonds. (3) *Local Government*. Leaving the Executive power, the judges, the magistracy, and the constabulary very much as at present, Mr. Chamberlain would get rid of "the various boards and departments now known in their aggregate as 'the Castle.'" He would then take the English Local Government Bill as his model in creating county boards and other municipal authorities, entrusting them, in addition, with the administration of the poor law

and other matters, and with a purely local police for ordinary offences. These boards would be representative, and elected on a broad franchise. "Besides these new authorities," he proceeds, "something more and larger is wanted—representative and executive assemblies, which, while not endowed with the name, the authority, or the powers of a parliament, shall nevertheless within due limits, and for specified purposes, enjoy and exercise powers of legislation." These are to be the Provincial Councils, to which would be committed such matters as local taxation, liquor and other licenses, charities, public works, railways, tramways, &c. Even education would be entrusted to them, with a restriction against imposing disabilities in respect of religion.

Crime in 1882 and 1887.—A return has been issued of agrarian offences committed in Ireland during the first and last six months of 1882, and during the first and last six months of 1887, the object being to compare the necessity for the Coercion Act of Mr. Gladstone's Government with that of Lord Salisbury's, and the effects produced by the administration of the two Acts respectively. The result is given in the following table:—

Periods.	Total Agrarian Offences.	Total (excluding threaten- ing letters and notices).
Jan. 1 to June 30, 1882 ...	2,597	1,040
July 1 to Dec. 31, 1882 ...	836	306
Jan. 1 to June 30, 1887 ...	484	306
July 1 to Dec. 31, 1887 ...	399	285

If we analyse the classes of crime the evidence is still more significant. The most serious offences are comprised under the four heads of murder, firing at the person, firing into dwellings, and incendiary fires. In 1882 these offences were reduced as between the first and last half year under the administration of Mr. Gladstone's Act, in the case of murder, from 15 to 11; of firing at the person, from 38 to 20; of firing into dwellings, from 103 to 14; and of incendiary fires, from 190 to 91. In 1887, as between the first and last half year under the administration of Mr. Balfour's Act, murders were reduced from 4 to 2; but the other three classes of offences were increased:

firing at the person, from 9 to 10; firing into dwellings, from 16 to 19; and incendiary fires, from 58 to 67.

Crime in England.—Last month we showed that for the year 1886, the last year for which trustworthy statistics could be obtained, the number of serious crimes committed in Ireland was 15 per 10,000 of the population, while in England and Wales it was over 17. In spite of her troubled state Ireland is thus on the whole more free from crime than England. Our experience during the past month furnishes a striking illustration of the comparison. To mention only some startling cases, we have had a murder in Canterbury, another in the Regent's Park, another in Manchester, another in Durham; and in at least two of the cases the murderers are still at large. The Regent's Park murder was especially remarkable, for it revealed the existence in the very heart of London of those local and hereditary feuds which used to lead to faction fights in Ireland. Yet, in spite of these terrible crimes, no one comes forward to declare that a spirit of lawlessness is abroad in England, or to advocate a policy of coercion at home. Of course not. We decline to take the Newgate calendar as a true picture of English life; and when we succeed in judging the Irish people with equal calmness of mind, we shall be in a fair way to settle the Irish Question.

THE RECORD OF COERCION.

THE history of Coercion is inevitably monotonous. If Parliament were not sitting, the progress from bad to worse would doubtless proceed in the naturally rapid way, but Parliamentary opposition is powerful as a check on the arbitrary minded, and so the resident magistrates and county court judges are pulled up in a manner that impresses them when they go too far. Whether the effect works directly on them or reaches them through the Government, none need pause to inquire. It is satisfactory that since the week ending April 24th we have no increase of sentences on appeal to report.

The record of the number of cases per week is, for the last five weeks, as follows:—

Number of prosecutions for week ending—

April 24	...	...	12	:	1	dismissed.
May 1	...	...	45	:	9	"
" 8	...	...	57	:	9	"
" 15	...	...	7	:	0	"
" 22	...	...	10	:	2	"

Total number for the five weeks	...	131	:	21	"
Average number per week	...	26	:	4	"

In the first of these weeks 12 appeals were heard, of which the sentences were increased in 6 cases, confirmed in 3, and reduced in 3. Under these increased sentences of the county court judges, Father McFadden and Mr. Blane, M.P., are now suffering six months' imprisonment for defending the rack-rented tenants of Donegal, while four men at Ennis are condemned to the same iniquitously excessive punishment for refusing to sell goods to an unpopular person.

For the week ending May 1st, 29 appeals were heard, and *none of the sentences were increased*, while 6 were reversed and 5 reduced. It seems bad enough, however, that six men should have had sentences of six months' imprisonment confirmed, for a so-called "riot" at Longford.

The week ending May 8th yields 2 cases of appeal, in both of which the sentences were confirmed.

No appeals were heard during the next fortnight.

The analysis of the cases for the five weeks is as follows:—

Class I.—Agrarian cases	...	62	:	15	dismissed
" II.—Public meeting cases, &c.	...	39	:	2	"
" III.—Incitement cases (in which Mr. Condon, M.P., incites to the non-payment of the Leahy tax)	...	1	:	0	"
" IV.—Boycotting and intimidation	...	18	:	3	"
" VI.—"Star Chamber" cases: refusal to give evidence	...	1	:	0	"
" VII.—Miscellaneous cases (four being of a criminal character)	...	10	:	1	"

Total 131 : 21 "

The most iniquitous transactions of the month are the sentences on Mr. O'Brien, of three, and on Mr. Dillon of six, months' imprisonment. These are too well known to need comment here. When the policy of Mr. Balfour inflicts punishment on men of this type, it condemns itself more emphatically than any words could do. Three cases affecting humbler sufferers merit our attention.

At Skibbereen, on May 2nd, Samuel P. Kingston, a poor old man of *eighty years of age*, was sentenced to *one month's imprisonment* for taking "*forcible*" possession of the house from which he had been evicted, while his wife was condemned for half that time.

At Frankford, on May 8th, fourteen persons were sentenced to *one month's imprisonment* with hard labour, for an unlawful assembly, which con-

sisted in assisting a tenant who was being evicted to remove his goods.

At Nenagh, on April 20th, a boy of nine years old was *imprisoned for one month*, because he threw stones at an eviction.

Some of the ten, or rather nine, miscellaneous cases of these five weeks are of a more genuinely criminal character than any yet dealt with under the Crimes Act. No one will quarrel with the sentence of six months on the two men who threatened Norah Fitzmaurice, a witness in the Kerry murder case, nor with the same punishment for a man who threatened to put a bullet through a boy if he worked for a boycotted person. The ordinary law could have dealt with these, however, quite as efficiently. It is not at all so clear that the three persons punished for assault on the Derbyshire regiment at Limerick are criminals, though one of them has to expiate his offence by six months, and but little importance attaches to the cases of those persons who obstructed the rate collector at Clifden and Bantbridge, and who were only bound over to keep the peace. The crime treated by the Crimes Act up to the present date reduces itself to four cases of threatened violence.

DIARY OF THE MOVEMENT.

May 1.—Trial of Mr. W. O'Brien continued at Loughrea; witness after witness showed the absurdity of Mr. Balfour's boast that the National League is a thing of the past.—Mr. John Fitzgibbon, President of the Castlerea branch of the National League sentenced to a month's hard labour for inciting the people not to deal with the police.

May 2.—On resuming Mr. O'Brien's trial it was found that all the depositions and other documents had been abstracted from the Court-house; the prosecution decided to commence the trial afresh.—The opening of the Gladstone Library at the National Liberal Club.

May 3.—Mr. O'Brien sentenced to three months' imprisonment without hard labour.—In the House of Commons, Sir J. Ferguson declines to answer the question whether there had been any unofficial communications between Her Majesty's Government and the Pope.—In the House of Lords, Lord Carnarvon referred to his communications with Mr. Parnell. "Looking at the circumstances of that time," he said, "it was common sense to ascertain the opinion of the most important person in Ireland."

May 4.—Further charges against Mr. O'Brien withdrawn.—During this week over 3,000 emigrants left from Queenstown, mostly young men and women between eighteen and thirty years of age.

May 6.—"Boycotting and the Plan of Cam-

paign had grown out of the necessities of the Irish people :" Mr. Dillon at Kilmurphy.

May 7.—Mr. Condon sentenced to fourteen days' imprisonment without hard labour for taking part in an unlawful assembly; the meeting being unlawful because the Plan of Campaign was encouraged. Mr. Irwin, R.M., in giving judgment admitted that Mr. Condon himself had made no allusion to the Plan of Campaign.

May 8.—Mr. Parnell the guest of the Eighty Club. In his speech he told in detail the story of Lord Carnarvon, "the Home Rule Lord-Lieutenant of the Conservative Party," stated his position with regard to the Plan of Campaign, and explained why, if he had had the opportunity, he should originally have advised against it, and declared that the Irish Party and people claim no higher rights than those which Englishmen enjoy, but that for the maintenance of the rights of combination, free speech, a free press, and public meeting, it is the duty of them and their leaders to suffer and dare anything within the law.

May 9.—Speech of Mr. Gladstone at a meeting of Nonconformists at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street. He showed how the sole motive which at present governs the Parliamentary majority, in regard to every English question, is the fear of the introduction of a Government that might give Home Rule to Ireland. Summing up his view of the situation in Ireland, where coercion is being employed, not against crime but against combination, he said : "We want in Ireland not only law but legality."—Trial of Mr. Dillon, before Hamilton and Mayne, R.M., for a speech made on April 8, in which he advocated the Plan of Campaign.

May 10.—Presentment for £1,000 made by Grand Jury of Cork County to Constable Leahy upheld by Queen's Bench Division.—At Mr. Dillon's trial, evidence of a speech delivered by him in November, 1886, admitted in evidence.

May 11.—Mr. Dillon sentenced to six months' imprisonment without hard labour.—Archbishop Walsh gives the most "absolute and unqualified contradiction" to statements made respecting himself by London correspondents, and says that the Irish national movement is in no degree injuriously affected by the recent Papal Rescript.—Mr. W. H. Smith denies that any negotiations have taken place which could give ground for the rumour that the Government were going to found or endow a Catholic College in Ireland.

May 12.—Mr. Dillon further charged with inciting tenants to take part in the Plan of Campaign, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment, to run concurrently with the term previously inflicted. Notice of appeal given, and Mr. Dillon liberated on bail.—Mr. Davitt, speaking at Liverpool, said the Irish could not submit to political

dictation from Rome.—Mr. T. A. Dickson, Liberal Nationalist, elected for the Stephen's Green Division of Dublin by a majority of 1,887 over the Unionist candidate.

May 14.—Mr. T. Healy called attention to the terms of Hamilton's, R.M., letter to the Speaker, announcing the sentence on Mr. Dillon, and moved that said letter "is a breach of the privileges of this House, as containing an untruthful statement relating to the arrest and conviction of a member of this House." He was supported by Sir W. Harcourt, Mr. Gladstone, Sir C. Russell, Mr. Parnell, Mr. J. Morley, &c., and opposed by Mr. Balfour, who thought they "had been discussing a frivolous matter." Motion rejected by 250 to 189.—Committee on the King-Harman Salary Bill. Amendment moved by Mr. Heneage that Col. King-Harman should be paid out of the money granted to the Lord-Lieutenant. The closure having been moved, the amendment was rejected by the small majority of 191 to 183.

May 16.—Mr. Balfour, speaking at Battersea, has no other defence for the Government than that under former Liberal administrations similar iniquities had been carried on.—It was reported at Dublin that the Clare Artillery Militia, at their annual training at Ennis, gave three groans for their commander, O'Callaghan, of Bodyke notoriety, and subsequently three cheers for William O'Brien.

May 17.—The Catholic members of the Irish Party meet at Dublin, and pass a series of resolutions relating to the Papal Rescript.—Mr. Balfour retracts his statement that the Mitchelstown jury was corrupt, declares it was incompetent and worthless, and refuses an inquiry by a tribunal which should be competent and worthy.—In the Dublin Exchequer Division, conditional order for writ of *habeas corpus*, at the suit of Father McCadden, refused, the Court holding that County Court Judge Webb had the legal power to increase the sentence on appeal.

May 18.—Charge of criminal conspiracy and intimidation brought against Mr. Patrick Higgins, of New Ross. Charge of conspiracy dismissed; and on second charge defendant allowed out on bail to come up for judgment when called on.—At Dungannon Sessions the accidental burning of a farm reported as an outrage.

May 21.—Mr. Condon sentenced to a month's imprisonment for "inciting persons to take part in a criminal conspiracy," i.e., advising them not to pay the Leahy Tax.—Mr. Gladstone's acknowledgment of protest against Irish coercion signed by 1,200 members of the Society of Friends is published.—Coroner Rice gives an exact statement regarding the Mitchelstown inquiry in the *Daily News*.

May 22.—Star Chamber inquiry held by Hamilton and Burke, R.M.'s, at Falcurragh,

Donegal, to ascertain where the money collected under Plan of Campaign on the Olphert Estate was lodged. The secretary of the local League branch was committed to prison for refusing to answer questions, but no information was elicited.—*Evictions on the Tottenham Estate.*

May 23.—Home Rule victory at Southampton. Mr. Evans being elected by 5,151 votes against 4,266 recorded for Mr. Guest.—The Limerick Guardians and Cashel Corporation approve the action of the Catholic members of the Irish Party with respect to the Papal Rescript.

May 24.—Large meeting of Unitarian ministers and laymen at the Memorial Hall condemns unanimously the coercive policy in Ireland.—Completeness of Unionist split at Bradford revealed by the withdrawal of Mr. Mitchell Henry from his candidature.—The Dublin Corporation expresses approval of the resolutions passed by the Irish Catholic members respecting the Papal Rescript.

May 25.—All Loughrea shopkeepers have adopted Plan of Campaign, and Clanricarde's agents have seized the shops of two of them for rent.—Seizure of cattle forfeit on the O'Callaghan Estate prevented by the people.

May 27.—Great demonstration at Limerick to condemn the Papal Rescript, attended by 20,000 people, and addressed by Mr. William O'Brien and others.—Meetings at which the Papal Rescript was condemned held at Kildare addressed by Mr. Dillon, at Bray by Mr. Michael Davitt, at Wexford by Mr. J. E. Redmond, and others at Waterford and at Clonmel.

May 28.—Mr. Chamberlain speaks at inaugural meeting of the new Liberal Unionist Association at Birmingham. He adopts as his own the scheme of the *Birmingham Daily Post*. Among other delicate references to his former leader was the following: "I thought it was part of the Liberal creed to trust the people. The new Liberal doctrine is to trick them. If Mr. Gladstone would open his hand, if he would show what he has got under his hat, we might perhaps all be able to agree with him."

May 29.—Meeting in Dublin of the new Liberal Union of Ireland, addressed by Messrs. Wodehouse and Craig-Sellar, M.P.s. The speech of the latter was in effect a strong argument for Home Rule, being devoted to the grievance of private bill legislation. "Westminster," he said, "has centralised, and continues to centralise, in itself the management and administration of minor matters which could be much better managed and much better administered in the localities."

May 30.—The Roman Catholic Archbishops and Bishops meet to consider the Papal Rescript, and unanimously adopt resolutions to the effect that it was in no way intended to affect the national movement.—Lord Ripon, at Leicester,

says that the policy of the Government in Ireland might be summed up as £1,500 a year for Colonel King-Harman and six months for John Dillon.—Ballinasloe Board of Guardians dissolved.

May 31.—Re-assembling of Parliament.—At Mastlemartyr four shopkeepers sentenced, one to fourteen days, the others to a month's imprisonment, for refusing to supply goods to police employed on protection duty on the evicted farms of the Ponsonby Estate.

LORD CARNARVON THE HOME RULER.

NOTHING leads so irresistibly to Home Rule as practical experience of Irish government. It has been our national boast that a slave becomes free at the first touch of British soil; so do English prejudices and fears pass away from an impartial mind which is brought face to face with the daily failure of our attempts to govern Ireland against the will of the Irish people. Hence it is that nearly every statesman who has served the office either of Lord-Lieutenant or of Chief Secretary has returned a Home Ruler in some form or other. Lord Carnarvon has long been known to be no exception. In his reply to Mr. Parnell he has now stated what his views were in 1885. His statement, contained in a letter to the *Times*, is too long to quote in full, but we extract the most important part:—

" My whole object and endeavour," he says, " was to ascertain whether there was any solution of this question consistent with public safety. I studiously kept my mind open; I sought and I obtained the views of men of all parties and interests; and I was almost equally divided between several schemes which more or less promised success. . . . The two first alone promised, in my judgment, any permanent settlement (and I was greatly divided between them); the third offered a *modus vivendi*. They were—

" 1. The concession of a considerable amount of self-government.

" 2. The adoption of some form of Crown colony government, modified to the *particular wants of the country.

" 3. Failing these, a firm but generous administration upon existing lines—in other and homely language, making the best of facts, with improvements in the law, increased power to the Lord-Lieutenant, and a land settlement.

" Let me deal very briefly with these.

" 1. Self-government.—It is obviously impossible within the compass of this letter to describe what such a measure should be; it is easier to express the limitations by which it is bounded. Briefly stated, they are—

" (1) The supremacy of the Crown and of Parliament in the ultimate resort.

" (2) The control of the police and the appointment of the judiciary by the Crown.

" (3) The limitation of local taxation to such an extent as to prevent injustice.

" (4) The reasonable satisfaction of Ulster.

" (5) The whole preceded by some land settlement.

" To these serious but not unreasonable limitations upon any system of Irish self-government must be added a separation of legislative and executive functions. The objection which in 1885, as now, weighed most strongly against any constitutional changes was the dread of creating a Legislature which might come into disagreement with the Imperial Parliament. I have always recognised the force of the objection, though it would be greatly diminished especially in Ulster, by the establishment of four provincial chambers instead of a single and central one. But assuming the existence of a single chamber, and even admitting the full inconveniences of it, I did not see that of itself it went to the extent of an absolutely fatal objection. A far more serious difficulty was to be found in the co-existence, not of two Legislatures, but of two Governments. We are accustomed to think of a Legislature and an Executive as inseparable parts of a common system; but this is not necessarily the case. There are many and not unfavourable instances to the contrary. The old Irish Parliament itself, though free to debate and legislate within certain limits, had no power to turn out the King's Government; and there is, I remember, a passage in one of Mr. Pitt's letters in 1785 which illustrates this, when he expresses his desire 'to make England and Ireland one country in effect, though for local purposes under distinct Legislatures.'"

As to a Crown colony Constitution, Lord Carnarvon sees no inherent impossibilities in it. Given a strong executive, matters of domestic concern might be left to local energy, in order to avoid what he calls the needless and unwise centralisation in London of local Irish concerns.

" Even if it is contended that Westminster is superior to Dublin in legislation, I prefer to leave Irishmen in such purely local questions to manage their affairs, and to learn by experience, as others have learnt before them, the results of improvidence or corruption. The fact is that in Ireland we undertake both too much and too little, and the existing system is an ill-assorted patchwork of ancient powers and modern practice. The Lord-Lieutenant has too often only a semblance of power; the public departments are hampered by outside control; there is the intolerable evil of a circumlocutory and never-ending correspondence—in one word, there are neither the public responsibilities which arise out of a free Parliament nor the efficiency of a strong executive."

The third alternative he describes as unequal to

the others and opportunist in its character ; but provided wholesome and truly reproductive legislation accompanies the enforcement of the law, he is prepared to support the Government in carrying it out.

Thus, on the principle for which we contend, Lord Carnarvon is entirely with us. From his position to Home Rule pure and simple is only a short step.

THE REPLY OF THE IRISH CATHOLIC MEMBERS TO THE PAPAL RESCRIPT.

A meeting of the Irish Catholic members of Parliament was held in Dublin, on May 16th, to consider the Papal Rescript. The resolutions, which were unanimously adopted, describe the situation in Ireland with so much moderation and truth, that, apart from the particular object to which they were directed, they deserve the careful consideration of our readers. Accordingly, we reproduce them in full :—

" FIRST.—That the allegations of fact which are put forth in the Circular of the Holy Office are to our knowledge unfounded, and could not, we venture to affirm, have been promulgated under the authority of the Holy Office, if statements so prejudicial to the Irish people had been tested by reference to the Prelates of Ireland and the elected representatives of the people.

" (A) That the assertion that Free Contract prevails as to the letting of land in Ireland, except in an insignificant minority of cases, is unfounded and unwarrantable, and is disproved by the fact that the whole course of agrarian legislation for Ireland during the last eighteen years, under successive Administrations, has proceeded upon the non-existence of Free Contract, and has been directed to compulsory interference with and curtailment of the arbitrary powers of eviction and confiscation exercised by the landlords. Furthermore, even since the inception of the movement known as the Plan of Campaign, the present Tory Government have been obliged to enact a statute for the purpose of breaking over one hundred thousand additional contracts of tenancy, on the ground that they were one-sided and oppressive, and imposed rents which the conditions of Irish agriculture render destructive of the legal property of tenants in their holdings.

" (B) That the constitution and adjudication of the rent-fixing courts afford inadequate grounds for the statement in the Circular that they so reduce excessive rents as to bring them within the limits of equity, since on the contrary it is well known to all concerned

that no provision is made by law or afforded by the courts for such reductions in respect of disaster or failure of crops as are supposed by the Holy Office to be made ; that moreover partisans of the landlords predominate in the constitution of the courts ; that rents continue to be fixed upon improvements made by the tenants in defiance as well of the spirit of the law as the dictates of natural justice ; that no provision is made for reduction of the arrears of rents now decreed by the courts to be excessive ; that the existence of these arrears enables many landlords by the threat of eviction to prevent their tenants from applying to the courts for reduction of current rents ; that many tenants are deterred from entering the courts by fear of losing in the cost of appeals—to which the landlords are in every case allowed to have recourse—more than they would gain by reduction of their rents ; and that large classes of tenants are still absolutely shut out from courts of law, and are harassed by their landlords for payment of rents which the landlords had fixed and increased at their pleasure, which have never been reduced, and which the tenants can no longer pay in full without yielding up their own subsistence.

" (C) With regard to the statement that rent has been extorted from tenants and deposited with unknown persons, we affirm as a matter of common knowledge that in the combinations formed by the tenants the moneys deposited by them were freely lodged with persons whom they knew and trusted, to be held as an insurance fund against eviction, and that these moneys are invariably returned without deduction on the request of the tenants.

" (D) That as the unjust and cruel exercise of the legal power of eviction has for generations blighted the lives of the Irish people by depriving them of the homes which their own industry had provided, confiscating the value of their improvements, and banishing them by millions from their country, whereby many were led to moral ruin and loss of religious faith, and multitudes of the innocent and helpless underwent dreadful sufferings, even to death, by pestilence or famine, and as this legal power of eviction armed with new facilities by an Act passed last year in a Legislature controlled by landlords, is directed at the present moment to the destruction of thousands of families, together with the appropriation of their legal interest in the ownership of the soil, we solemnly declare that the merciless exercise of this power has been and is the one great cause of evil passions, conflict, and crime in Ireland, and

that the public feeling which in some extreme cases has resulted in the denial of social intercourse to those who ruin families by unjust evictions, or those who encourage harsh landlords to such evictions by taking farms so vacated, is a feeling excited in the minds of the people by their love of natural justice, and their desire that Christian charity should mould the law of the land and prevail in the relations of life.

"SECOND.—That we repudiate the assumption on which the Circular proceeds, that the status of Irish farmers is that of mere tenants-at-will, and assert that not only in equity but in law the dominant interest in the agricultural holdings of Ireland belongs to the tenants by whom the improvements have been executed, and we attribute much of the discontent which now prevails to the disregard of our constant protests against the imposition of rent on those improvements, in defiance of the statute which tardily recognised a dual ownership in the soil.

"THIRD.—That we cannot refrain from expressing our deep regret, as Catholics and Irishmen, that the Holy Office is silent as to the source and provocation of the evils and disorders which afflict the people of Ireland—namely, the subversion of natural justice by those who have obtained through false promises the powers of legislation and government, and the scorn of Christian charity manifested by those persons, including Catholics amongst them, who use a system of calumny to support coercive laws, and apply coercive laws to maintain extortion.

"FOURTH.—That this silence of the Holy Office as to the violations of justice and charity by which the Irish people are incessantly agitated, is, in our judgment, the more to be deplored in the interests of religion and of our national cause, because it has enabled the enemies of both to misuse the name of the Holy See by an assumption of its hostility to the political claims of Ireland, and because the direction of the admonition of the Holy Office, not in any degree against the systematic violations of justice and charity committed by way of attack upon the homes and property of our people, but wholly against casual and exceptional incidents in the people's struggle to defend themselves and preserve their natural rights, may be of untoward consequence at the present time, when priests and representatives of the people who have exerted themselves to restore tranquillity by preventing unjust evictions are suffering imprisonment by the sentences of arbitrary courts, and when patience has been strained to the point of exasperation by a course of misgovernment which persistently assails the primary right of the individual to live by the fruit of his labour, and which suppresses by means of servile tribunals, and the use of physical force,

those public rights which are the indispensable guarantees of justice.

"FIFTH.—That the demand of the people of Ireland for agrarian reform and political liberty is dictated by necessity, sustained by natural justice and conducted by modes of action and methods of organisation prescribed or allowed by the constitution under which we live; that to organisation and agitation persistently maintained, and to that alone the Irish people owe whatever they have won of civil or religious freedom; that their just claims are now encountered by unconstitutional coercion and organised calumny; that the force of this national movement, increasing from day to day, is a force generated and incessantly renewed by the free opinion and the spontaneous action of the people, that this will continue to be exerted until in despite of coercion and defamation it shall have achieved success.

"SIXTH.—That while unreservedly acknowledging as Catholics the spiritual jurisdiction of the Holy See, we, as guardians, in common with our brother Irish representatives of other creeds, of those civil liberties which our Catholic forefathers have resolutely defended, feel bound solemnly to reassert that Irish Catholics can recognise no right in the Holy See to interfere with the Irish people in the management of their political affairs."

LITERATURE.

The Land System of Ireland. By W. O'CONNOR MORRIS. (Dublin: Hodges & Figgis).

THIS is a republication of two articles recently contributed by Mr. O'Connor Morris to the *Law Quarterly Review*. The author has a good title to speak on the subject. After noting that his writings on Irish land go back to the *Oxford Essays*, and include his well-known letters to the *Times* in 1869-70 (which he republished, and which are still worth reading), he says: "I may add that I am an Irish landlord, but that as a scion of an ancient Irish house, nearly overwhelmed by confiscation and conquest, I certainly have no historical sympathy with the existing settlement of the land in Ireland; and, as a county court judge in the most disturbed and revolutionary part of the south of Ireland, I have had special opportunities, during many years, of observing all that is most peccant and dangerous in the Irish land system." In the first article he gives an excellent historical sketch of the land system, down to the Act of 1881; the second contains his opinions on the Land Question in Ireland at the present day. Judge Morris speaks with much energy against any general scheme of land purchase as a remedy for existing evils. He himself is in favour of developing still further the

principles of the Acts of 1881 and 1887. "With all their imperfections," he says of these Acts, "they do largely protect the equities in the land of the tenant class, and that nearly for the first time; they tend to the reconciliation of law and fact throughout the sphere of relations in the land; they fall in with popular wants and ideas; and, above all, they contain principles of what I believe would form, when fully developed, the true system of Irish land tenure." In order to avoid the costly judicial process, which is necessary before tenants can now obtain the benefit of the Acts, he would enlarge the estate of the tenant into a perpetual interest, at a perpetual rent to be never changed. By this means, he points out, the tenant class in Ireland would rapidly and without litigation, in most instances, acquire the ownership of the soil. From the landlord he would take away the remedy of ejectment in all cases, giving him in the case of non-payment of rent an easy remedy in bankruptcy; in other respects he would leave him with all existing privileges, so far as these are consistent with the tenant's perpetuity. He would give the landlord, however, compensation for being deprived of his reversionary rights; the compensation being granted partly in the form of State advances, and partly in relief as regards existing encumbrances on the land. Now this scheme invites criticism at nearly every point, and we have grave doubts whether any person in the three kingdoms, whether landlord or tenant, could be found to agree with it. But coming as it does from one who, though a man of independence, is still within the circle of the privileged classes of Ireland, it is very striking testimony to the strength of the tenant's case. The strong opinion expressed by a county court judge that landlords should be deprived of the remedy of ejectment, is indeed suggestive. Dissenting from many of Judge Morris's conclusions, we recommend these articles to our readers, as a careful study of the subject by a man of experience.

REMOVAL OF OFFICES OF THE HOME RULE UNION.

OUR readers will be interested to learn that the offices of the Home Rule Union will this week be removed from 115 and 116, Palace Chambers, on the second floor, to larger rooms on the ground floor of the building. The increasing work in connection with the Union has long made this course desirable, and it has so accumulated that now it amounts to a

necessity. Those of our sympathisers who care to give us a visit will, we doubt not, be pleased with the change, and recognise that it allows great and increased facilities for carrying on the work. For the future, correspondents will kindly address their letters to 17 and 18, Palace Chambers.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

THE last meeting of the Executive was held on Tuesday, May 8th, when there were present Mr. J. A. Picton, M.P. (who presided), Miss Monck, Messrs. E. Walford, T. E. Gibb, Wm. Phillips, and W. Martin Edmunds and Thomas Lough (Hon. Secs.).

One of the first matters for the consideration of the meeting was the revision of the literature published by the Union. No resolution, however, was come to on the subject, and the discussion was postponed to a later date. Mr. Edmunds reported that Mr. Hillier had successfully organised several meetings for the Union in Kent during the last few weeks, and it was decided, subject to certain conditions, that he should continue the work for the month of May. It being announced that Mr. Morton, chairman of the Lecture Sub-Committee, had sustained a sad domestic bereavement, a resolution expressing the sincere sympathy of the Committee with him was passed. On the motion of Mr. Gibb, seconded by Mr. Edmunds, Mr. W. B. Clayton was appointed Secretary of the Union. Formal sanction was also given to the affiliation of the North Kensington Liberal Association to the Union. The Committee, having transacted a great deal of other miscellaneous business, adjourned until Tuesday, June 5th.

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* * * Communications, &c., relating to the supply of the JOURNAL should be addressed to the Hon. Treasurer; other communications to the Editor of the JOURNAL, 17 & 18, Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, Westminster.

AT MR. DILLON'S TRIAL.

BY PROFESSOR STUART, M.P.

THE thing which struck me most at the late trial of Mr. Dillon at Dundalk was the absence of evidence and the extraordinarily perfunctory way in which the case of the Crown was conducted. The contrast was very great between this trial and that of Mr. Dillon a year ago before judge and jury of the High Court of Queen's Bench, where he was tried for practically the same offence. Mr. Dillon himself called attention to the great difference. Before the judge and jury the Crown felt it necessary to pro-

duce evidence that such a conspiracy as Mr. Dillon was accused of belonging to did as a fact exist; but before the one judge, (County-court Judge Kisbey), acting without a jury, no such evidence was adduced. Not a single witness was called, either before him or the resident magistrates, to show that there existed as a fact any such conspiracy in Louth as that which Mr. Dillon was accused of belonging to. I am not saying whether the conspiracy exists or not; all I say is that the judge had no right to assume it. In fact, Mr. Dillon was tried and found guilty of conspiracy, and the fact that such a conspiracy existed was only, so to speak, read in between the lines. This is a fair example of the sort of thing we come to when we abandon the security of jury trial. Evidence of the most loose kind satisfies the present Irish tribunals.

The second thing which struck me was the determination of the judge not to allow his sentence to be reviewed by any higher court. It was possible for him to have done so by granting what is called a "speaking order," as pointed out by Mr. Harrington. But he refused to grant this. Now this was the more remarkable because that very forenoon the appeal in the Killeagh case had been decided in the Court of Exchequer, and it had been held there that the views of the resident magistrates as to the evidence necessary to establish conspiracy under the Crimes Act were entirely erroneous, and the men had been set free. The character of the evidence and the charge

against Mr. Dillon appeared, on the face of it, to be to all intents and purposes of the same kind as that in the Killeagh case ; and, if that be so, Mr. Dillon is at this moment illegally detained in prison. But, whether the parallel between the two cases may be exact or not, surely one would have thought that any single judge who is called on, absolutely on his own responsibility, to condemn a man of Mr. Dillon's character to six months' imprisonment as a common felon, would have rather been glad than the reverse to have seized any opportunity whereby the justice of his sentence could be tested, and whereby, if correct, his single judgment might be corroborated by higher authority. What then made the judge refuse an appeal, if such a power he really possessed, unless it were doubt as to the results of that appeal ?

There are many other points I might notice, but I think that in the conduct of the trial these were the two which must stand out. In truth, the whole thing seemed to me a very hollow matter, and I do not wonder at the Irish people thinking that these courts under the Crimes Act exist, not to try men but to condemn them.

Mr. Dillon looked very ill, and I fear is very ill. I sometimes doubt whether we shall ever see him again. But I do not desire to dwell on that. Others less conspicuous have already suffered and died in prison. I only want to add that when he had been taken off by the military, and the people were gathered about in the streets, they were charged by mounted police, and by police with batons and with clubbed rifles, with great and sudden violence. I was astonished with what I myself saw. I noticed a man falling in the street, and two mounted policemen riding at him. They struck him with what I at first thought were long riding whips. My blood curdled when I suddenly recognised that they were swords. Why did the

police charge and disperse these people ? I cannot tell ; but in the evening, when I asked about it, I was told by persons who know much of these things, that the extreme brutality—for I can call it nothing else—of the police method of dealing with the people was of quite recent growth. They had been rough enough before, but the system of action generally in vogue now dates, it seems, from only some six or eight months back—I mean, where there is no parley, no Riot Act read, no warning, but a sudden and extremely violent attack on peaceable people in order to disperse them.

I will not occupy your valuable space drawing any conclusions on these matters, proposing rather to restrict myself to a statement of what occurred, and of my impressions thereof on the spot.

BELFAST LIBERALISM.

BY MR. C. H. OLDHAM.*

PERHAPS some apology may be demanded for a deliberate discussion of Liberal Unionism at this time of day. After the Ayr election, it must be regarded as "a thing of the past" outside Parliament. But Belfast Liberal Unionists are not as others of that ilk. Being an integral factor in Irish opinion, they have an interest for Home Rulers—certainly Irish Home Rulers—that is rather more prospective than retrospective.

In a sense, Belfast Liberalism was never a true native growth. An English plant was grafted on an Irish stem, but at all times the plant belonged and prided itself on belonging to the English flora. Its existence was parasitic in Ireland. There was, indeed, a Liberal Party in Ulster, and Liberals hotly contested Ulster seats with their hereditary foes, the local Tories. And so the Party appeared to be, and was in fact, there ; but all the while the votes that returned the Ulster Liberals were 80 per cent. votes of the Catholic population in Ulster. This fact is the index to a just estimate of Belfast Liberalism. There were, till recently, only two parties in Ulster—Liberals and Tories. The latter were the Orange Protestants, the landlords, and the Church. The former were the Catholics of Ulster, with a strong leaven of Presbyterian tenant-farmers ; their representative

* Secretary of the Irish Protestant Home Rule Association.

leaders being furnished by these Belfast Liberals, mostly local manufacturers of the Bright and Cobden school.

This alliance of Belfast Liberals and Ulster Catholics was sound, for at that time each was necessary to the other. The Liberal programme for Ireland of 1868 suited it exactly; and the alliance lasted fairly well down to 1881, though by that time the seeds of the coming change were ripening rapidly. The unfortunate element was ever a certain self-opinionateness, or assumed superiority on the part of the Belfast Liberals. They did not so much rely on the Catholics as assume that the Catholics had no alternative but to rely on them. The same habit of mind characterises the Belfast Liberal of to-day, and will unfit him for playing the important part in a self-governed Ireland which is to be expected for him as soon as a new experience shall have induced in him a more friendly, because a more native spirit.

At present the typical Belfast Liberal is not a pleasant individual. He is like one who once had wings—he sulks. He thinks he has a grievance, which he sums up in the one word Gladstone! He placed his eggs many years ago all in the one basket, and finding now that the basket is booked for a market he never recommended, he has landed his goods on the roadside, and is at his wits' end to know where to turn. In truth, he once was a leader, and well thought of, but when the crisis came, he did not lead, and is now impotent and—angry.

The growing force of the National movement in the south and west of Ireland under Mr. Parnell's astute leadership, was highly congenial to the whole of the Catholic population in Ulster. It was a Democratic movement, and to the Ulster Catholics it provided the means of uniting their numbers, and asserting their individuality as a distinct political force. The extension of the franchise enabled this new giant to spring upon his feet, and since then the occupation of the Belfast Liberal is gone. After the General Election of 1885, there was not a Liberal member, other than a Nationalist, returned for any constituency in Ireland.

The great majority of the Belfast Liberals became Unionists in 1886. This surprised nobody, but it meant the abdication of their position as the representatives of the Ulster democracy. Their record since illustrates in the clearest way the vital defect of Liberal Unionism as a political creed. What the Belfast Liberals have found is that they cannot move on. Unionism is a *cul de sac*. They have patched up a perfectly hollow alliance with their hereditary opponents the Tories, the advantages of which are entirely on the side of the Tories. The two Liberal members from Ulster now in the House of Commons, members for South Tyrone and South Derry, are illustra-

tions of this. In these two constituencies parties were so evenly balanced, that neither a Tory Unionist nor a Nationalist could be decisive victor at the polls. A Liberal was run in each case, in order to catch the minute fraction of wavering votes which just turned the scale in favour of the Unionists. That is the sole function of the Ulster Liberal to-day. But his power of thus snatching these few additional stray votes from the Nationalists rested on nothing more substantial than the force of old associations. It was a temporary device, and served a temporary purpose. And after two years' familiarity with the fraud, it is idle to suppose that it can be repeated with success. But repeated it will be. Wherever the Unionist minority feel that they are losing ground in Ulster, they will start a Liberal Unionist as a *dernier ressort*. Thus it is definitely certain that in North Tyrone the present Tory member will not face the hustings again, and it is highly probable that the member for North Derry will follow suit.

What is the record of Belfast Liberalism since 1886? It has striven hard to maintain its popularity with the Ulster democracy, and to prove that its Liberalism is not a decaying faith. One might as well hope to keep a plant from withering which has been severed at the roots. In its public policy it began by maintaining—(1) that the legitimate grievances of the Irish people must be met, and (2) that they can be satisfactorily met by the present Parliament. In this it differs from the Ulster Tory position, which roundly maintains that Irishmen have no grievances. But the difference only exists in theory, and disappears in practice.

Thus the Belfast Liberals have advocated as two necessary planks in the Unionist platform—(1) a general purchase scheme for the final settlement of the land question, involving the abolition of landlordism, and (2) a complete system of local government for Ireland. On the second particular they stand absolutely alone in the Unionist ranks, and for the very sufficient reason that, as Lord Hartington has clearly recognised, any conceivable system of local government for Ireland can only be an awkward way of reaching Home Rule. But the Belfast Liberals on their part perceive that to admit *non possumus* in this matter is to throw up the sponge. Accordingly, at their annual meeting in May, they stuck to their guns, and “unanimously resolved”:

“That this Association rejoices to see her Majesty's Government has introduced into Parliament a Local Government Bill for England, conceived on thoroughly popular and liberal lines; that such a measure is in harmony with the demand of county government reform which has for so long been a cardinal point in the programme of Ulster

Liberals, and we urge upon the Government the adoption at the earliest opportunity of a Local Government Bill for Ireland. At the same time we are of the opinion the final settlement of the land question should precede the introduction of such a measure."

The last sentence, it should be explained, is the saving clause without which "her Majesty's Government" would anything but "rejoice to see" their Ulster Liberal friends pressing them upon so delicate, not to say perilous, a point. It means shortly—after the Greek Kalends.

The gyrations of the Ulster Liberals on this "final settlement of the land question" have been quite wonderful. They have a curious faith of their own that this "final settlement" is the one thing needful to "smash" the Parnellites—which is a part of their provincialism that need not be now considered. But after the developments of the past two years, it is becoming tolerably obvious that the "final settlement" is only going to smash the Ulster Liberal Unionists. This question of land purchase is a big one, and I can only briefly state the position. In 1886 the Belfast Liberals held the faith so clearly expressed by Lord Salisbury, when he explained in the House of Lords that he proposed through the Cowper Commission to make inquiry as to how far the local authorities in Ireland could be made available as guarantee in a general scheme of land purchase. The Cowper Commission Report simply exploded this idea. In the words of the Report :—

"We have found an all but unanimous opinion against the expectation that any satisfactory result could be obtained by attempting to introduce local authorities as guarantors, either for ordinary or congested districts. And the evidence shows that these authorities would decline such responsibility."

But as it is necessary to "smash the Parnellites," the Ulster Liberals could not sit down with this disappointment. They were especially delighted when Mr. Chamberlain said he would lay before the Round Table a scheme for purchase that neither required the creation of an Irish parliament nor drew upon the Imperial credit. They got him down to Coleraine, where he expounded the scheme under every circumstance of importance, but the bubble did not last a week. Other attempts have been made with no further success. And, in fact, it has been made quite plain that until an Irish parliament is created, with authority to pledge the credit of all Ireland, the requisite security for a general purchase scheme cannot be found. It has become a rather awkward question now for the Belfast Liberals, who have pledged themselves so loudly and so frequently to the

urgency and absolute necessity for the change. The pass to which they have been reduced is defined by the following resolution, which, with the one on Local Government already quoted, constitutes their entire policy as defined at their annual meeting, viz. :—

"That having steadily advocated the acquisition by the occupier on fair terms of the full ownership of his holding as furnishing the best solution of the difficulties of the land question, we have observed with pleasure that the provisions of Lord Ashbourne's Act for land purchase have been so largely taken advantage of, and we strongly urge on the Government the propriety of extending its operations to the far-reaching measure for the general attainment of a system of occupying ownership."

Under Lord Ashbourne's Act the Treasury was empowered to advance a paltry £5,000,000, with absolutely no guarantee whatever between the State and the tenant. And the proposal of the Belfast Liberals, stripped of all ornamental verbiage, is a modest demand that the British Treasury should be empowered to advance something over one hundred millions of money upon precisely the same security for the purpose of buying out the Irish landlords "on fair terms," and generally, of smashing the Parnellites. Coming from the men who were largely instrumental in throwing Mr. Gladstone out of office on his Land Purchase Bill of 1886, it will be unnecessary to develop the matter further. At all events, your Belfast Liberal is no Tory; only he would be liberal with a vengeance.

AN EVENING STROLL.

BY A LIBERAL WOMAN.

We had tried everything we could think of to interest our poorer neighbours, especially the women, in the Irish question. We had given them tickets to big demonstrations in St. James's Hall. We had invited them to our houses for drawing-room meetings of all kinds. Sometimes we invited a lecturer to instruct them; sometimes a lady to delight them with patriotic songs. We had arranged tea in schoolrooms, where the clatter of the cups, the talk of the politicians, and the crowing of the babies mingled in a cheerful confusion. But, after all our efforts, we knew of many women who had never attended any of our meetings, large or small, who had never heard of the Irish question unless from a canvasser, in a few hurried words at the street door, who had never been fired with enthusiasm by hearing an Irish

orator tell the tale of his own land, or affected with that magnetism which pervades a crowd of people, all thinking about and wishing for one great object. And we suspected that not a few men had stood aside with equal indifference. These people live in small courts, beyond which they seldom go except for business. If a philanthropic society bears down upon the court, and takes the whole of it for a treat on a Bank Holiday, some of our indifferent residuum will allow themselves to be moved, but the long day of surprises and fatigues arouses no longing among the older people to go more frequently into the outer world. The things they grumble about are connected chiefly with house rents, local rates, the price and quality of food, and the demand for labour. All these are studied within the limits of the court, and it is not surprising that the broad truths of political economy are not known, whilst the narrow local interest is all powerful. Yet we knew these women's husbands had votes, or might have, if they claimed in time. The curate, with his sleek black coat ; the brewer's son, with yellow gloves and neat cane ; the Primrose Dame, pretty and affable, had all been there : and the Conservative Registration Agent, in his comfortable office, had looked after the claims of those who were considered quite safe. The radically inclined, the eccentric, or the utterly indifferent, the wily agent does not put on the register, and if they are there he prays that they may remain in ignorance. To awaken such people is to run a good chance of making them Liberals.

The last plan for getting at this residuum may be well described as a summer evening stroll. Two or three ladies start from their houses in a suburb of London, in time to reach the court about half-past seven. They carry with them a bundle of leaflets, tracts about Ireland, and words of a few songs, set to well-known tunes. If some Liberals live in the court, they should be told of the intended meeting, in order to mention it to anyneighbours likely to form an attentive audience. The rest will be seen, from the account of what we did on one of the warmest evenings last month, in the N.W. district.

We had one gentleman with us, who was very hopeful of the success of our experiment, and a working man, from the other side of London, with a good voice for open-air speaking or singing. When we arrived in the court we were told by more than one fearful friend that some little written notices we had put in a window had been carried off by the police. This sort of interference is of recent growth, and we hope will disappear as rapidly as it appeared. Nothing daunted, we took up our station at a convenient corner, and a friendly cobbler brought out his chair for the speaker to mount upon. We began by singing the "Liberal March" to the tune of "Auld Lang

Syne." Quickly the crowd gathered, and we distributed the words of the song.

"I shall make my mates sing this," said a bright school-girl ; and she sang away with a will. Then one of us mounted the chair and explained our object. We wanted to have a little meeting so short and easily attended that those who were tied to house or shop could still be there. The inspector had arrived by this time, and stationed himself in a very irritating manner at the opposite corner, and two policemen, after consulting him, came to the edge of the crowd. There were not a few Conservatives among our listeners, and we saw them giving away Fair Trade leaflets. When we began to speak of Mr. Dillon's sentence, there were cries of dissent, but the majority demanded silence, and got it. We detailed some of the hardships of the Irish poor, and the mothers stood with their babies in their arms to hear of those other mothers turned out into the cold without a shelter by greedy landlords. After half-an-hour, during which two of us spoke, we sang another song, and wished them good-night. A group of children followed us, shouting, "Three cheers for Gladstone," and "God save Ireland"; but they turned back when they found we were not going to hold another meeting. At first they thought of following us as they do the organ-grinders, from street to street.

We returned home a little tired, but quite determined to try the plan again very soon. If every group of friends who stroll out on a summer evening would take a court on their way, and bring to the very doors of our poorest voters the facts so familiar to us, so surprising to them, how many of the black boroughs would show a better colour on the political metropolitan map after the next election. At any rate, the experiment costs nothing but a little trouble, and is worth making.

MR. DILLON THE CRIMINAL.

BY A LIBERAL CANDIDATE.

MR. DILLON has at length fallen a victim to the lawless Tory administration in Ireland. His appeal from the sentence passed upon him by the notorious R.M.'s, Hamilton and Mayne, to the Louth county judge Kisbey has had the expected result, and he is now undergoing a six months' term of imprisonment. It is somewhat difficult to divine the nature of Mr. Dillon's offence, even though county Louth has been specially proclaimed. Recent events in the country and in Parliament have taught the *Times* discretion, if not wisdom; and consequently no report of the case for the Crown appeared in its columns. A speech which Mr. Dillon delivered to Lord Massereene's tenants

at Tullyallan in April last, together with another delivered about eighteen months ago (for which a jury in Dublin refused to commit him, and which the Government promised should never be again brought against him), formed a pretext for getting out of the way one of the most popular men in Ireland, a pretext on a level with the morals of Mr. Balfour and the legal knowledge of his Irish officials.

Mr. Dillon's defence was distinguished by that sturdy independence and generous impulse which have made him the idol of his countrymen, and have won for him the respect of his Parliamentary colleagues. In bold plain language he expressed his astonishment at the audacity which the Crown had displayed by disregarding even the outward show of decency in the careless and slipshod statement of its case. Mr. Carson had, however, seen so much service in the Castle tribunals that he was unable to appreciate the duty he owed to a judge. He claimed no exceptional treatment, but declared that the action of the Crown in depriving him of trial by Jury was high-handed and gross oppression. The Irish Judges in their eagerness to serve the Executive, whose creatures they were, had strained the law of criminal conspiracy in order to give convictions. The speech for which he was likely to be committed could have been delivered with impunity in any part of Great Britain. He was indifferent whether the sentence were confirmed or not. He had served his fellow-countrymen, and from that thought would derive consolation and comfort through whatever suffering he might have to pass. The spontaneous outbursts of popular welcome with which Mr. Balfour's "criminal" was received need no explanation. The 150 English, Scotch, and Welsh members who signed that "expression of pain and resentment at the policy of unmerited imprisonment" represent no longer a mere minority in the House but a vast majority in the country. Fresh from the victory at Ayr, Mr. Dillon retires to the gaol at Dundalk, and the courageous Mr. Balfour is left to revel yet a little while in the game of checkmating political opponents by R.M.'s, supported by County Court Judges.

The same sheets that told of Mr. Dillon's imprisonment recorded a most important decision with reference to the Coercion Act. The Lord Chief Baron, in the case of the Queen v. Heaphy, had given it as his opinion that "to induce" in the phraseology of the second section of the Coercion Act meant "to bring undue influence to bear." That Mr. Dillon brought undue influence to bear upon Lord Massereene's tenants by his Tullyallan speech no one can honestly affirm. It would be going too far to suppose that had this decision been previously given, Judge Kisbey would have improved his knowledge of the law

by it and acquitted Mr. Dillon. Nor will the others who dispense mock justice and law in Ireland cease to take vengeance on the people and their leaders. Henceforth, however, their decisions must be regarded not as mistakes but as crimes. Ignorance no longer veils the face of justice. The Lord Chief Baron has interpreted the law; our Constitution demands that it be enforced. If Mr. Balfour and his allies dare to continue their policy of childish bravado, a House of Commons, mindful of the constitution it has to protect and jealous of the trust which the people have placed in its hands, must demand reparation. In the meantime, Mr. Dillon lies in prison, faultless in the sight of the law, even of that law which subjects his fellow-countrymen to a position as unbearable as that of the Catholics in the days of the Penal Code.

NOTES BY THE WAY.

To our Contributors.—A correspondent who writes to us concerning certain defects in our political literature, says: "A piece of first-hand real information, now and then, would be so much more useful than the scraps and generalities and leading articles." This is our own most firm opinion, and we commend the remark to all our contributors, who do not seem to us to have sufficiently realised the general uselessness of the ordinary vague and critical style of political writing. We want, not only now and then, but constantly, pieces of real information; and we welcome them whencesoever they come. Personal experiences, interesting facts, carefully compiled statistics—no matter what form the contribution may take, if it deals with a reality, bearing directly or indirectly on the question of self-government for Ireland, it will be worth scores of leading articles.

What Imprisonment without Hard Labour means.—"There seems to be an impression prevailing amongst English people," says Mr. Cox, M.P., in a letter to the *Daily News*, "that prisoners under the Coercion Act not sentenced to hard labour have not to perform manual labour. In my question supplemental to Mr. Walter James's on the subject, I am made to say that I wanted to know 'whether a prisoner not sentenced to hard labour might be compelled to break stones and pick oakum.' As I know from experience, a prisoner so sentenced might not only be compelled, but actually is compelled to perform these duties, or refusing, is put into solitary confinement and fed on bread and water diet, with plank-bed accompaniment, for a term of forty-

eight hours, after which humane Balfourism allows him twenty-four hours of ordinary prison fare to recuperate, but the solitary confinement and plank bed continued, this manner of treatment lasting so long as the prisoner remains recalcitrant. The work to be done by prisoners sentenced to hard labour and those not sentenced to hard labour differs but in degree; the one has to perform an allotted task of stone-breaking and oakum picking, the other has to work at the same employment, but, to use a common simile, works by the day instead of by the piece, the latter often doing more work than the former. A prisoner sentenced to hard labour has one advantage though, which to a man of good health and appetite is not an inconsiderable one—he is allowed a couple of ounces more bread daily than a prisoner not sentenced to hard labour. I have been assured by prison warders that habitual criminals much prefer a sentence of hard labour, and from my own experience I should certainly prefer it also. Both classes of prisoners have to spend the first three days of their imprisonment on bread and water diet, and the first month, if the sentence is over a month, on the plank bed; and for a month or shorter the whole term on the plank bed. This is the treatment John Dillon will be subjected to for the next six months, added to which the fact that for the entire period he will be deprived of all communication with the outer world saving only the writing of one stereotyped letter on the condition of his health at the end of four months, and receive one other under the same conditions."

Irish at Home.—A correspondent sends us the following notes of Irish life and habits:—"Drunkenness has diminished marvellously in Ireland during the last quarter of a century. On market and fair days the country towns empty early, and one may meet the people streaming down the roads for miles, without observing a single intoxicated person. This marked improvement is mainly due to the efforts of the Roman catholic clergy. Abstainers themselves for the most part, they have forced sobriety on their flocks by practice and precept. Evidence of the great progress made is afforded by the Sunday closing acts, now in force for many years past. Prejudice too frequently prevents us from appreciating the excellent example which the Irish often set us. Nevertheless, we may hope that in the coming discussion on the local government bill something will be remembered to their credit. Some four years ago a friend of mine started a coffee house in a country town, with a population of 4,000. His experience leads him to believe that less whiskey would be drunk than is at present the case, were it not for the difficulty of getting any other stimulant. The capital outlay was

great at starting, still, after defraying all expenses, a dividend of five per cent., and a small balance have been forthcoming every year. The customers constitute the poorest class of the peasantry. Every movement in the town is reflected in the receipts. These reach their height on the day of the annual races, on rent days, at Sessions, during market or fair; you can always gauge the prosperity of the town from the visitors to the coffee house. The Irish drink the best tea imported. The highest-priced Indian and Ceylon parcels go to them. The poorest people still pay 3s. and 3s. 6d. a pound."

A Political Conundrum.—What is the difference between the Unionist papers and the paper Unionists? The Unionist papers get sold less and less, but the paper Unionists get sold more and more.

The Star Chamber in Ireland.—The following letter, written by the Bishop of Raphoe, describes a feature of the coercive system which should receive close attention. We quote it as a piece of valuable, first-hand evidence. It comes from a man who knows his district well, and who is, as he says, more deeply concerned for the maintenance of good order than any resident magistrate. It appeared in the *Freeman's Journal*:

"Letterkenny, June 13.

"DEAR SIR,—The extraordinary way in which the Preliminary Inquiry clauses of the Crimes Act are being worked in Donegal compels me to draw public attention to the increasing gravity of the situation that has been forced upon the people. For the maintenance of good order among them I am by my position more deeply concerned than any resident magistrate, and I cannot look on without protest while some of the most peaceful districts in Ireland are being thrown into a state of utter confusion by the needless operations of a secret Coercion court. It is impossible to heal wounds already inflicted on public tranquillity by this itinerant tribunal, but it may not be too late to arrest the danger of still worse results. Its daily work is a standing menace to peace and incitement to violence.

"The little town of Dungloe is situated in the midst of a population whose character for intelligence, industry, and peacefulness is not surpassed by the good name of the inhabitants at any point on the Irish seaboard. Until a few weeks ago its townspeople lived in a state of enviable quietude, such as the strained relations between landlord and tenant would allow few neighbouring districts to assume. As a matter of fact the locality has been always remarkable for the amicable settle-

ment of agrarian disputes. But this bleak Arcadia was doomed. A resident magistrate thought well to establish his Star Chamber in its midst. The leading men of the town were summoned on short notice before him with practically no option but to decline answering or appear before the public in the odious character of informers on their neighbours. It is unnecessary to say which course a Rosses man will take in such circumstances. These townspeople of Dungloe, some of them in a most delicate state of health, were made to come from Derry Jail long journeys on outside cars, at late hours of the night, and in torrents of rain, rather than have the name of yielding to the behests of this mischievous court. Worse still, their friends and admirers, who most naturally throng to welcome them on each return from prison, must atone for their impudence by yielding to a baton charge or being dragged from their beds to a police barrack in the small hours of the morning.

"I implore the people to be true to their Christian duty, to Ireland, and to themselves, by not allowing even such insensate provocation to drive them into violence. They have not begun the disturbance. They are under an excellent guide in their parish priest. Let the whole responsibility for disorder rest on those whose tyrannical administration has called it into being.—Faithfully yours,

"+ PATRICK O'DONNELL."

Another Denial of Justice.—The case of Cornelius Curtain and others, which came before the Exchequer Division in Dublin on June 27, is hardly less important than that of the Killeagh prisoners, to which we call attention elsewhere. Curtain and ten others had been sentenced to a month's imprisonment for unlawful assembly. An application was made to the Exchequer Division for a conditional order for a writ of *habeas corpus* on the ground that there was no evidence on which to convict. Chief Baron Palles was of opinion that the order should be granted, the question raised being fit and proper to be argued before the Court. Baron Dowse dissented on the technical ground of jurisdiction, as he has done in the previous cases. Unfortunately, Mr. Justice Andrews, who has hitherto sided with the Chief Baron on the question of jurisdiction, was absent, and the Court being equally divided, no rule was made. The result is that the eleven prisoners are left without any means of testing the legality of the sentences passed upon them, in spite of the fact that the Chief Baron considers them entitled to be heard, and that but for the accident of Mr. Justice Andrews's absence their case would certainly have been reviewed. Yet the Government decline to inter-

fere, though there is thus at least a high probability that these eleven men are unjustly detained in prison.

The Legal Knowledge of R.M.'s.—In the report of Mr. O'Brien's case before the Exchequer Division the following passage occurs:—

"The Lord Chief Baron: I wish at this point to state once for all that the magistrates most distinctly and plainly mistake their duty in the manner in which they state these cases. They mistake it altogether. The Act of Parliament is clear. It says that they are to state the grounds of their decision, and not apply their functions to any particular objection. The whole of the proceedings are to come up here for the purpose of being examined; and in the case of doing that, if we find there is error, there is a remedy. I wish now once and for all to make this plain—especially if we are to have so many of these cases in this court—in order that there should be a clear course of action under the statute—that the case must set forth all the grounds of the conclusions come to, and, above all, that the case be prepared by the Magistrates themselves, and quickly, and without communication with anyone.

"Baron Dowse: Well, unless the magistrates are to be made over again they will never do that, and they won't do it just because they couldn't if they tried.

"The Lord Chief Baron: If I were a magistrate and was asked to state a case I would as soon allow one of the parties to the case to interfere with it, or directly or indirectly influence it, as I would allow a litigant to suggest in writing to me what my judgment should be.

"Baron Dowse: Aye, but if you were a magistrate and could not draw the case yourself—for that's the position—what would you do?

"The Lord Chief Baron: Well, I can't say about that.

"Baron Dowse: All I know is if you get one of them that can do it himself, he ought to be sent to the British Museum."

The Barons of the Exchequer seem bent on bringing the R.M.'s into ridicule and contempt. Not only do they say these hard things, but they send Mr. O'Brien back to them to be tried again.

THE HOME RULE UNION VAN.

BY MR. E. J. C. MORTON.

THE aim and purpose of the Home Rule Union is, and has always been, to educate the electorate.

When the local leaders of the Liberal Party adopted the Home Rule policy enunciated by

Mr. Gladstone, and accepted by the Irish race throughout the world, they did so, some because they had a general desire to let people know what they wanted, some because they had a vague belief that the national cause in Ireland was the same in principle as the national cause in Poland, or Hungary, or Italy, with which they had sympathised in times past, some because they had a supreme faith in the safety of anything Mr. Gladstone proposed, but few because they really understood the Irish question.

The first thing to do, then, was to give the local leaders of the party that in England had espoused the cause of Home Rule a reason for the faith that was in them. These men would come to lectures held under the auspices of the local Liberal Associations, and so the readiest means of spreading knowledge of the Irish question was by lectures. This method the Home Rule Union adopted.

At the outset of our movement, however, we recognised that we must attempt to educate the ordinary unattached elector, as well as the non-commissioned officers of the Liberal army. And we thoroughly understood that we could not get at the ordinary elector by means of lectures, for the simple reason that he could not be induced to attend meetings. But we hoped that by taking a considerable district of England comprising many constituencies, and by flooding that district with lectures, we could attract his attention so as to induce him to read reports of our lectures. In the first report of the Union this idea was set forth as follows on page 9:—"It is intended to follow up the work of the lecturers by the distribution in every constituency of about 4,000 verbatim reports of each lecture. Although it is a common complaint with political workers that it is hard to induce electors to read, the Home Rule Union hopes that by the systematic development of its programme it may overcome this difficulty. The interest excited by the presence of the lecturer, the appearance of the syllabus and other notices in the local press, will be an inducement to every voter to prosecute the study of the Irish question for himself if the means are placed at his disposal, and it is a main object with the Home Rule Union to furnish every assistance for so doing." With the exception of verbatim reports of our earliest lectures in the local press in a few cases, we have never been able hitherto to carry out this programme. The two main propositions of our original programme are, however, still true, and must form the basis of any really thorough educational work among the electorate—(1) That we must attract the attention of the ordinary elector, and (2) that we must bring information to his mind by means of literature.

With a view to carry out this programme, the Home Rule Union is now engaged in elaborating

a scheme for distributing literature so minutely that every elector may be supplied with information on the Irish question in the shape of a four-page leaflet three or four times a year. But it is only one of the various parts of this system that has as yet been definitely resolved upon, and it is this item of the programme that we now wish to put before our readers.

Into those county constituencies in which the organisation is not sufficiently complete to ensure the distribution of literature to every elector, we propose to send a van containing literature. The van will remain in the constituency, travelling from place to place, for a fortnight or three weeks.

The van will be fitted up inside with shelves, and on these will be placed various sorts of literature, pamphlets and leaflets. Some of the leaflets will be arranged in packets, price 1d. each. One set of packets will be on the Irish question generally, another set will be on the Religious question in Ireland, another set on the Land question, another on Castle government, and so on. Besides these pamphlets and packets of leaflets, the man who drives the van will distribute individual leaflets broadcast gratis. He will also be provided with placards, which will be practically leaflets printed large, and which he will post up on the walls as he passes by.

Every evening the van would arrive at some village or small town, where the driver would be met by some one of our lecturers, and an open-air meeting would be held.

By means of the local press information as to the progress of the van will be given, and this, together with the presence of the van in some of the villages it visits first, will be sufficient to attract attention in the constituency through which it is circulating, and thus the first condition necessary to educate the average elector will be satisfied.

The only organisation necessary to the success of this plan of campaign is that we should be in communication with some one Home Ruler in every village the van passes. This is necessary in order to ensure that the driver may not be summoned for obstructing the highway by holding the meeting in some place where public assemblies are illegal; for the Home Rule Union must expect to meet with the hostility of the country "justices."

It is obvious that the success of the whole scheme depends on our getting the right man to drive the van. We may, however, mention that there seems to be no doubt that this will not be a serious difficulty. Among the applicants for the post is an ex-member of the Royal Irish Constabulary, who resigned because his conscience would not allow him to assist in the carrying out of evictions in Ireland, and who is able to give the most satisfactory references as to character.

The scheme we have here set out, and which is

only one item of the new programme of the Home Rule Union, will cost money, and the Union is in the same difficulty in this respect as all organisations that are now working on the side of the masses, and therefore have to meet the hostility of the "classes." We, however, appeal with confidence to our readers to supply us with the sinews of war necessary to carry out the campaign we have been describing.

THE RECORD OF COERCION.

INDIGNATION at the fate which has befallen Mr. Dillon under the Coercion régime, throws the remainder of the Government's Irish record into the shade for this month. Mr. Dillon made a speech in County Louth, before that county had been proclaimed under the second section of the Coercion Act. In order that he might be tried without jury, by one of the new-fangled Courts of Summary Jurisdiction, one of the most peaceable counties in the United Kingdom was proclaimed, and its inhabitants rendered liable to the arbitrary jurisdiction of the resident magistrates. To these worthies, without necessary legal education, and removable at the will of the castle, evidence is not a very important matter. It is, therefore, not surprising that the evidence against Mr. Dillon consisted mainly of quotations from a speech made by another man who was not prosecuted for it, and of quotations from a speech made by Mr. Dillon in 1886, for which he was prosecuted in 1887, and *acquitted by the jury*. This time there was no jury either at the first trial or on appeal to the county court judge, and so Mr. Dillon, one of the most trusted, beloved, and universally respected of the Irish leaders, is now in Dundalk Gaol, with the prospect of six months' imprisonment before him.

Meanwhile the record of despotism in ordinary cases goes on. The number of cases for the last four weeks is as follows :—

Number of prosecutions for week ending—

		Dis-	On	Ad-
		missed,	bail.	jned.
May 29	...	44	22	12
June 5	...	32	0	2
June 12	...	30	2	3
June 19	...	55	29	19

Total number for the four weeks ... 161 102
Average number per week ... 40 $\frac{1}{4}$ 25 $\frac{1}{4}$

During this time 5 appeals were heard, and all of these were confirmed. Mr. Healy, however,

having discovered a way of taking the case of the Killeagh prisoners into a higher court, has obtained a condemnation of their sentence from the Chief Baron and his colleagues.

The analysis of the cases for the four weeks is as follows :—

Class	I.—Agrarian cases	15	1	3	6
"	II.—Public meeting cases, &c. ...	63	40	1	18
"	III.—Incitement to resist sheriff ...	2	2	0	0
"	IV.—Boycotting and intimidation ...	36	5	14	6
"	V.—Sale of newspapers ...	1	0	0	0
"	VI.—"Star Chamber" cases: refusal to give evidence... 42	5	0	0	0
"	VII.—Refusal to pay the Whelehan tax	2	0	0	1
		161	53	18	31

The large number of cases in Class VI. is the most noteworthy feature of this analysis. Four persons were imprisoned at Falcarragh three times in succession because they refused to give evidence before the courts of inquiry instituted by the Coercion Act of last year. On being brought up for the fourth time on June 16th, being still obstinate, they were at last discharged. Another of the same party, an old man named O'Donnell, fainted on his way to prison the third time, and was discharged then. On the other hand it does not appear that anyone has yet been induced by these arbitrary imprisonings to give the evidence required. Still, brave Mr. Balfour thinks he is succeeding.

DIARY OF THE MOVEMENT.

June 1.—Mr. J. Douglas Pyne, M.P., released from Clonmel Goal, and received with loud applause by the people.—Mr. Evelyn Ashley adopted as Unionist candidate for Ayr Burghs.

June 3.—Mr. Patrick McHugh, editor of the *Sligo Champion*, selected by a convention of Nationalists as candidate for South Sligo.

June 5.—Friends of the "rural labourers" dine at Willis's Rooms under the presidency of Lord Hartington, and devote their time to abuse of the Home Rule Party.

June 6.—Father McFadden leaves Derry for Dublin amid extraordinary popular demonstrations of affection.—Three men refused to give evidence before Joyce and Hamilton, R.M.'s, respecting the removal of hay from a boycotted farm, and

were sent back to the gaol at Galway from which they had been brought.

June 7.—At the meeting of the London Liberal and Radical Union at St. James' Hall Mr. John Morley delivers an elaborate indictment of the Balfour Coercion régime. The following resolution was carried with one dissentient: "That this meeting views with indignation the extension of the coercion policy of the Government in directions not contemplated in Parliament, and the character of the prison treatment to which the political opponents of the Government are subjected."—The Limerick Corporation approves the action of the Catholic members respecting the Papal rescript.

June 8.—In a letter to the *Ayrshire Post* Mr. Gladstone exposes the conduct of the Unionists.—Mr. Dillon addresses a great meeting at Ayr in support of Mr. Sinclair.

June 11.—Eighteen members of the Gurteen (Sligo) branch of the National League arrested for conspiracy, and remanded on bail.—In the House of Commons Mr. Balfour denies that lads and old women in Cork were prevented by the police from selling copies of the *Cork Herald* and *Cork Examiner*.

June 12.—At Falcurragh four prisoners remanded to gaol (three for the fourth time) for refusing to give evidence. An old man fainted on his third journey from gaol.

June 13.—Members of Irish Parliamentary Party who have suffered under the Coercion Act entertained by Mr. Parnell at dinner.—J. P. Hayden, proprietor of the *Westmeath Examiner*, released from Tullamore Gaol after an imprisonment of three months.

June 14.—Mr. Balfour refuses to state why the county of Dublin is proclaimed under the Coercion Act, and admits that there is no abnormal crime there.—At Skibbereen reductions in rent made by the Sub-Commission at the rate of from 30 to 35 per cent.—The cattle of farmers who refused to pay the Whelehan tax seized and sent to Ennis.

June 15.—Mr. John Sinclair, Liberal Home Ruler, elected for Ayr Burghs by 2,331 votes against 2,268 given to Mr. Evelyn Ashley, Dissident. In 1886 the Dissident majority was 1,175.

June 18.—The Irish Vice-Chancellor granted a perpetual injunction to compel the removal of Land League huts on the Coolgreeney estate.—Harold P. Snelling, of London, released from Limerick Gaol.

June 20.—Mr. John Dillon's sentence of six months' imprisonment confirmed by County Court Judge Kisbey at Dundalk. The County of Louth was not proclaimed till after Mr. Dillon's speech (which was one disowning violence) was delivered there.—In the Dublin Exchequer divi-

sion the boycotting case at Killeagh (the Queen v. Heaphy) came on. A conditional order for a *habeas corpus* had been obtained by the prisoner, and this order was now made absolute.—Mr. Condon released from Cork Gaol, where he had been spending a month for advising the people not to pay the Leahy tax.—Sentence of three months on James Helpin for attending a proclaimed meeting at Ennis confirmed by County Court Judge Kelly.

June 21.—Father Gilligan and Mr. Malony, poor law guardian, sentenced by Mercer and Cecil Roche, R.M.'s, to a month's imprisonment for taking part in an unlawful assembly.—Imprisonment of Patrick O'Neill for six weeks confirmed by County Court Judge Kelly. The prisoner's "crime" consisted in wearing a National League card in his hat.—Jeremiah Brosnan sentenced at Tralee to six months' imprisonment for intimidating a Crown witness.

June 22.—Mr. Balfour fences with questions respecting the competence of the Killeagh magistrates to deal with cases of conspiracy, and refuses to order an inquiry into the death of an aged man who was evicted *in articulo mortis*.—Widespread protests against the imprisonment of Mr. Dillon.—John Albert Bright, Dissident, relinquishes his candidature at Rochdale.—Great force of police employed to assist in collecting the Leahy tax.

June 23rd.—Protests continue to be made from all parts against the imprisonment of Mr. Dillon.—Mr. O'Brien forwards to the President of the Glasgow Liberal Association cheque for £100, paid by the *Glasgow Herald* to Mr. O'Brien, to avoid action for libel, the cheque to be used in spreading the truth about Ireland.—Of the 613 persons who signed the protest against the Unitarian anti-coercion demonstration in the name of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, it is announced that 422 are not members of that Association.

June 25th.—Commencement of debate in House of Commons, on Mr. J. Morley's resolution condemning the administration of the Coercion Act. Speeches by Mr. Morley, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Reid, Mr. T. W. Russell, Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, Col. Saunderson, &c.—Protests against Mr. Dillon's imprisonment, from Wales, Plymouth, Wolverhampton, Oxford, and many other places.

June 26.—Continuance of debate in the House of Commons, on Mr. Morley's resolution. Speeches from Mr. W. O'Brien, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Sexton, and Mr. Balfour. The resolution rejected by 366 to 273. All the Liberals voted in the minority, while 64 Dissenters supported by their votes the Coercion Government.

June 27.—The case of Curtain and ten others, who were sentenced by Roche and Keogh, R.M.'s, on a charge of unlawful assembly, came before

Dublin Exchequer division, on application for writ of *habeas corpus*, on the ground of no sufficient evidence. The court was divided, and consequently there was "no rule."—Neilan and Cullen sentenced to eight days' imprisonment, for refusing to give evidence in the prosecution of John Fitzgibbon and others at Castlerea.—216 ejectments issued at Quarter Sessions at Wexford.

June 28.—Three other persons sent to prison, for refusing to give evidence in the Fitzgibbon prosecution at Castlerea.

June 29.—Mr. Morley speaks at Chelsea. Referring to the combination on the Massereene Estate, he said "it was a combination to incite men not to pay their unjust debts." "Of all forms of disorder none is so dire as disorder in uniform."

June 30.—Thanet election: return of Mr. Lowther. Unionist majority reduced from 2,008 to 658.

THE KILLEAGH CASE.

THE case of the Killeagh prisoners must have given a rude awakening to such as still believed that law, if not justice, is administered in Ireland. In the case itself there was probably no peculiarity. The conviction of these prisoners was probably not more scandalous than the conviction of scores of others. But, fortunately, it is a case which, by a technical accident, was brought before a regular tribunal, and in which the evidence has been submitted to the examination of competent judges. The result is to throw a strange light on the administration of the Crimes Act.

David Barry, Thomas Hearty, David Lynch, and Thomas Barry were charged before Messrs. Redmond and Gardiner, R.M.'s, for having unlawfully taken part in a criminal conspiracy to compel certain traders and shopkeepers, carrying on business at Killeagh, not to deal with certain members of the Royal Irish Constabulary engaged in protection duty on the Ponsonby Estate. David Parry was sentenced to, and underwent, a fortnight's imprisonment; the others were sentenced to, and when the case came before the Exchequer Division were undergoing, a month's imprisonment. The magistrates were asked to state a case for a superior court, and they refused, deciding that the point on which the application was based was a frivolous one.

The case was brought before the Exchequer Division, when Chief Baron Palles and Mr. Justice Andrews (Baron Dowse dissenting) held that they had jurisdiction to review the evidence. Having reviewed the evidence, they held that there was absolutely no evidence to sustain the convictions. In order to establish a case of conspiracy within the Act, it was necessary, according to the Lord

Chief Baron, that the refusal to deal should be accomplished by either compulsion or by undue influence. "Now I am bound to say," he said, "that I do not find one shadow of evidence of that in this case, and I do not find any evidence upon which it can be argued"—excepting one statement in the evidence relating to David Barry. What was the exception? It was evidence, so far as it went, to show that David Barry was intimidated, not that he intimidated others. To treat that as evidence against him was "to mistake the injured party for the person who was doing the wrongful act;" but the magistrates had made this extraordinary mistake.

Baron Dowse dissented. Some rash Unionist journals unwisely seized on this fact to break the fall. Unfortunately for them, Baron Dowse's dissent was confined to the purely technical question of jurisdiction. On the merits of the case, and on the justice of the local justices, he was entirely with his brother judges. In short, the objections which were dismissed as frivolous by the resident magistrates were regarded as fatal by the judges of the Exchequer Division.

Is it not a serious question for English electors whether if the many other convictions secured by resident magistrates had been reviewed by a competent court, the result would not have been a similar reversal? It suggests very plainly that at the present moment there are many men in Irish prisons who have been sent there not only unjustly but unlawfully.

The following is that part of Baron Dowse's judgment in which he deals with the merits of the case. We quote it in full, as a remarkable and even startling condemnation of the present administration of the law in Ireland:—"I wish to say a word upon the other part of the case, too, because the justices were asked here to state a case for the opinion of the Superior Court, which they declined to do. Mr. Healy stated that, and he proved the truth of his observation by handing up the documents containing the answer of the justices in each of these cases. There are several things I have never been able to understand in the course of my life, and one of them is the mind of local justices, or how they bring their minds to bear upon a case; and I am less able to understand very often the state of mind of the justices of whose legal competence the Lord Lieutenant has been satisfied. Now, these justices—I never saw either of them, and never heard of them before except once I heard of one of them—how they have satisfied themselves that the point made here was a frivolous one I cannot comprehend. My Lord Chief Baron has shown, it appears to me conclusively, that so far from being a frivolous point it is a perfectly good one. The way Mr. Ronan argued it is this, and he said everything that could be

said in the case. It is not his fault that the case is not a better one than it is in some respects. The evidence given of the refusal of various parties to supply bread to the police, in my opinion, constitutes evidence from which a jury might come to the conclusion that a conspiracy existed to starve the police or not to supply them with bread. Well, Mr. Ronan then says that if it be evidence of a conspiracy, and he says one punishable at common law—it might not be punishable at common law unless they intended to injure them—I think it might be inferred that it was intended to injure them. He then says that every man against whom there was evidence that he was a member of that conspiracy might be convicted of a further conspiracy—namely, a conspiracy at common law to induce every other body who was a member of that conspiracy to enter into it. Now, I said in the course of the argument that it might be that the man who was brought before the justices might be the victim of that conspiracy himself instead of the organiser of that conspiracy. Mr. Ronan had the courage of his convictions, at all events, and he said that if there was a conspiracy of a thousand people not to supply bread to the police, that would be evidence that every one of those thousand people entered into a conspiracy to induce the remainder of the thousand people not to supply bread to the police. I cannot follow that, I confess. I am of the same opinion as my Lord Chief Baron on that part of the case; and why these justices did not in a proper way state a case for the opinion of the Superior Court, I say, surpasses my comprehension. I hope for the future they will be wiser, and they will not be of opinion that a point practically decided by the majority of the Court of Exchequer, substantially decided by the majority, and practically decided by the whole of it, that that is a frivolous point. Whatever they may think privately, I don't think they can lay that down generally. I think they ought to bear in mind that men that are brought up under this Act of Parliament have rights, and that it is far better that acts should go unpunished rather than that parties should be punished against the law, or by straining the law. And I came across, in the course of my reading, a few remarks which it would be useful for the justices to bear in mind. It is in Finlay's History of Greece, 'Where true liberty exists, every agent of the administration, from the gendarme to the Finance Minister'—I suppose that will include a resident magistrate of whose legal knowledge the Lord Lieutenant is satisfied—'must be rendered personally responsible to the citizen whom his act affects, for the legality of every act he carries into action. This is the real foundation of English liberty, and the great legal principle which distinguishes the law of England from the laws of the Continental nations of Europe and that of

Rome, from which they are derived.' I would not say anything upon that other point only for the strong opinion I entertain upon it. But I think if due effect is to be given to that, it must be by the local justices themselves, and that the Act of Parliament having provided an appeal where it is applicable, and where it is not applicable when any difficulty is raised they should state a case for the opinion of the Superior Court."

THE IRISH BISHOPS ON IRISH LAND GRIEVANCES.

LAST month we published the manifesto of the Irish Catholic Members of Parliament in reply to the allegations contained in the Papal rescript. We set out below another manifesto, which, considering the quarter from which it proceeds, is of even greater importance. It is a statement on the present position of the Irish land question, which was drawn up and unanimously adopted at the recent general meeting of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, held in the College of Maynooth, on Wednesday and Thursday, the 27th and 28th June:—

"Having become aware from the recent comments of many of the leading organs of public opinion throughout Europe that a widespread misconception still prevails as to the existing state of the land laws in Ireland, we deem it our duty to make the following statement on the subject.

"We do not aim at enumerating all the grievances of which the agricultural tenants of Ireland may justly complain. We fully recognise the impossibility of dealing with many of them in the present Session of Parliament. But in our opinion there are certain most pressing grievances which, in the interest of public order, as well as of justice, imperatively call for immediate legal redress.

"I. The fundamental demand of the agricultural tenants of Ireland in the matter of rent is, as it has always in substance been, for the establishment of an impartial public tribunal to adjudicate between landlord and tenant. The tenants do not claim that the amount of rent to be paid should be fixed by themselves. What they object to is that it should be determined by the arbitrary will of a landlord.

"II. It is unnecessary here to enumerate the special circumstances of the Irish land system which put the justice of the tenant's claim in this matter beyond question. The principle that Irish agricultural tenants should be protected by law against the imposition of exorbitant rents, and against eviction in consequence of the non-payment

of such rents, has long since been recognised by Parliament. It is the fundamental principle of the Land Act of 1881 and of several subsequent statutes.

“III. The present claim of the tenants, then, is for the full and effective application of this principle. Even as regards those classes of agricultural tenants on whom the right of having their rents fixed by a public tribunal has been conferred by Acts of Parliament, obstacles have been allowed by the Legislature to remain, which in very many cases practically render those Acts inoperative.

“IV. By far the most serious of these obstacles is that which has arisen from the accumulation of the arrears of exorbitant rents. In the present state of the law, tenants weighed down by this burden—and such tenants are to be numbered by the thousand throughout the country—are hopelessly excluded from the possibility of obtaining effective redress through the Courts. The heavy indebtedness of such tenants puts it in the power of a harsh landlord to use the threat of eviction as a means of keeping back the tenant from making any application to the Court; and even in cases where the intervention of the Court is obtained, the Court, owing to its inability to lessen the debt of arrears, is powerless to ward off from the tenant the danger of eviction. It has, indeed, jurisdiction to reduce his exorbitant rent; but it has no power to lessen in any way the heavy indebtedness that has come upon him from his inability to pay that exorbitant rent in the past. So long as this indebtedness remains he is at the mercy of the landlord.

“V. Again, there are thousands of tenants throughout the country who have been ousted from the right of having recourse to the Courts by the service of eviction notices, which have, in fact, altogether deprived them of their legal status as tenants.

“VI. It cannot be alleged in excuse for the continued failure to afford legal protection to the tenants in the cases we have mentioned, and in others unnecessary to enumerate here, that any serious difficulty exists in providing an adequate remedy.

“As regards the question of arrears, for instance, it is a fact of public notoriety that at the present moment there is in operation in Scotland an Act of Parliament specially devised to afford protection in this very matter to Scotch tenants.

“The actual working of the Scotch Act to which we refer is sufficiently disclosed by the fact stated in an official report recently published by the Commission by which that Act is administered. The reductions judicially granted by the Commission amount to over 30 per cent. on the rents, and to no less than 6x per cent. on the arrears, in the cases decided by them.

“A proposal for the extension of this law to Ireland has been rejected by Parliament during the present Session. We are utterly unable to comprehend upon what principle a difference of treatment so notably to the disadvantage of Irish tenants can be justified.

“VII. We deem it our duty to add that unless Parliament at once apply some really effective measure for the protection of Irish tenants from oppressive exactions and from arbitrary eviction, consequences the most disastrous, no less to public order than to the safety of the people, will almost inevitably ensue.”

The statement is signed by the Archbishops of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam, and the Bishops of Derry, Dromore, Elphin, Killaloe, Meath, Clogher, Cloyne, Kildare and Leighlin, Galway and Kilmacduagh, Ross, Clonfert, Killala, Ardagh and Clonmacnois, Kerry, Cork, Ferns, Ossory, Waterford, Down and Connor, Limerick, Raphoe, Kilmore, Achonry, Killaloe (coadjutor), Clonfert (coadjutor), and Canea.

TO JOHN DILLON.

NOW IN DUNDALK GAOL.

I.

“Libertà va cercando, ch'è sì cara,
Come sa chi per lei vita risiuta.”—*Purgatorio, c. i.*

II.

(From the German of Sallet.)

And though these eyes they choose to blind,
Must then the sun be cast in shade?
And though in prison I'm confined—
Freedom will live without mine aid.

And even though this hand be bound
For wielding pen in lieu of sword,
A hand and pen will still be found,
While yet one true heart seeks the Lord.

And though there pass to nothingness,
My message, lit with heavenly fire,
It will but mean one note the less
In the thundering thousand-voiced quire.

Do you expect the glad spring-tide,
Of sap, strength, light, and song to fail,
Because your clumsy hands are dyed
With blood of one poor nightingale?

H. A. M.

III.

We have seen you stand at the prison-gate,
Whom the people love so well;
And we knew you ready for either fate—
Free air or prison cell:
To rally them with a trumpet-call,
Or in muffled tones through a dungeon wall
The oft-told tale to tell.

We see you stand by a prison gate,
Where a nation's limbs are bound,
The fetters gall and lacerate,
And we hear their hateful sound.
But you bid us await the coming hours,
When the shadow of its frowning towers
Shall darken no more the ground.

We see you stand by the prison gate,
Where monsters have lurked too long,
Oppression, and vengeance, and scorn, and
hate,
And strife between weak and strong.
You will drag them forth and have them
slain,
And the Right shall be crowned as King
again,
In the stead of usurping wrong.

You shall not stand at the prison gate,
Alone in Patience sore;
The millions watch, the millions wait,
There are hands and hearts galore.
The day is coming, the day of fate—
We will break the bars of the prison gate,
For ever and evermore.

J. S. J.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

A MEETING of the Executive Committee was held at Palace Chambers on June 5th, when there were present Dr. Bernard O'Connor (who occupied the chair), Mrs. Beesly, Mrs. Bryant, Messrs. E. Walford, G. P. Macdonell, and the Hon. Secretaries.

After the transaction of the routine business, a motion was carried authorising the hon. secretaries to apply for a stand at the Irish Exhibition, where literature, maps and photographs published by the Home Rule Union, illustrating the facts of the Irish political situation, might be offered for sale to the public. As it was announced to the committee that a stand occupying a prominent position had already been allotted to the Liberal Unionists, on which their cartoons and papers were displayed, it was felt that the importance of

giving at least equal prominence to the Home Rule side of the question would be generally recognised. It was also decided to apply to the Ladies' Committee to make arrangements for appropriate attendance at the stall. The Committee decided to equip a van for the sale of the Home Rule Union's publications, the idea being that this conveyance should travel round London and the country, and be in attendance at every open-air meeting during the summer. (It may here be stated that the driver of the van will probably be the policeman who threw down his rifle at the Coolgreany eviction.) The Committee sanctioned the affiliation to the Union of the Oxford University Home Rule League, the Cleveland Liberal Association, and the Middlesborough Liberal Club.

The Executive Committee met again on June 27, when there were present Prof. Stuart, M.P. (in the chair), Messrs. J. A. Picton, M.P., E. Walford, J. E. Gibb, Hugh Boyd, W. S. Robson, Rev. J. S. Jones, Dr. O'Connor, G. P. Macdonell, and the Hon. Secretaries.

The Secretary reported that the application for a stall at the Irish Exhibition had been refused.

The Chairman announced that he had received a letter from Mr. E. J. C. Morton, containing suggestions for the future work of the Union, but the consideration of it was adjourned to the next meeting of the Executive.

A letter was then read from the Hon. Secretaries, tendering their resignations. In view of the expanding work of the Union this was accepted, and the warmest thanks of the Executive were voted to them for their valuable services. A letter was then read from the Secretary, tendering his resignation, which was also accepted with thanks for his services. It was then decided to ask Mr. E. J. C. Morton to accept the office of Secretary to the Union, at a salary of £300 a year.

Formal sanction was given to the affiliation of the Spalding Division Women's Liberal Association, the South Oxfordshire Liberal Association, the Ealing Liberal Club, the Uxbridge Liberal and Radical Club, and the Westminster Women's Liberal Association.

The Committee then adjourned until July 3.

Paddington Women's Branch of the Home Rule Union.—Amongst other women's local centres of the Home Rule Union just formed, or in course of formation, is the northern division of the Hyde Park Branch, taking in Paddington and Bayswater. At its first committee meeting, on the 11th June, a resolution was passed urging members to give aid in the registration work so urgent on

Liberals at this time of the year. Members also pledged themselves to organise during the summer evenings small open-air meetings in poor districts, at which ladies should speak, and at which the singing of Irish national airs could be introduced if feasible. Those wishing to give help of *any kind* to this branch are requested to communicate with Mrs. Hy. Holmes, 7, Warrington Gardens, W.; or Miss Ethel Mallet, Hon. Sec., 6, Pembridge Place, Bayswater.

APPOINTMENT OF MR. MORTON AS SECRETARY.

In the report of the second meeting of the Executive Committee will be noticed the appointment of Mr. E. J. C. Morton as Secretary of the Home Rule Union. We are sure that the Committee in taking this step will have the approval of every member of the Union. The services which Mr. Morton has already rendered are well-known, but only those who have been engaged with him in our daily political work can know their real extent and value. In the future we are persuaded that we shall gain much, and that the liberal cause will be greatly benefited, by his connection with the Union being made closer than it has been.

"The happiness or misery of multitudes can never be a thing indifferent: a law against the majority of the people is, in substance, a law against the people itself. Its extent determines its invalidity."—*Burke*.

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Alliott, R.	£0	5	0
Armstrong, Miss	0	5	0
Barrow, F. L. J.	0	10	0
Beeton, H. C.	2	2	0
Bennett, Rev. Theo., M.A.	1	1	0
*Bradford Women's Liberal Association (coupons)	...	...	...	1	12	6
Burdett, W.	...	...	...	0	10	0
Buss, Rev. Septimus	...	...	...	0	10	0
Cole, G. (donation)	...	...	...	0	1	0

Cooke-Smith, H.	...	...	...	0	10	0
Cooke-Smith, Mrs.	...	...	...	0	5	0
Coppen, H. W.	...	...	...	0	10	6
Coppen, J. F.	...	...	...	0	10	6
Duncan, Miss E. (coupons)	...	...	...	0	3	6
Ealing Liberal Association	...	...	...	0	5	0
Eve, Richard	...	...	...	2	2	0
Farrer, J. A.	...	...	...	1	0	0
Hannam, F. W.	...	...	...	0	5	0
Hember, R. G.	...	...	...	0	5	0
Hendon Liberal Association	...	...	...	0	5	0
Jones, The Rev. J. S.	...	...	...	0	10	0
Jones, J. H.	...	...	...	0	5	0
Kendling, E.	...	...	...	1	0	0
Lockhart, The Rev. —	...	...	...	0	2	6
McKenna, The Rev. Canon	...	...	...	0	5	0
Milne, J. V.	...	...	...	0	10	0
Nichols, T. C.	...	...	...	0	2	6
Notcutt, Mrs.	...	...	...	0	5	0
O'Connor, J. B.	...	...	...	0	10	6
Orme, Miss (coupons)	...	...	...	2	19	0
Phillips, William	...	...	...	5	0	0
Piper, Miss E. M.	...	...	...	1	0	0
Robinson, N.	...	...	...	1	0	0
Rotherfield Liberal Association	...	...	...	1	1	0
Saunders, J.	...	...	...	1	1	0
Selincourt, Charles de	...	...	...	5	0	0
Sharman-Crawford, Miss	...	...	...	1	0	0
Sheerness and Isle of Sheppey Junior Liberal Association	...	...	...	0	5	0
South Oxfordshire Liberal Association	...	...	...	0	5	0
Spalding Division Women's Liberal Association	...	...	...	0	5	0
Uxbridge Liberal and Radical Club	...	...	...	0	5	0
Vine, J.	...	...	...	0	2	6
Walford, E., M.A.	...	...	...	5	0	0
Wates, J.	...	...	...	2	2	0
Weeden, W.	...	...	...	0	2	6
Wilson, J. R.	...	...	...	1	0	0

*Omitted from last month's list.

Subscriptions to the Home Rule Union should be sent to the Hon. Secretaries, 17 & 18, Palace Chambers, Westminster. Annual Subscribers of Five Shillings and upwards to the Home Rule Union will receive the Monthly Journal free.

JOURNAL OF THE HOME RULE UNION.

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* * * Communications, &c., relating to the supply of the JOURNAL should be addressed to the Hon. Treasurer; other communications to the Editor of the JOURNAL, 17 & 18, Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, Westminster.

THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR MANDEVILLE'S DEATH.

BY MR. WILFRID S. BLUNT.

As there seems to be a tendency among the Opposition leaders to minimise Mr. Balfour's personal responsibility in the Mandeville case, I submit the following remarks based upon my own prison experience.

The prison officials in Ireland are, without exception in my experience, humane and worthy men. For their own comfort's sake, they are anxious to avoid collision with the prisoners; and, except under pressure from the Prisons Board, would remain on a kindly footing with them. They are, however, terribly afraid of the Board, and of the system of dela-

tion encouraged by it. They are ill-paid, and are subject to fines for breaches of discipline, and are dismissible at will. Leading a melancholy life, they are particularly subject to the temptation of drink; and this lays them open to charges of intemperance, which afford an easy occasion, when it is desired, for their dismissal.

Of the six officers most directly responsible for my disciplinary treatment, five have, to my knowledge, incurred punishment. Capt. Mason, the governor of Galway Gaol, an easy-going man, who relaxed the rules very considerably in my favour, has been required to leave the service. Chief-warden Grant has been degraded in rank, reduced in pay, and removed to a convict prison. Warden Denby, specially in charge of me, has been dismissed; and two other warders connected with me have been fined and reprimanded. The charges brought against them were, indeed, mainly foreign to my case; but I have no doubt whatever that their humanity towards me was the prime cause of their disgrace. They are practically at the mercy of the Board, and, through the Board, of the Government.

When taken to Galway Gaol I had no intention of refusing to comply with the prison rules, but I found it necessary to make a stand on the subject of my own coat. The prison dress is neither sufficient in cold weather, nor for a grown man quite decent, and I insisted on retaining my own coat in addition to it.

The governor allowed me to wear it for several days, and it was only, as he himself told me, under direct and imperative orders from Dublin that he used force to deprive me of it. There is nothing in the printed prison rules authorising such violence. He apologised to me for it at the time, and so did the warders. The visiting justices recommended that my coat should be restored to me, that I should have firing, a large print Bible, books, and writing materials. All these matters were referred to Dublin and refused, the telegraphic answers being signed "Prisons Board," but headed "Chief Secretary's Office." Capt. Mason, when I asked him what the relations were between the Prisons Board and Mr. Balfour, answered that they were precisely the same as those between himself and the Board, that is to say, "they must do exactly as they are told." It was never pretended that the order to deprive me of my coat was given by anyone but Mr. Balfour.

The petty vexations to which I was submitted, the withdrawal of my Bible, the seizure of my pockethandkerchiefs, my deprivation of hair brushes and tooth brushes, and the rest, were in consequence of visits from the Prisons Board Inspector Joyce. There can be no reasonable doubt that Mr. Balfour himself ordered John Mandeville to be stripped. At the time he ordered the seizure of my great-coat, another political prisoner, Martin Egan, in the same gaol, was wearing his own ordinary clothes unmolested; so that it cannot be pretended that I was assaulted in accordance with any immutable rule. The warders in Galway Gaol told me they could not in practice carry out the rules in every case to the letter. It would be cruel, and sometimes dangerous. In my case the rules were constantly relaxed. I was never required to clean my cell, or to take more exercise than I wished. The oakum I picked was entirely at my discretion. I was

never once "punished," though my warders were; and the Governor and other officials always addressed me as "sir." The special treatment allotted to each prisoner was unquestionably decided by Mr. Balfour's caprice.

Similarly, in regard to medical treatment, the prison surgeons are, I believe, humane and honourable men. But in their relations with their political prisoners they are interfered with by the Government. Dr. Kinkaid, who attended me at Galway, was, to my knowledge, summoned before the Prisons Board at Dublin and cautioned regarding me by Mr. Bourke, the Chairman of the Board. He was forbidden, I understand, to take me into hospital except in the case of my very serious illness, and was threatened with the interference of another doctor if he should so remove me. I attribute to this warning the fact that he afterwards neglected to take Mr. John Roche into hospital until it was too late. It seems to me highly probable that the unfortunate Dr. Ridley had similar pressure put on him at headquarters; and that he destroyed himself finding that he had been made an instrument of by the Government without means of proving the orders he had received. Dr. Kinkaid's instructions in my case were verbal.

I argue from these facts three things.

1. The Prisons Board, which was instituted to protect prisoners from local abuses and irregularities, has been made use of, like every other institution in Ireland, as an instrument of the Government against political prisoners, the ordinary discipline of the prisons being strained in their case capriciously by the Chief Secretary.

2. The prison surgeons, who should be solely responsible for their patients' health, have been subjected to Government pressure through the Prisons Board, and have thus ceased to be quite responsible agents.

3. The Chief Secretary remains as the

sole representative of power and the sole person responsible for life and death in the Irish prisons.

CANVASSING—THE SECRET OF SUCCESS.

BY DR. BERNARD O'CONNOR.

"I HAVE occupied the same house for over three years; why don't they take my vote?" a respectable tradesman complained at the polling-station on the very day of the poll. He then announced that he had been a good Liberal all his life; he had voted as such when he was living at ——; he thought that every householder had a vote wherever he lived, &c., &c., &c. It is very useful work to whip up and to bring to the poll the voters whose names appear on the then Register; it is very gratifying and very easy, though not quite such useful, work to address large and enthusiastic public meetings of Liberal and Home Rule sympathisers; but, speaking generally, it is practically useless to convince men *who have no votes* of the desirability of first settling the Irish Question before any other matter can be seriously taken in hand. Election agents may do their best, local leaders and prominent M.P.'s from a distance may charm their listeners, yet the election may be lost for the very sufficient and simple reason that there are on the Register more Tories than Home Rule Liberals. Why, in many boroughs and county-divisions, is this the case? Because the unpleasant, irksome, drudgery of calling, during July and August, at every house in the borough and division, for the purpose of finding out all the Liberals (owners, occupiers, lodgers, &c.) has been neglected. Addressing meetings is all very well, but thorough house-to-house canvassing is the secret of success.

Some of us have taken part in elections in many, a few of us in all, capacities—as unsuccessful candidates in boroughs; as speakers at meetings all over the country; as "whips" on the polling day; as honorary agents for other candidates, but very few as canvassers also. One of these few is entitled to an expression of opinion on the subject of canvassing in general.

It is now (August 1) not too late to continue the unpleasant and apparently thankless task. Nearly three weeks yet remain for valuable work. If it has not already been commenced, there should be got together forthwith, in each district of every borough and division, a committee of active men, willing and competent to undertake and perform the duty. A dozen or twenty are generally sufficient. Each one should be provided with a few canvassing books (such, e.g., as are issued by the Liberal and Radical Pub-

lishing Association, 83, Farringdon Street, London, E.C.), and in each book the name of the street, road, &c., should be inserted at the top of each page. Columns are provided for the numbers, names of resident occupiers, their politics, and for any remarks which it may be useful to make in connection with each house. Many of the blanks can be filled up in *red* ink from the existing register; the names of those who have commenced occupation since the 15th of July, 1886, can be obtained from local directories and other sources and inserted in *black* ink. The book is now ready for the canvasser, who, armed with a pencil, commences at No. 1 in the street, and inquires if Mr. So-and-So is at home. The canvasser will be at a great disadvantage if he encounters a space in the book with no name entered, for he will then have no introduction to the house. If he sees the occupier it is a good method to commence by saying: "I have come to ask whether, for the purposes of parliamentary registration, we should regard you as a Liberal or as a Conservative," and, before there is time for any remark, to add, "I am canvassing for the Liberals." This almost invariably elicits a prompt and an ample reply. If a Liberal occupier has been encountered, he should be told that the district Liberal association have instituted a thorough house-to-house canvass, and, if the occupier is not already a member of the association, should be presented with a circular setting forth the names of the officers and the rules of the association, a printed note of invitation to join, and a form (to be filled up later) for nomination as a member, and a space should be left for the intending member to insert the amount of any subscription or donation which he may feel disposed to forward. He should also be informed of the meetings of the canvassers, &c., assured of a hearty welcome, and invited to supply the names of all Liberals, whether owners, occupiers, or lodgers (this would cover his own house, and thus avoid an awkward question), whom he may know to be entitled to have a vote, but whose names do not appear on the current register. A friendly Liberal will not resent an invitation to his sons to come on as lodgers. After leaving the house the canvasser should make the appropriate entry in pencil and proceed to No. 2. If a blank is found opposite a number, he should ask for some imaginary person. If the name of a lady occupier has been copied from a directory, he should ask for Mr. (of the same name); most likely he will be told that a widow resides there; he would do well, in such a case, to explain fully the reason of his calling, and he may in that way discover some Liberal lodgers; if so, he should see them, insert under the widow's name "See lodgers," and at the end of the book, in the lodger portion, enter the necessary informa-

tion. It will often be found that a male occupier has had the house only six months, or even less; but, as he is a potential voter, a full entry should, nevertheless, be made, as the information will be of use the following year, whatever the occupier's politics may be. The present address of the late, and the previous residence of the present occupier should, if possible, be recorded for the purpose of "succession," if in the same borough or division, or of assisting distant associations. Of course, our canvasser must be prepared for many curious replies: "I am neither Liberal nor Conservative;" "I do not vote at all as I occupy a public position," said a gentleman connected with the management of the neighbouring railway company; one lodger wished his name not to appear, as he objected to serve on a jury; one man, whose name was on the register, "never voted either way," and never would; another would "have nothing to do with it"; and yet another thought that voting was by ballot, and would not "divulge" his politics. The canvasser's ready wit (if he has any) will generally succeed in turning the joke in his own favour. Besides this, he will have to put up with silly, irrelevant, and, in some cases, insolent remarks. Only a novice at canvassing will approach a house with book and pencil visible. It will often happen that the occupier is away from home. Undoubtedly, the best practice is to call, and call, and call again, as was done *thirteen* times in one case, and the energetic canvasser was ready to call thirteen times more, although he had been assured by Mrs. D — that her husband was a sound Liberal. The fourteenth visit revealed the fact that he would never again vote for Mr. Gladstone. It is as well never to take anything for granted. A personal interview is the best, but, failing this, a (queried) insertion should be made of whatever information is forthcoming. Sanguine canvassers have frequently been the cause of too roseeate a calculation made during an election which has ultimately gone the wrong way. The entries "L." (Liberal), "C." (Conservative), "D. L." (Dissentient Liberal), or "D." (Doubtful), are to be preferred to "ticks" in the corresponding column, as these latter marks are often made in a hurry and in insufficient light, and sometimes they find their way into the wrong space. The letters are more trustworthy. It is useless to argue points, or to attempt conversions, when canvassing. The thing to be done is to insert all the Gladstone Liberals on the register, and when once they are on to keep them up to the mark. Not a few cherish the conviction that both political parties should unite for the purpose of putting on the register the names of all who are entitled to appear thereon. This may be the very perfection of political virtue, but as we have to deal with the Philistines, it is safer to get on and

retain all the Liberals, and to keep or put off all the Tories that we can. Liberals should be invited to inform the local association of their whereabouts when they change their addresses. A record should be made of all houses unoccupied on the 15th of July. All insertions should be written out in ink at home, the pencil marks erased, and the books should be produced at the next weekly meeting of the canvassers, who should then compare notes with each other as to removals within the same borough or division. At this point our canvasser completes his most important work, which is now ready to be utilised by those who are responsible for the registration, including the issue of the several prescribed forms, and the timely, safe delivery of them to the overseers when duly filled up; to all which matters a future article will, perhaps, be devoted. Suffice it to say here that too much laxity exists at the Revising Barristers' Courts in the infliction of fines on careless, negligent, or unscrupulous overseers.

One word on the subject of paid canvassers. If a staff of competent volunteers is forthcoming, payment need never be even thought of. The general opinion of those experienced in the matter is opposed to paid canvassing. A man paid so much a-day takes three weeks to do the work which an active volunteer will perform in as many days; and paid piecework (so much for every dozen Liberal entries) results in a magnificent array, *on paper*, of supporters who are conspicuous by their absence in the hour of need.

In conclusion, it may be remarked that some silly persons seem to think that anyone is competent to canvass from house to house, but the bare suggestion to do so themselves is resented by them as being, in their case, *infra dig.* Too much care cannot be exercised in the selection of canvassers, the mere personal appearance and bearing of some of whom would, in certain instances, ensure a curt, if not a contemptuous, dismissal.

A SCHEME OF RELIEF FOR EVICTED TENANTS.

BY MRS. BEESLY.

LAST April a scheme was started by the Women's Associations at Bradford for collecting clothing for the evicted tenants in the poorest parts of Ireland. The plan was approved of by Mr. W. O'Brien, M.P., Mr. T. Harrington, M.P., and others of the Irish leaders. Among those English men and women who have given help to the scheme may be mentioned Lord and Lady Ripon, Lady Constance Shaw Lefevre, Mrs. Alfred Ilkingworth, Mrs. Byles, Mrs. Priestley, Mr. J. Craven, M.P., &c. Many who could not afford to give money have helped with their work; the

members of the Bradford Association meeting together to make or mend the clothes that were given. Five large bales have been already sent to Ireland. A small green card was fastened to each article, on which was printed, "A token of sympathy and friendship from the women of Bradford," and two clasped hands.

The bales have been sent to Loughrea, Glenariffe, Ardagh (co. Limerick), Gweedore, and East Mayo, and friends in Ireland thoroughly acquainted with the various places and circumstances, have undertaken to distribute the contents with care.

A relation of Mr. John Dillon, M.P., Mrs. Deane, who has distributed the gifts to East Mayo, writes:—"It will give me extreme pleasure to undertake the work, and I shall have the assistance of a patriotic priest, who unfortunately has a good many evicted people in his parish. You can never realise the effect your sympathy has on our poor suffering people, and we bless and thank you from the depths of our hearts."

Dr. Duggan, Bishop of Clonfert, who has taken charge of the Loughrea bale, writes:—"The sympathetic interest Mr. Shaw-Lefevre and others of your people are showing, by word as well as word, has awakened a new feeling to which the poor Irish have for centuries been strangers."

Again he says:—"The parcel of clothing reached safely, and is already in process of distribution by the Sisters of Mercy and a few others. The ladies tell me they are as *valuable as welcome*. Those manifestations of sympathy were never more needed, nor so likely to help to efface the bitter memories of the past relations between the two countries. No words could describe the condition of things on this side of the channel. Frankly, to me life here is a misery, witnessing scenes of hardship and listening to stories of suffering beyond my power to redress or alleviate."

The Bishop of the Gweedore district writes:—"The Rev. A. McNelis, C.C., of Gweedore, co. Donegal, knows every family in his district, and can be relied on to see a proper distribution made if you forward the bale to him. Going through his hands the gifts are sure to do much good, and I am sure with you that the givers have their rich reward already. The bale will be prized in Gweedore for its intrinsic value; but even in that poor place the noble spirit in which it is sent will be esteemed much more highly."

Similar letters have been received as to the other bales, and show that more help is urgently needed.

The idea that has been so well carried out in Bradford has been taken up by some other Liberal Associations of Women, among which are Ealing, Kennington, Paddington, Whitehaven, Ambleside (by money), and several others.

Mrs. Beesly, President of the Paddington Women's Liberal Association, will be glad to give further information by letter; and parcels of clothes or materials of a serviceable kind may be sent to her at 53, Warrington Crescent, Maida Vale, W., during the month of September. It is intended to send the contributions from Paddington to Ireland about the middle of October.

WITH THE VAN IN WEST CAMBS.

BY THE REV. T. J. LAWRENCE.

July 23.

THE Home Rule Union van has now been at work for nearly a week, and in that short space of time it has succeeded in doing what many a far more ambitious and expensive instrument of political education would have utterly failed to accomplish. Some thousands of leaflets have been distributed by its means, a large proportion of them having been left by Pat Murray, the driver of the van, at the doors of isolated cottages and in out-of-the-way hamlets where few newspapers ever penetrate, and political clubs and political meetings are unknown. No reluctance whatever was shown to receive them. The people everywhere were glad of information, and though there has been little sale of pamphlets and maps, the extreme poverty of the agricultural labourer fully accounts for his disinclination to buy. Moreover, he is a man of slow perception, though when he does get a grip of an idea he holds it fast, and turns it over very shrewdly in his mind. To such a person a few leaflets afford quite as much mental food as he can digest at one meal; and there can be no doubt that many a short statement and pregnant sentence has been read, re-read, and pondered over with an amount of interest rarely bestowed upon the small ammunition of political warfare. An amusing instance of the labourer's shrewdness of thought and picturesqueness of phrase, was given at one of the van meetings held last Saturday night. A speaker was pointing out that the Allotments Act passed by the present Government was absolutely unworkable. "Yes," said a voice from the crowd, "it's a good seven feet high, and none of us poor chaps are tall enough to reach up to it."

The campaign opened in Royston Market Place at 3.30 p.m., on Wednesday, July 18th. The van left London on the previous Monday, and punctually to time Murray brought it into the quaint old town which had been the head-quarters of James I. on many a hunting expedition. The energetic local Liberals had advertised it well, and the result was a good gathering of farmers, mostly Tories, as a matter of course. At the appointed time the Rev. C. Corbould took the chair. Unfortunately Mr. Pierce Mahony, M.P., was not

able to be present. The brunt of the speaking, therefore, fell upon Mr. E. J. C. Morton and Mr. T. B. Baldwin, the Liberal agent for West Cambs.; but as the event showed, the championship of the Home Rule cause could not have been left in better hands. Hardly had Mr. Morton begun his speech when the Tories in the crowd began to interrupt. Led by a local doctor, they interjected questions and remarks of all kinds; but in justice to them it must be added that there was no attempt to break up the meeting. The medical gentleman was great on the alleged Parnell letters. "You believe he wrote them," shouted Mr. Morton. His answer was a stentorian "Yes." "You are sure the Government believes he wrote them?" Again the reply was affirmative. "You think the Government can prove that he was accessory before and after the fact to the murder of Lord Ed. Cavendish, and that he instigated others to murder Mr. Foster?" Another exultant "Yes" was shouted forth. "If that be so," was the reply, "can you tell me why the Government have not prosecuted Mr. Parnell to conviction, and brought him to a felon's doom?" There was no warding off such a thrust as this, and after a long half-hour of the same sort of work, Mr. Morton sat down, having silenced his opponents. Unfortunately, those in charge of the meeting put a resolution in favour of Home Rule, which was lost by 47 to 53, the great majority of the crowd not holding up their hands on either side. This narrow victory gave our adversaries some excuse for a little exultation. But to any one who knows the current of opinion in the farming class, it is simply marvellous that a Home Rule resolution put to a crowd of farmers and dealers on market-day in a country town, should have been defeated by such a narrow majority. The first attack of our van-guard was made upon an almost impregnable Tory fortress, and we may congratulate ourselves upon the fact that they came so near to carrying it. Since then no resolution has been put at the van meetings, and it is to be hoped the rule to abstain from putting them will be kept throughout the West Cambs. tour. In the villages there is little or no danger of defeat, but in many places the labourers who hold up their hands for them would be marked by Tory farmers, and it is not fair to expose them to such a risk.

After the Royston meeting the van jogged on to Bassingbourn, a large village of about 2,000 inhabitants, three miles from the scene of the afternoon gathering. There a good meeting was held in the evening, under the able presidency of Mr. Walter Titchmarsh, the energetic young Secretary of the Royston Liberal Association. Mr. Morton was again the chief speaker. A local farmer or two ventured upon a few interruptions, due evidently to a faith in Irish landlords

that was really touching, after all the disclosures of the past few years. They did not appear to have many followers in the crowd, which was composed for the most part of agricultural labourers evidently in sympathy with the speakers. The first day's tour of the van ended with a social gathering in the house of Mr. Goodwin, a local pillar of the cause, and it was getting late when the speakers and their friends started on their journey home in good spirits at the results of the opening of the campaign.

On Thursday evening, July 19th, a little incident occurred amusingly illustrative of the ways of thought and habits of action of rural Toryism. The objective point for the evening was the village of Guilden Morden, where the van arrived in excellent time, having passed during the day through Lillington and Steeple Morden. The meeting was held at one end of a wide grassy lane, just where it debouched upon the highway between Steeple Morden and Guilden Morden. A crowd of some three hundred people quickly assembled, and it kept steadily growing throughout the evening. Just after the proceedings commenced a Tory farmer and small land-owner drove past in his trap. He pulled up, and almost immediately commenced to shout out interruptions at Mr. T. Lough, who was speaking at the time. He was invited to address the meeting from the little platform fixed to the rear of the van. This he persistently declined to do; but, unfortunately, he was equally persistent in declining to cease from his interruptions. The head and front of our offence was that we were disturbing a peaceful village, the said disturbance consisting of nothing more than the holding of a meeting for the purpose of putting before the people of his neighbourhood a view of a great public question opposed to that which he entertained himself. Free discussion, appeals to labourers to form opinions for themselves, attempts to lay before them trustworthy information—these are the things the agricultural Tories utterly abhor; and, Tory-like, their just instinct is to terrorise and coerce. Our friend expressed in very uncomplimentary language a fervent hope that the Vicar of Tadlow, who was present, might be driven from his office and deprived of his cloth. He was also most decidedly of opinion that Mr. Lough was a paid spouter, who only took to that sort of work because he could do nothing better, and that the Irish in general were a set of lazy and murderous rascals, who spent their time lurking behind hedges for the purpose of getting a shot at any landlord or policeman who might happen to pass. Mr. Lough spoke admirably, in spite of these unmannerly interruptions; and when he had finished he walked up to the trap and succeeded in making his adversary half-ashamed of himself by a few pertinent

remarks. The trap was then driven away amid ironical cheers, and the Home Rule vicar made a point by declaring that, had this happened in Ireland, he would probably have had to stand his trial on some trumped-up charge of inciting the people, before the very gentleman who had interrupted them, who would most assuredly have been one of Balfour's resident magistrates.

Leaving Guilden Morden on the morning of Friday, July 20th, the van passed through the Bedfordshire village of Wrestlingworth and the town of Potton, in each of which places Mr. Lough held successful meetings. The evening meeting took place in the large village of Gamlingay, just over the West Cambs border. Here Mr. J. Fowler, the able secretary of the local Reform Club, had organised a capital gathering, to which Mr. Lough spoke fully upon the different phases of the Irish question. Here it was that Pat Murray made his maiden speech. The leading Liberals of the place were so interested in the movement that some of them drove over to Croydon on Saturday evening, and gave material assistance at the meeting there. They also rendered the same service at Elkesley on the following Monday evening. The Croydon meeting finished the first week's campaign. Mr. J. Northern, a fine specimen of a sturdy Radical farmer, put up Murray and his horse for the Sunday, and sent a horse on with him to help him up a nasty hill on Monday morning. The Liberals of the remote villages are much helped and encouraged by the visits of the van, and in many places hospitality is freely offered. From Tuesday, July 24th, the meetings will be addressed by Mr. Hugh E. Home, the Liberal candidate for the constituency. A short sketch of the rest of the tour will appear in the September number of the Journal.

THE DOMESTIC ASPECT OF COERCION.

THE intensity of the painful sensation caused throughout England by the death of John Mandeville is an encouraging indication of the growth of sympathy for the Irish in the minds of the English people. Such things have happened before—alas! only too often—but at no previous period would they have moved the hearts of the English people as the death of Mandeville has moved them.

The story is a common enough one. Six hundred tenants on the Kingston estate had built their cottages, and reclaimed their land from the peat bog, and were rack-rented by a heartless landlord, who effected no improvements, and performed none of the duties of proprietorship. The great majority of these six hundred tenants

were leaseholders, and therefore, before last Session, were not permitted access to the Land Courts. But a year ago a Bill was before Parliament, introduced and supported by the Government, which would have enabled them to go before the Courts and get their rents reduced. Knowing this, the landlord hastily issued eviction notices in order to get the people out of their homes before the Act was passed.

John Mandeville knew that here, as nearly always in Ireland, eviction was a sentence of death. With William O'Brien he addressed a meeting of the tenants, and advised them to hold on to their farms by every honest means for a fortnight longer, when the Act would be passed giving them redress. The tenants followed this advice, and were saved. As William O'Brien put it, he and Mandeville “stayed the hand of the executioner, knowing that a reprieve was on its way.” They carried out the spirit of the Government's own Act. This was their offence; and for this they each received three months' imprisonment.

The people of England have hitherto had their attention directed too exclusively to the political aspect of coercion. The domestic aspect—what it means in the desolation of the home and the ruin of the family—is difficult for a free people to realise. It is this side of it that is brought out so vividly and so touchingly in the evidence given by the widow on the 17th of July (the anniversary of the passing of the Coercion Act) at the inquest held into John Mandeville's death. So important is this aspect of the question that we make no apology for reprinting here her evidence in full:—

“Mrs. Mary Mandeville, examined by The MacDermot, Q.C., deposed—I am the widow of the deceased, Mr. Mandeville. I was married to him on the 3rd of February, 1880. I had known him since he was a child. Mr. Mandeville was thirty-eight years of age. I always looked upon him as an amazingly strong man, and very healthy. Between our marriage and the time he was sent to prison, on the 31st of October last, he was always a strong and healthy man. I don't remember his being in bed for even one day through illness. He had always a very fair appetite. He had a good income, had abundance of all he required, and was a temperate man. I didn't see him in prison. He returned from Tullamore on Christmas Eve.

“Was his appearance then much altered? Yes, his lips were quite blue, and he had become pale and very thin. His eyes were very sore; he could not read at all by lamplight, and in the daytime he could only read with difficulty. He always wrote a fair, firm hand before he went to prison; for a month after he left prison he could hardly write at all, or only with great difficulty. He complained of the weight of his overcoat, and

complained that he could not walk the mile from his house to Mitchelstown.

"Can you tell any incident to indicate his strength, Mrs. Mandeville ?

"Witness—He used to carry me upstairs, and he never did it after he left prison.

"Did he try to do it ?

"He did, once; and I remember him saying that I had got very heavy. He told me after he left prison that he never recovered his strength, and there seemed to be always some little thing the matter with him. At one time it was his throat, and he complained of his having a bad tooth. I noticed for a month before he died that he had great difficulty with his throat, and he complained of his throat being sore and of weakness. After he came out of prison he could not use the same food he always did before, and required more delicacies.

"Did he tell you the whole of his prison life ? Yes; he told me the whole of his prison life. He told me more than he told any person in the whole world.

"What did he tell you of his prison life ? He told me first of his life in Cork Gaol, and when he was there the doctor ordered him a flannel. The morning he left Cork Gaol he was not allowed to take the flannel, and consequently his teeth were chattering with the cold going down to Tullamore. He left Cork, I think he said, at half-past four in the morning, and he complained to me that he got no food until the middle of the day, about one o'clock. He complained very much of his throat after he came home. He complained to me that the doctor did not believe him about his throat, and that he frequently certified that he was fit for punishment when he was not fit.

"Do you know the doctor's name ? Dr. Ridley. He told me that while his throat was sore he was three days on punishment diet. He told me that his throat was so sore during that time he could not eat the punishment diet, brown bread, and he could not drink the cold water; that he took nothing to eat for more than twenty hours, because he could not eat the bread or drink the water. He told me that one, I think, of the Tang prisoners in the gaol had given him a rope, and that he tied it round his waist, and as he suffered more and more from hunger, he tightened the rope (great sensation in court). He said to me that Dr. Moorhead said to him that he was seriously ill, yet that Dr. Ridley seemed to think that he could stand the punishment. Dr. Moorhead, he said, was one of the visiting justices.

"Did he say anything as to the state of his mind ? He told me that from hunger his mind wandered, and he told me—of course it was in confidence between husband and wife—he told me he prayed to God that he might die rather than go mad (sensation).

"Was that the time when Dr. Moorhead certified that he was unfit to bear punishment ? I am certain that he said that Dr. Moorhead at that time certified that he was not fit for punishment.

"Did he tell you anything as to whether he succeeded about this time in getting a morsel of food ? After the punishment he said he could not eat.

"Did he say anything about a scrap of food he got in prison ? He told me one incident. He told me that there was a warden one day outside his cell door—one of the ordinary warders, not a friendly warden—and that the warden evidently was eating his dinner outside the door, and he said he opened the door, and 'he threw me in a scrap of meat as I would throw it to Rover'—that is our dog—and he said he never in his life enjoyed anything so much—it was a mere tiny scrap. Recurring to the time he was in the punishment cell, and when he said his mind wandered, he told me he was offered to be put in hospital if he would put on the prison clothes, and that he would not do it.

"Did he say by whom that offer was made ? I don't remember that.

"Did he tell you anything about the delusion he was under. He told me he thought he was a boy again, lying on Slivenamon Mountain, near his old home, and he also said he thought I was lying dead beside him, and that he was always feeling for my dead body with his hand.

"Anything about the Crucifixion ? He said he thought he saw the Crucifixion going on, and that he heard music, and he said to me it was all caused by hunger and weakness. He said he frequently suffered from diarrhoea, and he complained that the doctor allowed him to be supplied with stirabout, and also some vegetable soup, and that he remarked to the doctor that an old countrywoman would not give such food to a person suffering as he was. He told me that the night before he was released he was on bread and water. As to the ordinary cell he was in, he told me that standing in it and stretching his arms he could touch the walls on each side with the tips of his fingers ; he said the light in it was very bad, and he could not read the small print of the Bible. That was in the ordinary cell. As to the punishment cell, he told me that it was flagged, and that a prisoner in it was compelled to wear slippers, and that consequently the cold penetrated the sole of the slippers, so that you would be frozen up above the kees. He also said he suffered from rheumatism, and he told me that in the punishment cell the plank bed was permanently fixed, that it was opposite a badly fitted door, and that only he covered his head with the blanket or rug at night he would get inflammation of the lungs. He spoke to Dr. Moorhead about the draught from the door, and

he got it remedied by stuffing the spaces with bags. He also alluded to the temperature of the cell, and he said that although Dr. Moorhead, the governor, and himself were in the small cell, still that Dr. Moorhead, when he tried the temperature, found that it was under the regulation temperature. My husband was always a sober man, and he so continued until the day he died. When dining at my father's residence on Christmas Day he fell asleep before dinner, and immediately after dinner he asked me to come home, as he felt weak and tired.

"When Mrs. Mandeville's evidence was being read over she stated : I objected to the inquest at first because I did not like his poor remains to be disturbed or the sanctity of death invaded. I dislike the idea of a post-mortem examination. I disliked having the body touched, but I thought then that if it threw any light on the prison treatment poor John would like to have it done, and that is my sole reason for consenting."

The bright picture here conveyed of a happy home now desolated by coercion, and of the man thus done to death, is borne out by the testimony of the many Englishmen who knew John Mandeville. He was, as his wife's evidence portrays him, a man big and strong both in body and mind—brave, kind, honourable, sensitive; a righteous man tortured to death by his political opponents for political reasons.

It is men such as this that are leading the Irish cause to certain victory. And who are their opponents? A lurid light is thrown upon the character of the tools with which the present Chief Secretary works out his policy by the fact that in cross-examination Mr. Murphy, the counsel for the Prisons Board, actually suggested to Mrs. Mandeville that her late husband was a drunkard; that, later, the agents of "the brave Mr. Balfour" sought to shift the blame of the guilt of their master and themselves on to the unfortunate Dr. Ridley the moment he was safely out of the way and unable to defend himself; and that Dr. Barr, not content with charging the other doctors with incapacity, declared that Mrs. Mandeville's evidence as to the condition of her husband after he left prison, was false.

Such being the character of the combatants, the issue of the fight cannot be doubted.

NOTES BY THE WAY.

The Verdict of the Jury on Mandeville's Death.—The Coroner's inquest on the death of John Mandeville closed on the 28th June, when the jury unanimously returned the following verdict :—"We find that the deceased, John Mandeville, died on the 8th July of diffused cellular inflammation of the throat, as defined by

the doctors, brought about by the brutal and unjustifiable treatment he received in Tullamore Gaol; and we enter our solemn protest against the system of the present Government in awarding similar treatment to the Irish political prisoners as to common criminals, and the cruel method by which the present rules are enforced. We condemn the vile aspersions of Dr. Barr on the doctors who attended John Mandeville in his last illness." On the 30th Mr. Balfour was asked what steps he proposed to take in view of this verdict. "In my opinion," he replied, "the verdict of the jury is entirely unwarranted by the facts of the case, and I do not intend to take any action founded on it." The constituencies will form their own opinion on this matter, and will decide between Dr. Barr and Mrs. Mandeville. What other verdict the jury could have given we cannot imagine. If there is anything surprising, it is its calm moderation. But suppose Mr. Balfour to be right; what an admission on the part of one who is constantly boasting that the Irish people are coming over to his side! The people are ranging themselves on the side of law and order, he says; and yet he can govern the country only by ignoring their opinion. However, the matter is not in his hands. The constituencies will take action, though he will not. They "remember Mitchelstown"; they will "remember Mandeville."

The Warder's Evidence.—The sickening details of the outrage offered to Mr. Mandeville by orders from head quarters, when he was stripped naked in Tullamore gaol, were given by ex-warden Goulding in his evidence at the inquest on July 21, and have been read by millions in this country. But the following significant passage from his evidence given in cross-examination has, perhaps, not attracted so much attention. We, therefore, reprint it :

"Cross-examined by Mr. Ronan—While the other warders were engaged in stripping Mr. Mandeville I stood with my hands in my pockets.

"Did you take any part in this nefarious business? I won't answer that.

"You must, sir. Well, I had an objection to take the clothes off him.

"Therefore, because you objected you kept your hands in your pockets? Just so. I knew what I was going upstairs for.

"Then why did you not refuse to go upstairs? Simply because there would be no one to tell the story. The officials might give the true account to their superiors, but they would give no account to the public. I went upstairs to see that the man was not killed on the spot. I did not anticipate that he would be killed, but many a man might die from the shock.

"And you were afraid that he might die there? Very likely."

A Mandeville in humble life.—It should not be forgotten that the tragedy of Mandeville's death is one the like of which has been borne in silence and darkness in our day by many an Irishman whose name has been too humble to attract attention. We have already almost forgotten the case of poor Thomas Larkin, "the Woodford martyr," who died in gaol September 27, 1887. His was a case which arose out of the Woodford evictions, carried out by Lord Clanricarde, of which even the *Times* wrote: "Lord Clanricarde has been proved to have behaved throughout the entire transaction with a baseness and a harshness to his agent and his tenantry which are hardly credible." Larkin, with twenty-four other young men, barricaded a house of one of the tenants whose case was a peculiarly hard one; by this the bailiffs were kept off for three days, but no one was injured. When the police arrived, Larkin and his associates yielded at once. They were shut up for four months in gaol before they were tried; they were at last brought before a jury, so flagrantly packed that the panel was quashed by the judge. Ultimately, Larkin was sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment.

On 23rd September Larkin was seized with diarrhoea in Kilkenny Jail, from which he suffered for the next two or three days, and for which he was treated medically. At 6 o'clock on the evening of the 26th he was locked up, not in the infirmary, but in the ordinary cell. Not only could the prisoner not get out of, but the warders could not get into, this cell, the governor alone having the key. What transpired subsequently is best told in the evidence of the night warden at the inquest:—"At 2 o'clock a.m., I saw him sitting on the side of the bed. He was rinsing his mouth with a sup of water. Told him to go to sleep. Saw him get in and cover himself up. At 2.30 o'clock he appeared to me to be asleep. He did not speak to me from when I told him to go to rest; did not speak to him till 4.30 o'clock; at that time I thought he was rather long about moving; asked how he was, but got no answer; I kicked at the bottom of the door, thinking he might be in a sound sleep, and got no answer; I rang the bell for the clerk, and told him that I wanted to see the governor to see what way Larkin was; the governor came and unlocked the cell door; he came at 4.40 o'clock; I rang the bell for him immediately after pegging the clock at 4.30 a.m.; when he entered he found the prisoner dead; the governor said he was dead." After the inquest the father and seven others who had known poor Larkin all his life, signed a declaration that they could not recognise, in the emaciated corpse they had seen in the prison, the remains of the stalwart youth who yet had not been dead quite thirty-six hours.

The Judicial Commission Bill.—We have been compelled to omit nearly all reference to the action of the Government with regard to the Commission of inquiry into "Parnellism and Crime"—the death of Mandeville and other matters are of more importance. The Bill is not yet through Committee, but so far the following facts are clear:—(1) The inquiry is not intended to be an inquiry into crime, but a fishing political inquiry; no further proof of this is needed than the refusal of the Government to accept the amendment of Mr. R. T. Reid, confining the Commission to an inquiry into "charges and allegations of complicity with *murder or violence*." (2) The forged letters have been pushed into the background. The *Times* itself has admitted them to be only secondary evidence—the Bill has made them a mere incident. We may fairly conclude that the Government have lost faith in their authenticity. (3) The Government have acted in a way only to be explained by a desire to discredit the Opposition. Witness the debate on Mr. Justice Day. It could have been entirely avoided. Notice of intended opposition was given; evidence was put before them showing that the appointment of that judge would be most improper; and they still persisted, in order to force the Opposition to the ungrateful task of openly discussing the qualifications of an English judge. Considering these and other facts, we trust that our readers have closely watched the course of the Bill, in order that they may meet the allegations which are sure to be made on Unionist platforms.

The Failure of Coercion.—Mr. Balfour is untiring in his assertions that his Coercion Act has been a success, and that the National League has ceased to exist where it has been technically "suppressed" by him. A curious side light was thrown on the truth of Mr. Balfour's assertion in the case of *Townsend v. The Freeman's Journal*, in which a motion was made by Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P., on Tuesday, July 10th, to change the venue from Belfast to Galway. In resisting this motion the plaintiff, who is one of Mr. Balfour's "Removables," made an affidavit in which he said that if the venue were changed to Galway he would not get a fair trial, as the National League branches were in existence all over the county, and had enormous influence there. Yet Galway is one of the counties over the whole of which the League has been "suppressed."

How it strikes an Outsider.—At a meeting held in West St. Pancras, under the auspices of the Home Rule Union, on July 11th, the following interesting summary of the case for Home Rule, written by a Japanese gentleman, Mr. Gatsuo Akidzuki, was read:—

"WHAT IS NATIONALITY?"

It is for a group of men what personality is to the individual.

We must not suppress nationality, just as we must not destroy individual character.

Not only has a nation the *right* to exist, but it is its duty to exist.

A nation ought not to renounce its existence, as a man ought not to commit suicide.

Are the Irish people a nation?

Certainly *yes*!

They wish to accomplish their duty in asking for Home Rule.

The English people cannot refuse this demand without being unjust.

What will the United Kingdom lose if it grant Home Rule?

It will lose nothing.

On the contrary it will gain a union more intimate and complete, and therefore greater strength, for union makes strength.

It would also gain a moral grandeur, which is the only true grandeur.

THE RECORD OF COERCION.

EVERY month brings its special sad sensation in connection with the doings of the Government in Ireland. This month John Mandeville's death stands out as the great startling fact, making an appeal that must be heard to the conscience of the British public. Meanwhile the work of condemning men, without proper trial, to the prison life that killed John Mandeville, goes on as steadily as ever. The record for the last five weeks is as follows:—

Number of cases for week ending—					
		Dis-	On	Ad-	
		missed.	Bail.	jrned.	
June 26	...	74	4	20	18
July 3	...	52	4	3	14
July 10	...	19	6	0	1
July 17	...	42	9	0	30
July 24	...	27	4	7	0
Total number for the five weeks ...	...	214		120	
Average number per week ...	...	43		24	

Thus the total number of persons sent to prison under the Crimes Act during this period is 94, making an average of 19. The average for the four preceding weeks is 15. July has therefore been a worse month than June. As yet, neither is the spirit of the Irish people tamed by Mr. Balfour's methods, nor is Mr. Balfour yet sufficiently aware of the storm of English indignation which is surely rising to overwhelm him.

Seven appeals were heard during the five weeks, and with much the same result as usual. Two

were confirmed and five withdrawn. It still happens, however, that redress is found whenever a case can be brought into the higher courts.

The Exchequer Division have found that the magistrates blundered in Mr. O'Brien's case, as they had done in that of the Killeagh conspiracy.

The analysis of the cases for the four weeks is as follows:—

Class	I.—Agrarian cases	23	5	6	1
" II.—Public meeting cases, &c.	... 114	8	23	28	
" III.—Incitements	... 21	1	0	15	
" IV.—Boycotting and Intimidation	... 36	13	1	15	
" V.—"Star Chamber" cases: refusal to give evidence	... 17	0	0	4	
" VI.—Miscellaneous	... 3	0	0	0	
		—	—	—	—
		214	27	30	63

It should be understood that for simplification the withdrawal of a case is considered as the same thing as its dismissal. Practically, there is evidently little need to distinguish between the two, so similar are the consciences of prosecutor and judge; and in any case the point of real interest is the number of people who are sent to gaol, and the nature of the offences for which they are sent.

DIARY OF THE MOVEMENT.

July 2.—Mr. Balfour introduces Shannon Drainage Bill into House of Commons.—Opening of the case of O'Donnell *v.* Walters and others.—Dublin Exchequer Division makes another order *venire de novo* in the case of Mr. Wm. O'Brien.—Publication of the statement on the Irish Land Question drawn up by the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland at Maynooth College (see *Journal* for July, p. 77).

July 3.—Debate in the Lords on murder of James Fitzmaurice. Remonstrance of Lord Coleridge, L.C.J., against raising such a question while the case of O'Donnell *v.* Walters was proceeding.—Three families evicted on the Cloonmore estate of Mrs. Bodkin.

July 5.—Reception of Mr. T. D. Sullivan in Birmingham.—Conclusion of O'Donnell's action against the *Times*. Verdict for defendants.

July 6.—Mr. Parnell asserts in the House of Commons that the letters read by the Attorney-General in O'Donnell *v.* Walters are forgeries.

July 8.—Death of John Mandeville at Mitchelstown.

July 9.—Publication of letter of Mr. Parnell to Mr. Rhodes on the retention of the Irish members in the Imperial Parliament.—Government

refuses to appoint Select Committee to inquire into charges against Irish members.—Refusal by Mr. Balfour to issue return of persons tried under the Coercion Act under the present Government.—Mandamus issued to compel Mr. Cecil Roche, R.M., and Capt. Keagh, R.M., to state a case in *Queen v. Cornelius Curtain and others.*

July 10.—In interview with *Pall Mall Gazette*, Mr. Parnell declares for Imperial Federation.

July 11.—Complimentary banquet to Mr. T. P. O'Connor at Holborn Restaurant as President of National League of Great Britain.—P. J. O'Brien, M.P., released from Tullamore on expiration of sentence of three months. Re-arrested to undergo further imprisonment of three months.—Home Rule Union Anti-Coercion meeting at Chalk Farm.

July 12.—Duke of Argyll moved a resolution in the House of Lords in support of Irish policy of the Government. It was felt that his speech did not call for a reply, and the resolution was allowed to pass *nem. con.*—Commencement of inquest into the death of John Mandeville.—Government announced in Commons that they would appoint a commission to investigate the charges made by the *Times* against Mr. Parnell.

July 15.—Demonstration in Hyde Park “to protest against the imprisonment of John Dillon, M.P., and the murder of John Mandeville.”—Letter from the Pope to be read in the Catholic churches of Ireland.

July 16.—Arrangements for Vandeleur evictions complete by the arrival of 170 soldiers and 120 armed police at Kilrush House.—The Birmingham Liberal Association, having rid itself of all the dissentients, passes unanimously a resolution condemning the Irish policy of the Government.—In the House of Commons Mr. Smith refused to explain the relations of the Government to the Attorney-General in drafting the Charges and Allegations (Members of Parliament) Bill. Subsequently Mr. Smith formally moved that the Bill be read a first time, which was done.

July 17.—Inquest on the body of John Mandeville at Mitchelstown. Evidence of Mrs. Mandeville (which we give elsewhere) and of Mr. W. O'Brien.

July 18.—Mr. Gladstone speaks on the general Irish question, and especially on the proposed Commission, at Sir Wilfrid Lawson's.—Important medical evidence from Dr. Moorhead at the Mandeville inquest.—Evictions on the Vandeleur estate begun.

July 19.—Anniversary of the passing of the Coercion Act.—Publication of a letter from Sir W. Harcourt to Mr. Herbert Gladstone on Mr. Forster's Irish policy.—Mr. Smith declines to answer questions relating to the action of the Attorney-General with respect to the *Times* forgeries and the Commission.—The Speaker

closes a debate on an Irish question within a quarter of an hour, and before any Irish Member has spoken.—Further medical evidence from Drs. McCraith and Ronayne at the Mandeville inquest.—Resumption of evictions on the Vandeleur estate.

July 20.—Suicide of Dr. Ridley, the prison doctor at Tullamore. Resumption of the inquest at Mitchelstown, more medical evidence, and attempt by the Government to abstract papers left behind by Dr. Ridley.—Further evictions on the Vandeleur property.

July 21.—The Government attempt to adjourn the Mandeville inquest resisted by the coroner. Starting evidence from Daniel Goulding, an ex-warder.—Great demonstration at Edinburgh to protest against the imprisonment of John Dillon, addressed by Mr. William O'Brien.

July 23.—Second reading of the Forgeries Bill in the House of Commons moved by Mr. Smith. Important speeches from Mr. Parnell, Mr. Gladstone, Sir Charles Russell, &c.—Mandeville inquest resumed; evidence of prison board officials.—The Vandeleur evictions: violent speech from Cecil Roche, R.M., bringing false charges against the local Catholic clergy.

July 24.—The Forgeries Bill read a second time in the House of Commons after speeches by Mr. Labouchere, Sir W. Harcourt, Mr. Whittbread, Mr. Healy, &c.—Formidable resistance to evictions by the tenants on the Vandeleur estate.

July 25.—Mr. J. O'Kelly, M.P., arrested in London, charged with inciting people in a speech delivered a month before, not to give evidence before the Star Chamber Commission at Roscommon.—Conditional writ of habeas corpus granted at Dublin directing the governor of Dundalk Gaol to bring up the body of John Dillon.—At the Mandeville inquest the governor of Tullamore prison admitted that he visited Dublin Castle just before putting Mr. Mandeville on punishment diet.—Further evictions on the Vandeleur estate attended, in one case, with desperate resistance.

July 26.—At the Mandeville inquest Dr. Barr gave evidence to show that Mandeville's health had not been injured by prison treatment. He accused the other doctors of incapacity, and Mrs. Mandeville of misstatement.

July 28.—Verdict of the jury on the Mandeville inquest, that his death was due to the treatment in prison.—Mr. Chamberlain, at Birmingham, reviews the session, and remarks on the improvement in Ireland. “A few months longer,” he says, “will probably see the death blow dealt to the pernicious agitation !”

July 30.—Action for libel by Mr. W. O'Brien, M.P., against *Cork Constitution*. Verdict for plaintiff, £100 damages.—Mr. M'Hugh, Mayor of Sligo, and editor of *Sligo Champion*, sentenced

to four months' imprisonment for publishing an article denouncing land-grabbers, and inciting to intimidation.

July 31.—The Mayor of Sligo sentenced to a further term of six months' imprisonment for an article on land-grabbing.

THE WORK OF THE HOME RULE UNION IN WAKEFIELD.

BY MR. WALTER MOORHOUSE.*

PREVIOUS to the month of May, 1887, much dissatisfaction existed amongst the Home Rule Liberals in Wakefield at the inactivity and indifference of the party on the great question of the day, brought about by the dissensions of a few former leaders of the party. The whole country from one end to the other had been agitated by a series of successful demonstrations against the unjust Coercion Bill of the present Tory Unionist Government, and it was strongly felt by the rank and file of the party that in so great a crisis of the country's history the voice of Wakefield should no longer be silent. To meet this feeling, two independent members of the party took upon themselves the responsibility of calling together a meeting of Liberals in sympathy with Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule policy, at which it was decided to form a branch of the Home Rule Union. A small committee of active and earnest men was then formed for the purpose of carrying on the movement. We at once found ourselves face to face with two difficulties. In the first place grave doubts were raised lest our new organisation should become a rival to existing associations. To remove this prejudice we had to point out continually and clearly that our only object was educational, to assist by means of lectures, public meetings, distribution of literature, &c., in explaining to the electors of the borough the most difficult and complicated question upon which they have ever been required to pronounce their opinions. In the second place, the promoters of the branch, not being leaders of the party, found that great difficulties kept presenting themselves through inability to secure prominent speakers, suitable lecturers, and so forth, for public meetings. This difficulty was immediately removed when we put ourselves in communication with the Home Rule Union.

After we had formed our branch, and before taking any active steps, we consulted the president of the Liberal Association, with the result that he called a meeting of the "Two hundred," and they were unanimously of opinion that the interests of the party would be best served by leav-

ing the agitation of the Irish Question to the newly-formed branch of the Home Rule Union.

On the 18th October the first lecture was delivered by Mr. Sidney Morris, on "Ireland under the Union," to a crowded and enthusiastic audience, followed in a few weeks by another, on "Conservative Unionist Government," by the same gentleman, in a suburb of the town which has recently been added to the Parliamentary borough. Mr. Morris having lectured on several previous occasions in the town is well and favourably known, and he delivered two really eloquent lectures. On the 29th November a great demonstration was held in the Corn Exchange, addressed by the Right Hon. Jas. Stansfeld, M.P., Dr. Fox, M.P., Thos. Lough, Esq., one of the honorary secretaries of the Union, and several others. The tone of the meeting was of a decidedly promising character, and augured the best results for the ultimate success of the cause of Home Rule in Wakefield.

Having made so good a start, we held several ward or district meetings, which were addressed by local lecturers, one on the "Last Coercion Bill," and another on "Ireland's Wrongs and Tory Remedies"; and then we had Mr. Joseph Brown's illustrated lecture, which was perhaps the greatest success of all. I am inclined to believe that no one of the lecturers we have had has done a greater service to the cause of Home Rule in this town than Mr. Brown. So great was the eagerness to be present that several hundreds had to go away, unable to crush themselves into the room, and the meeting actually commenced before the advertised time. One circumstance happened at this meeting worth relating. A minister of the Gospel, who held back at the last election, and was considered a strong Unionist, expressed his readiness now to vote for Home Rule, and we confidently believe that the lectures we have had have made a large number of converts to the cause. Our work for the session was brought to a close by another great meeting, at which were present Mr. R. Wallace, M.P., and Professor Swift MacNeil, M.P.

This is our work of the past; we have tried to spread a knowledge of the causes which brought about the alienation of Ireland from England, and of that policy of Home Rule whereby it is hoped the two countries will be united for ever. The work is not yet done, but in this town our leaders are of opinion that the time has now arrived when this work should be done by the recognised representative Liberal Association; we have therefore agreed to amalgamate our branch with them. The old Committee intend to work with them as earnestly as before, and we trust united action may lead to still greater success, and we believe after another winter's campaign we shall have so

* Hon. Sec. of the Wakefield Branch of the Home Rule Union.

augmented our forces as to be able to send a representative to that great Parliament which will finally settle this question of Home Rule for Ireland. I trust the Union will concentrate their efforts upon those constituencies which were against us at the last election, for it is in these places that the cause will be won. I believe our position has been very materially strengthened during the past few days by Mr. Parnell's letter accepting the principle in the next Home Rule Bill of retaining Irish members at Westminster. Let the prospects of a near victory stimulate us to greater exertions; let us have faith in recollecting that the English people have generous hearts, and once they fully realise the tyrannical policy of the present Government, then the end of that tyranny is at hand.

JUSTICE ON A FENCE—AN EVICTION SCENE.

MESSRS. GILBERT AND SULLIVAN might do worse than turn to the administration of the law in Ireland for the subject of their next comic opera. The reality is perhaps rather more farcical than could be tolerated on the stage, and Mr. Gilbert would be impelled by artistic reserve to remove some of the more extravagant features; but he would be spared the trouble of invention.

The Vandeleur evictions have produced some excellent incidents. Let one suffice: the demolition of Michael Cleary's house. As the curtain rises, we see round the house a company of Hussars, another company of the Berkshire Infantry, a band of the Royal Irish Constabulary, a group of emergency men, three or four resident magistrates, some English and American visitors, and a number of Cleary's friends and neighbours. It is an imposing force which is brought against Cleary's castle. The direct attack is left to the emergency men. One mounts on the roof, with a wisp of straw, and chokes the chimney; while the sheriff knocks at the door and solemnly demands possession. The garrison, consisting—as we find out afterwards—of two boys and two girls, refuse with laughter; and the siege proceeds. The emergency-men, with crowbars and hatchets, make violent efforts to effect an entrance, but in vain. The rest of the story must be told in the words of a newspaper correspondent, who was present:—

"Captain Welch, R.M., shrugged his shoulders, and muttering, 'Infernal savages,' retired some distance. Then the order was given, 'Get out the ram.' The sheriff, in the most military tone that made the hussars smile, cried out, 'Carry out the tripod,' 'Get out number one pole.' And again, 'Man your posts, the whole of you.' 'All hands to the beam.' 'Now all together.' The

battering-ram is no stranger to Irish evictions. That which did duty at to-day's proceeding deserves a word of description. The 'tripod,' as the sheriff very properly called it, consists of three enormous pine poles, and from the centre hangs a chain which works a huge beam with an iron ferrule, and moved by ropes pulled by seventeen or eighteen emergency men. It is constructed on a larger scale even than usual, and seems perfectly new. The sheriff again gave the order, 'All hands to the beam.' District Inspector Dunning gave the order, 'Arrest every man you see coming out,' and then the emergency men plied the ram. By a somewhat singular piece of stupidity, the point of the ram was directed towards the very strongest part of the building, where the cross partition wall stood, and of course they hammered and hammered away for ever so long with but little result. The captain of the emergency troop, at each swing of the ram, cried out, 'Back, away with them; back, away with them,' just as sailors cry, 'Heave ho.' At last the breach was made, and a shower of hot water followed. It was a bitterly painful scene. But for the bang of the big beam against the thick wall, and the inevitable cry of the leader, 'Back, away with them,' there was absolute silence, and the American and English strangers stood shocked and amazed at a spectacle that no sensitive being could contemplate unmoved. The sheriff now and then observes, 'It dips too much; shift the ram.' Thud, thud, goes the big ram, and at length a great section of the house falls to the ground with a crash. A cheer of triumph rises from the emergency men, but of course meets with no rebuke. For the moment it seems that the unfortunate people within must perish as the building totters; but when the dust clears away, we see the bright faces of two laughing girls peering out of the darkness and smoke, and their brothers standing beside and in front of them, but not smiling. They are told if they come out quietly they will be treated leniently, and as a line of cold steel, backed by a force of soldiers and Cecil Roche, R.M., looks formidable, they come out quietly.

"Pat Cleary, Thomas Cleary, Ellen Cleary, and Mary Cleary, as they came out from the ruins, were seized by the police, and held with a rigour that would not be applied to the most obstreperous city rough. Cecil Roche, turning to the police-officer, says, 'Bring them before me,' and sure enough they were brought before him. The 'Court' was held in a field a few yards from the house, and a comical though melancholy court it was. Cecil Roche, who wore his hat almost balanced upon his nose, sat on a stone wall twirling his blackthorn. 'Bring up the prisoners,' he said, and the two girls and boys were placed on the grass in front of him.

Just then Father O'Mara, P.P., came over, and was about to speak to one of the defendants when Mr. Roche quite savagely shouted, 'Go back, sir; no one shall interfere with my prisoners.' Perhaps he did not mean to say 'my prisoners,' but he said it, and added, 'I am not going to allow it, and I say that once for all.'

"District Inspector Dunning then made his information on the stone wall, charging the accused with resisting the sheriff in the execution of his office as such.

"Mr. Roche: All right. I remand the prisoners until Monday at Kilrush.

"Mr. Hilliard, solicitor, said he would expect that the prisoners should be admitted to bail, and applied that that should be done.

"Mr. Roche: No, sir; I positively refuse bail.

"Mr. Dunning observed that the prisoners had come out quietly, and were told that if they did so do they would be dealt with more leniently. The divisional magistrate had said so.

"Mr. Roche: Oh, very well; under these circumstances I admit the girls to bail, but it must be considerable bail—two fifties and their own bail in £100.

"This caused some laughter.

"Mr. Hilliard gave in the names of the necessary security.

"Mr. Roche: I would refuse, only the divisional magistrate seems to have given the women some sort of undertaking, but it is to be understood that these girls take no part in any demonstration or disturbance or anything, and you must give that undertaking.

"Mary Cleary: Well, sir, when it is past ourselves we won't give any interference to anyone.

"Mr. Roche: They must be taken to Kilrush Bridewell. See to it now, Mr. Dunning.

"During the holding of this 'court' Mr. Roche kept his hat on as described, whilst the officer making the charge was uncovered. Subsequently the girls were released on bail.

"It is most worthy of mention that when the eviction party started a chapel bell tolled, and every shop in Kilrush had the shutters put up, and remained thus all day, a striking indication of what the people think."

HOME RULE UNION.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.—A meeting of the Executive Committee was held at Palace Chambers on July 3rd, when there were present—Professor Stuart, M.P. (in the chair), Mrs. Beesly, Messrs. Gibb, Lough, Walford, the Rev. J. S. Jones, and the Secretary. After the transaction of the routine business, a suggestion for the future operations of the Union, as contained in the letter

from the Secretary which was adjourned from the last meeting, was considered, and the schemes which related to the distribution of literature and the van were entrusted to the Chairman, the Hon. Treasurer, and the Secretary, to be carried out. Mr. Patrick Murray was appointed to drive the van at a salary of 25s. per week. It was also decided that boys should be engaged to sell the literature of the Union at public meetings held in and round London. Captain Hugh Lownes-Luttrell, of Dunster Castle, Dunster, Somerset, was elected a member of the council.

The Executive Committee again met on July 24th, when there were present—Professor Stuart, M.P. (in the chair), Mrs. Bryant, D.Sc., Mrs. Beesly, Miss Monk, and Messrs. Wilfrid Blunt, Ellis, Heald, Lough, Gibb, Macdonell, Martin Edmunds, Allanson Picton, M.P., Walford, and the Secretary. The routine business having been completed, a proposal of the Ladies' Committee to hold a meeting of all the ladies who are members of the Union next autumn was cordially approved of. It was resolved to issue a four-page leaflet containing the evidence of Mrs. Mandeville given at the inquest into her husband's death, and to print fifty thousand copies as a first instalment. It was resolved to send an instalment of the latest literature on the Irish question every week to every association affiliated to the Union, and to send posters, maps, and cartoons to the London Radical Clubs, to be exhibited on their walls.—Mr. Lough gave a detailed report of the progress of the literature van in the Chesterton Division of Cambridgeshire.—A vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Mr. E. H. Bayley for his generous loan of the van.—On the proposal of Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, seconded by Mr. Picton, M.P., it was unanimously resolved: "That, in view of the revelations made at the inquest into Mr. Mandeville's death, of the severity with which prisoners are treated in Irish gaols, the Government be called upon to immediately release Mr. John Dillon."—On the proposal of Mrs. Beesly, seconded by Mrs. Bryant, it was unanimously resolved: "That this Executive Committee of the Home Rule Union desires to express its deep sympathy with Mrs. Mandeville in her bereavement, and its sense of the great services rendered by her late husband to the Irish cause."—Formal sanction was given to the affiliation of the West Southwark Liberal and Radical Club, and the Star Radical Club, Herne Hill.

THE LADIES' COMMITTEE.—The distribution of literature has been carried on by several members with unabated energy during the summer. A large number of Miss Rowe's pamphlet has been sold to associations and to individuals for circulation among women of the

working classes. A consignment of Sullivan's songs has been obtained at wholesale price from Dublin, and can be had at 7s. per hundred, post free, from Miss Orme, 27, Southampton Buildings, W.C. This edition has the airs printed to the most popular songs, such as "God Save Ireland," and "Dear Old Ireland," and will be found invaluable at meetings where music forms part of the proceedings.

The Committee only aims at arranging parlour meetings, but in some cases special facilities tempt it to go farther; and on Wednesday, July 11th, Mrs. Maitland promoted a very successful meeting in the Borough of St. Pancras, when Mr. Lawson, M.P., presided.

The sale of the JOURNAL and Irish Free Press Agency leaflets is most useful in stirring up new workers wherever it is carried out, but the Committee needs much more help to do it efficiently. Any ladies willing to try to sell Home Rule literature, either in London or the country, are urgently asked to send their names to Miss Orme, who will at once send them priced specimens and all information as to the methods already attempted in carrying on this work.

In October all the women who are members of the Home Rule Union will be invited to the annual meeting of the Ladies' Committee, when the plans for winter work will be discussed, and the committee elected.

HOME RULE UNION PRIZE COMPETITION.

WE intend to invite our readers to assist us in the preparation of Home Rule leaflets, tracts, placards, &c. From time to time we shall propose a subject for competition, offering to the successful contributor a prize of one guinea.

This month a prize of one guinea will be given for the best leaflet on the administration of the law in Ireland. In awarding the prize, regard will be had not only to the treatment of the subject, but to the title, and to any typographical devices which the writer may suggest as likely to arrest the attention of electors. It is understood that the contributions become the property of the Home Rule Union, to be printed and used or not as the committee think fit.

Address "Editor of the Home Rule Union Journal, 17 & 18, Palace Chambers, Westminster, London, S.W." Contributions must reach the Editor not later than August 18th.

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Subscriptions to the Home Rule Union should be sent to the Secretary, 17 & 18, Palace Chambers, Westminster. Annual Subscribers of Five Shillings and upwards to the Home Rule Union will receive the Monthly Journal free.

JOURNAL OF THE HOME RULE UNION.

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* * * Communications, &c., relating to the supply of the JOURNAL should be addressed to the Hon. Treasurer; other communications to the Editor of the JOURNAL, 17 & 18, Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, Westminster.

THE LESSON OF MR. FORSTER'S LIFE.

No one who has read the late Mr. A. M. Sullivan's "New Ireland" will have forgotten a very striking passage which occurs in his story of the famine. Speaking of English efforts in the relief of distress, he says:—"Foremost in this blessed work were the Society of Friends, the English members of that body co-operating with its central committee in Dublin. Amongst the most active and fearless of their representatives was a young Yorkshire Quaker, whose name, I doubt not, is still warmly remembered by Connemara peasants. He drove from village to village, he walked bog and moor, rode the lake and climbed the mountain, in brave resolution to save the people. His correspondence from the scene of his labours would constitute in itself a graphic memorial of the Irish famine. That young 'Yorkshire Quaker' of 1847 was destined, a quarter of a century later, to be known to the Empire as a minister of the Crown—the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P."

Is it not the very irony of fate that the man of whom these words of gratitude were written should, when he returned to Ireland as Chief Secretary, have lived in daily danger of assassination,

and should now be remembered as 'Buckshot Forster'? Yet he was the same man throughout. His desire to befriend Ireland was not one whit less fervent, less sincere, or less near to his heart, when he struggled against the Land League than when he came on his errand of relief to the famine-stricken people. Those who knew him well never doubted it. Those who knew him less well cannot read the interesting biography of Mr. Wemyss Reid without being convinced of it.

It is a sad, almost a tragic story. One is tempted to hope that its tragic interest may help to enforce the political lesson which it teaches.

We do not point to Mr. Forster as a type of the best rulers of Ireland whom England could produce, for he had some fatal defects, which prevented him from appreciating the nature of the Irish revolution. Yet never will England send to Ireland a man more devoutly earnest in zeal for well-doing, or more determined to do his duty without fear or favour. "If I had to take a part in the administration of affairs in this country, I would strive to accomplish two great purposes—to give relief, and lasting relief, to poor Ireland; and to get the children of the working classes out of the gutter, by educating them." To his friend Cooper the Chartist he would say this again and again. And his was the great privilege of having in his manhood the opportunity of accomplishing the high purposes of his youth. In the one case his efforts were crowned with deserved success; in the other his failure was such that in two years of office he had made English rule in Ireland more deeply detested than it had ever been before. Not only was his heart in the work, but he had also a comparatively free hand. "They talk of the Czar of Russia," Mr. Reid reports him to have said one day after his retirement from office, "but the Czar is not more of a personal and absolute ruler than I was during that last winter in Ireland. My colleagues left me to do as I pleased, and the whole thing was in my hands." He got little support, it is true, from those who are now most eager to praise the vigour of his administration. It is unquestionable that the House of Lords made itself, in a great measure,

responsible for the outrages in Ireland by its rejection of the Compensation for Disturbance Bill, and Mr. Forster had good reason for the mingled indignation and impatience with which he was wont to speak of their conduct on that occasion. From the so-called loyalists in Ireland he received neither encouragement nor assistance. Mr. Gladstone, it appears, frequently suggested that efforts should be made to obtain their support in maintaining the law; but Mr. Forster was compelled to reply that so high did party feeling run that the thing was impossible. Referring to a proposal to enrol special constables, he said, "In the south and west we cannot get them, and in the north Orangemen would offer themselves, and we should probably have to put a policeman by the side of every special to keep him in order." In this respect, Mr. Forster's case was in no way peculiar. Fifty years ago Thomas Drummond had to face the same difficulties; the House of Lords threw every possible obstacle in his way, and opposed every measure of relief, while landlords and Orangemen interpreted every act of justice to the people as an insult to themselves. A statesman determined to administer indifferent justice to Ireland must expect such opposition; if such men spoke well of him, it would be time for him to ask himself wherein he had fallen short of his duty. Difficulties of this sort we can leave out of account in reviewing the period of Mr. Forster's rule, for no administrator holding his position and acting as he did will ever be free from them.

Here, then, was a governor of Ireland who was bent on doing justice, and ready to sacrifice his life for her sake, who in a large degree understood the causes of her distressful condition, whose life-long sympathies had been with the poor and the oppressed, and who was left comparatively free to rule as he pleased. And what was the result of his devotion? To say that he failed would be to say too little. If we except the Land Act—in the credit of which, as Mr. Reid justly urges, Mr. Forster is entitled to share—the failure of his administration is redeemed by scarcely a single gleam of success; and even the good effect of the Land Act was largely diminished owing to the resistance excited by his ill-aimed measures of repression. In spite of super-human efforts to put them down, outrages continued to be committed with impunity. The misdirected zeal of his subordinates constantly led him astray. Speaking of the "village tyrants," to deal with whom he demanded and obtained the passing of the Protection Bill in 1881, he said, "Of course the police know them, and they themselves are perfectly aware of the fact." He had afterwards to confess with bitterness that he had been misled, and that the police

were at fault. He used his powers not merely to punish the "village tyrants," but to strike right and left at the leaders of the agitation (though his treatment of them in prison, as will be seen from a passage which we print elsewhere, differed most creditably from that which is now in fashion); and he found that the agitation spread all the more fiercely. He induced Mr. Gladstone to consent to the arrest of Mr. Parnell; he himself, of his own motion, proclaimed the Land League; and after all he had to acknowledge that in Ireland it was safer for a man to resist the law than to obey it. The majority of the Irish people, in short, thoroughly disaffected, showed that they were stronger than the strongest ruler whom England could send against them; coercion had succeeded only in confirming their attachment to their leaders, and in deepening their hatred of English rule. Are we not justified, as we look back over these years, in saying of Mr. Forster's effort to govern Ireland, against the will of the Irish people, not only that he was unequal to the task, but that the task was beyond human power? And is not this the lesson to be drawn from his life? So it seems to us; and if Englishmen will read the story aright, perhaps after all his life will not be deemed to have been altogether a failure.

WITH THE VAN IN WEST CAMBS.

BY THE REV. T. J. LAWRENCE.

No useful purpose would be served by relating in detail the journeys of the van from place to place during its progress through this division. We left it last month at the end of the first week of its tour, and we will now proceed to touch lightly upon the chief incidents of the remainder of the journey.

On Monday, July 23rd, a contingent of Huntingdonshire friends, including Mr. T. Coote, the Liberal candidate for South Hunts, came over the border, and helped to make the meeting at Eltisley one of the most successful of the campaign. The next evening, at Caxton, Mr. J. J. Briscoe, of Bourne Hall, the High Sheriff of the county, gave us his valuable aid; and our own candidate, Mr. Hugh E. Hoare, put in an appearance. He drove over from Trumpington Hall, which he had just taken for the rest of the summer, and from that time onwards he spoke at every meeting, with one exception, till the end of the tour. In the latter part of this week and the beginning of the next the van was journeying among the large fen villages, whose population forms the backbone of the Liberalism of the division. Large meetings were everywhere held, and there was a great demand for literature. On Saturday, July 28th, Mr. and Mrs. Hoare met with a most enthusiastic reception at Cottenham, a place of

about 2,500 inhabitants. The evening was cold and wet, but the large Board schools were thronged, and numbers were unable to find standing room within. As the speakers drove up the village they were received with cheering, and after the meeting they departed amid a regular ovation. Meanwhile, the Tories were getting alarmed. The van was a new thing, and therefore more or less uncanny. When it first came among them, they laughed at it; but by this time they discovered it was no laughing matter, and so they set to work to abuse it. The *Daily Telegraph*—virtuous print—shed bitter tears over the decay of rural peace and innocence that must ensue when rival vans should go madly careering about country lanes, and rival sputters shout one another down on village greens. Other papers followed suit, and the Church Militant was roused into action. At Stretham, the vicar, a most excellent and hard-working clergyman, refused the use of the school-room for a meeting on the somewhat ill-chosen ground that no respectable people were Home Rulers. He must have been sadly mortified to find that, judged by his own test, considerably more than half of his parishioners are disreputable; for when the meeting came to be held on Monday, July 30th, in a large barn said to be capable of holding four hundred people, it was filled to overflowing, and a crowd remained outside to hear what they could through the open doors. It is fair to add that this was the only instance of official intolerance met with during the tour, and that at one place where our meeting had to be held in a green lane, a Tory farmer has since informed the local Liberals that on a similar occasion in future he will be happy to give them the use of one of his barns.

On Wednesday, August 1st, a gallant and successful attempt was made to storm a Tory stronghold. The large village of Sutton, about four miles from Ely, was attacked after a good deal of preparation. The local influence was strongly against us, but a little band of earnest and energetic Liberals in the place made such excellent arrangements that, though Mr. M. Conway, the Member for North Leitrim, was unable to fulfil his engagement to be present and speak, the largest and most enthusiastic Liberal meeting ever known in the village was held in a big marquee. Leaving Sutton, the van turned towards the South and went into the immediate neighbourhood of Cambridge through Waterbeach, Histon, and other villages, in most of which Liberal sentiments are predominant. It was at this point in the tour that Pat Murray had to give up his post as driver, to the great regret of all who had been brought into contact with him. His health broke down, and the doctor he consulted advised a return to his native air. The best wishes of the Liberals of West Cambs. have

followed him across the sea. His quiet and modest demeanour, his intelligence, his interest in the work, and his sober and trustworthy character won for him golden opinions in every quarter. The Tories are now attempting to injure him by placarding about the neighbourhood the answers given by Mr. Balfour when questioned on the subject of the van in the House of Commons. But the publication in the local papers of a letter from his parish priest to the Secretary of the Union will, we trust, put an end to all the slanders that are being industriously circulated against him.

The last week of the West Cambs campaign commenced with a new experience. On Bank Holiday, at Great Shelford, a few drunken roughs interrupted with obscene remarks the speech of Mrs. Sickert, a daughter of Richard Cobden, and an ardent and eloquent champion of the Irish cause. Their conduct disgusted all decent people, and probably did us more good than harm. The rest of the meetings had no special features of a very marked character. At Meldreth, on Wednesday, August 8th, a Tory farmer and his son insisted on addressing the assembly from Mr. Hoare's carriage; but their eloquence was lost upon the audience, for only five hands were held up for the amendment which they moved, though the village is said to be strongly Conservative in its political opinions. On Friday, August 10th, the last meeting of the tour was held at Comberton, and the next day the van started on its journey to Yorkshire.

Throughout the campaign, the speakers sent by the Union did yeomen's service. Mr. Morton and Mr. Lough at the commencement, Captain Luttrell, Mrs. Bateson, and Mr. Dillon O'Flynn in the middle, and Mrs. Sickert towards the end, were markedly successful in their efforts to rouse public opinion; and to each and all of them the thanks of the Liberals of West Cambs are gratefully given.

THE GUARDIANS OF BALLINASLOE.

"Surely, if there be one thing in a free country more clear than another, it is that any one of the people may speak openly to the people?"—JOHN BRIGHT.

On Wednesday, 15th August a meeting was arranged to be held in Ballinasloe to protest against the action of the Government in superseding the elected guardians of the district, and appointing paid guardians in their stead. To our English minds this seems the natural and proper course for those to take who are dissatisfied with the action of the Government; but they manage these things differently in Ireland. On the Wednesday morning the meeting was proclaimed on the ground "that the object and effect

of such meeting will be interference with and resistance to the administration and enforcement of the law, and will cause dissension and animosity among different classes of Her Majesty's subjects, and that such contemplated meeting is calculated and intended to produce boycotting and intimidation, terror and alarm, and will disturb the peace and tranquillity of the neighbourhood, and will be an unlawful assembly." How little reason there was for anticipating a disturbance of the peace may be judged from the fact that in all probability the meeting would have been unanimous: people who are of one mind don't break one another's heads. Not only was the meeting proclaimed, but it seems that the shopkeepers in the town were required to close from ten o'clock in the morning for the rest of the day. A strong force of police was brought up to prevent the holding of the meeting. Mr. Harris, M.P.; Mr. Sheehy, M.P.; and Father Costeloe, who were to have spoken, approached Mr. Byrne, the divisional magistrate who signed the proclamation, and endeavoured to convince him of the lawfulness of their intentions. There is every evidence that they behaved with remarkable moderation and prudence. Mr. Harris presented to Mr. Byrne a copy of the resolutions which it was proposed to move. "I will not take them," said His Loftiness, the divisional magistrate. "I will hold no further parley, but I will not allow the meeting;" and he declined to listen to the representations of the lawful nature of the gathering. Mr. Harris, Mr. Sheehy, and Father Costeloe, resolving to hold the meeting, moved towards the Temperance Hall. They were allowed to pass with a few others. Then the police, drawing across the road, prevented the people from following. No sooner had Mr. Harris and others mounted the platform than they were ordered to come down. They declined. District Inspector Wade called on the police to clear the platform, which they appear to have done with the celerity of experts. A Mr. Lynam was hurled off and thrown on the ground. Mr. Sheehy, who clung to a rail for some time, was overpowered and likewise thrown on the ground. The police seem also to have charged the people, and used their batons freely. Probably there would have been retaliation on the part of the people had not their leaders succeeded in restraining them; by them, however, though not by the divisional magistrate and his party, the peace was kept. In the evening, speeches were delivered at a dinner given to Mr. Harris and Mr. Sheehy; and so far as we can gather from the report, reasons were given which make us think that there was much need for a meeting of protest. "If these paid guardians," said Mr. Harris, "were sent there for the good of the town, and to rectify abuses in the workhouse system, he should not say one word against their

appointment. It might be in their power to do a great deal of good in this or any other union, but how was it that these paid guardians were never sent to Ballinasloe until the majority of the board elected their present worthy vice-chairman, To his own certain knowledge in that workhouse under the rule of the Conservative *ex-officios*, and under the ægis of the house of Clancarty, a state of things existed the most deplorable any man could contemplate. It was not until the Liberal guardians outnumbered the *ex-officio* guardians and the Conservative element of the board that forthwith paid guardians were sent by Balfour from Dublin, not for the purpose of doing good, but for the purpose of keeping his friend Mr. Byrne, who at that time was in Tullamore Gaol, from taking his seat as chairman of that board. They had a perfect right to take exception to sending these paid guardians, on the ground of the principle that there should be no taxation without representation." Mr. Harris may be right or wrong; but surely it is a monstrous thing that he could not be permitted to make his protest and criticism in public, in the hearing of the inhabitants of Ballinasloe, whom it most concerns, and who, be it remembered, are his own constituents. We had better frankly give up talking about Liberalism and representation and free speech, and all the rest of it, if we have not spirit enough to resent this sort of thing.

CRIMELESS IRELAND.

COMPILED BY MR. E. J. C. MORTON.

CHARGES OF THE JUDGES TO THE GRAND JURIES AT THE SUMMER ASSIZES IN IRELAND, 1887 AND 1888.

ANTRIM CO. (population, 421,943)—1887.—Holmes J.: He saw that there were in all twenty bills to go before them. He had looked into the character of the offences they represented, and found they were such as might be expected to arise naturally under any circumstances in a thickly populated community and a large town. He had been informed by Mr. Justice Andrews that he had carefully considered the returns presented to him, and that they indicated the state of the country since last assizes, and that he was of opinion the information they contained was of an eminently satisfactory character.

July 18, 1888.—Murphy, J.: "I am glad to be able to say that your labour in the investigation of the bills that are to go before you will be extremely light. The number of prisoners in the calendar is as small as it were possible to expect it could be in any county or town of such vast population as the county of Antrim and the town of Belfast." (Belfast.)

ARMAGH Co. (population, 163,177) — 1887.— Andrews, J.: “There are seven cases to be submitted to you for your consideration, and I do not find anything in them requiring observations from me. It gives me great pleasure to congratulate you on the orderly and well-behaved condition of your important country.”

July 10, 1888.—Murphy, J.: “The returns placed before me by your County Inspector show that your county of Armagh still preserves its character for peace and tranquillity. The offences that have been committed throughout the county since the last Assises are very trifling, and very few indeed. I regret, however, to say that three cases, and they are only three in number, are to come before you for investigation. Two of these, I understand, are for charges of murder, presented against two persons, where the crime is alleged to have been committed in this your city, and the third, where the crime is alleged to have been committed in the town of Portadown. Were it not for the serious character of these offences the state of the calendar would be one for extreme congratulation.” (Armagh.)

CARLOW Co. (population, 46,568)—1887.— Dowse, B.: He was glad to be able to inform them—and he believed it was a very usual announcement—that their labours at the present assizes would not be very much. There were only two bills to go before them. They had a right to be satisfied with the present condition of things.

July 3, 1888.—O’Brien, J.: White gloves. (Carlow.)

CAVAN Co. (population, 129,476) — 1887.— Lawson, J.: He was glad to observe that their duties were of a very light description. There were only three unimportant offences to be sent before them, and those were of a class they would find no difficulty in disposing of, and required no observations from him.

July 4, 1888.—Morris, C. J.: “There are only three bills for your consideration, and these will not occupy your time many minutes.” (Cavan.)

CARRICKFERGUS.—*July 18, 1888.*—Holmes, J., white gloves, for the third time in succession.

CLARE Co. (population, 141,457) — 1887.— O’Brien, T.: “The criminal business you will have to deal with at the present assizes in performance of your duty as grand jurors consists of but very few cases. The cases that will be laid before you constitute but a very trifling amount. I have said that open crime is not the great evil of the county. *You may leave crime entirely out of the question.* There is, to a certain extent, an absence of open and serious crime.”

July 2, 1888.—Harrison, J., said the cases to be sent before them were not many, nor were they of a serious nature. He was happy to say

that only seven cases would be presented to them. (Ennis.)*

CORK Co. (population, 495,607) — 1887.— Johnson, J.: “The number of cases to go before you is not large, having regard to this great county, nor in their character are they very important.”

July 17, 1888.—Andrews, J., said: “The information I have received leads me to feel not only that the county is not in an unsatisfactory state, but that the improvement which we have been glad to recognise in other counties is also going on here.” (Cork.)

CORK CITY (population, 80,124) — 1887.— O’Brien, J.: “There are very few bills to be laid before you, one of them only of the least importance. I see reason to make, from the materials laid before me by the authorities, the general observation that this city practically is absolutely and entirely free from crime.”

July 20, 1888.—Harrison, J.: “There will be two cases, both of robbery, presented to you from the city. Well, gentlemen, that state of your city is, I think, exceedingly satisfactory, and it really amounts to almost a clean bill for the city of Cork.” (Cork.)

DONEGAL Co. (population, 206,035) — 1887.— Lawson, J., congratulated the grand jury on the peaceful condition of the county as indicated by the circumstance that there were but four new bills to go before them, on none of which it was necessary to make any observation.

July 12, 1888.—Palles, C. J.: “Bills will go before you in seven cases at the present assizes. . . . None of them are such as require any observations from me. I have received, gentlemen, the usual constabulary report, which has also, I believe, been laid before you. It would appear from that, that the number of offences that have been specially reported to the constabulary since the period of the last assizes slightly exceeds the number for the corresponding period of last year. I am bound to tell you that from the information I have received from the authorities, the country is not in that condition of peace and order which any person anxious for its welfare would wish it to be.” (Lifford.)

DOWN Co. (population, 272,107) — 1887.— Holmes, J.: “The bills that are to go before you are, having regard to the population and extent of the county, few, and the cases are of such a character, with perhaps, one exception, as might be expected to arise in a thickly populated community, presenting no feature in either their character or their incidents that your own experience will not enable you to deal with.”

* Yet Clare, according to the *Times* (August 28), is the worst county in Ireland: “Clare has now surpassed Kerry, and stands at the head of the list in the outrage record.”

July 14, 1888.—Holmes, J., said: “We are happy to congratulate them on the state of the calendar, as there were but six cases to go before them, none of which could be described as in any degree serious or exceptional. They were such cases as might be expected to arise in a county of the extent of Down, and containing a portion of, perhaps, the largest and certainly the most prosperous town in Ireland. Their duties, therefore, would be exceedingly light.” (Downpatrick.)

DROGHEDA (population, 12,297)—1887.—Holmes, J., white gloves.

July 3, 1888.—Holmes, J., said: “There is but one bill, so far as I can understand, to go before you, and it is where a party is charged with the offence of concealing the birth of a child. At each succeeding assizes for some years back each record is a blank or almost a blank. I am sure that such a matter is one for congratulation to you, and very creditable to the welfare and peace of Drogheda.”

FERMANAGH CO. (population, 84,879)—1887.—Murphy, J.: “Nothing can exceed the peace and quiet obtaining in this, as I trust I may call it, your prosperous county. The bills to go before you are only two in number.”

GALWAY CO. (population, 242,005)—1887.—Palles, C. B., regretted to say the number of cases to go before them was considerable—far more than was usual in this county. There were twenty-three cases to be tried, including four cases carried forward from the last assizes.”

July 18, 1888.—Gibson, J., said the amount of business was extremely small, there being only nine cases on which they were asked to find bills. (Galway.)

KERRY CO. (population, 201,039)—1887.—O’Brien, J.: “I need not say to you that the prominence the county of Kerry has occupied of late years in reference to crime makes its condition an object of great anxiety and inquiry, and, from means of information afforded to me, including amongst other materials the usual returns presented by the constabulary to the judge of assize, it appears that the actual amount of crime is much less than for the corresponding period last year. That diminution is capable of being traced through almost all the classes of crime which are in their own nature necessarily connected with the state of the county; in particular, the offence which is commonly known as moonlighting, and which is the cause of so much terror and alarm to the well-disposed in this county, for a considerable period of time seems to have almost entirely disappeared.”

July 11, 1888.—Harrison, J., said there were but two or three cases to be submitted to them, of an ordinary nature. (Tralee.)

KILDARE CO. (population, 75,804)—1887.—Harrison, J.: “I am happy to tell you that I believe your duties, so far as they are of a criminal

nature, will at this assize be light indeed. There are only five cases to go before you, and there are none of them of a very grave or serious nature. There is nothing, as far as I have been able to ascertain, reflecting in any way on the peace of your county.”

July 4, 1888.—Johnson, J.: “There are in all only six cases, which are of a very ordinary character, and which will require no words from me to gentlemen of your experience. The County Inspector informs me that the state of the county is satisfactory.” (Naas.)

KILKENNY CO. (population, 99,531)—1887.—Dowse, B.: “I am glad to say that you have not very many cases to go before you at the present assizes. The number of bills is six, which represent only five cases. I have to congratulate you upon the tranquillity of your county.”

July 17, 1888.—O’Brien, J., said he was happy to inform the Grand Jury that the county still enjoyed the immunity from serious crime, and, indeed, crime of any degree, that had so long distinguished it. There were only four trivial cases to be disposed of. (Kilkenny.)

KILKENNY CITY (population, 12,299)—1887.—Harrison, J., white gloves: “I have very great pleasure in receiving this emblem of the innocence of your city, as I may call it. I think it is not merely an emblem of the present state, but it clearly represents the general condition of this fair city of Kilkenny. There is not merely no criminal case to go before you, but I find from the return of the police inspector that there were only one or two cases specially reported since the last assizes.”

July 17, 1888.—Johnson, J., said there were only three cases to go before them. . . . He was glad to be able to say that he found the city in a very quiet condition, as he did for the last four years. (Kilkenny.)

KING’S CO. (population, 72,852)—1887.—Lord Chief Justice: “There are only three cases to go before you, none of which call for any comment.”

LEITRIM CO. (population, 90,372)—1887.—Lord Chief Baron: “There are not many cases to go before you, and none of them require any observations from me.”

July 5, 1888., Gibson, J., said there were only two cases to go before them. . . . He trusted that when next he visited them their duties would be as light and easy as on the present occasion. (Carrick-on-Shannon.)

LIMERICK CO. (population, 180,632)—1887.—Johnson, J.: “The list which has been furnished to me of the criminal business which is to come before you discloses that there are but twelve cases. With the exception of one, which appears to be of a moonlighting character, the rest are all cases of ordinary crime.”

July 6, 1888.—Andrews, J., said there was

only one short case to go before them, in which the accused was charged with the larceny of a cow. He was happy to find from the County Inspector's report, and from information he had received since he came to Limerick, that there was a very marked improvement in the condition of the county of Limerick. (Limerick.)

LIMERICK CITY (population, 38,562) — 1887.—O'Brien, J.: "I believe practically there is no criminal business at all to be done. The list laid before me merely shows three cases for trial, in one of which a bill had been found already. Another case on the list is described as manslaughter, but it appears really to be a very trivial case."

July 6, 1888.—Harrison, J., said, were it not that a case had been transferred to their jurisdiction from the county, they would have nothing whatever to do in investigating any case of a criminal nature at these assizes. The calendar was a blank one as far as the city was concerned, not a single person being in custody. (Limerick.)

LONDONDERRY CO. (population, 164,991) — 1887.—Murphy, J.: "There were only twelve bills to go before them—eleven for offences within the county and one for an offence committed on the high seas on board a vessel coming to the port. None of the offences disclosed were of other than the ordinary kind that might be expected in so large and populous a county."

July 16, 1888.—Morris, C. J., said, on the whole, it would appear that there was no exceptional state of crime in the district, and that he might congratulate the grand jury on the state of it." (Derry.)

LONGFORD CO. (population, 61,009) — 1887.—Murphy, J.: "There are only two cases to go before you. I am happy to say that the number is so very few."

July 3, 1888.—Palles, C.B., said there were only three cases to go before them, one being neglect to supply proper nourishment by a mother to her child, which she had insured in the Prudential Insurance Company. This practise was one against which he was prepared to set his face, and he hoped they would also. Fortunately it was not so common as in England. He congratulated the jury on the state of the county, there being only fifteen specially reported cases since last assizes. (Longford.)

LOUTH CO. (population, 77,684) — 1887.—Andrews, J.: "There are only four bills to go before you. . . . As far as I can learn there is nothing to show me that the county is not in a peaceable and orderly state."

July 5, 1888.—Murphy, J., said he understood there were only four different cases to go before them, and none of them were of such a nature as to require that he should dilate upon them. (Dundalk.)

MAYO CO. (population, 245,212) — 1887.—Morris, C. J.: "There were fourteen cases to be submitted for their consideration. So far as he was aware, none of them presented any feature of immediate difficulty."

July 13.—Dowse, B.: "I am glad to be able to tell you that your business will be very light. There are only four or five bills to be laid before you, none of them requiring much observation from me. One bill was found at last assizes, so that there are really only three new cases." (Castlebar.)

MEATH CO. (population, 87,469) — 1887.—Andrews, J.: "There are only three cases to go before you. None of the cases in the official return are of such a character as to cause uneasiness, and I congratulate you on the peaceable condition of the county."

July 2, 1888.—Murphy, J., said that there seemed to be a total absence of crime, he was happy to say, in the county. There appeared to be only two bills to go before them—both petty larcenies. (Trini.)

MONAGHAN CO. (population, 102,748) — 1887.—Holmes, J.: "There are but two cases to go before you. I am justified in congratulating the county upon the absence of crime."

July 7, 1888.—Holmes, J. White gloves. (Monaghan.)

QUEEN'S CO. (population, 73,124) — 1887.—Dowse, B., said the business to go before them on the present occasion was light, there being only two cases to be investigated by them. These were the only two cases, and he would take care that the bills were sent up to them at once, and he hoped they would take up whichever case was likely to be shortest, *so that the court might have something to do.*

July 9, 1888.—Johnson, J., with regard to the constabulary returns, said, "From a comparative analysis for the period occurring between the spring and the summer assizes of last year, with the same period of the present year, the total number of offences that were then reported were twenty. The number at present was fourteen." (Maryborough.)

ROSCOMMON CO. (population, 132,490) — 1887.—Palles, C. B.: "There are only eight cases to go before you—five for assaults, two for larceny, and one for rescue."

July 11, 1888.—Gibson, J., said the business to go before them was very light. There were but five or six cases in all to go before them. . . . The official returns showed a decrease of 50 per cent, in serious offences, as compared with last year, and the authorities reported the county in a satisfactory condition, which he trusted would continue. (Roscommon.)

SLIGO CO. (population, 111,578) — 1887.—Morris, C. J.: "I have merely to remark that

the Crown Solicitor informs me that there are only two bills to be submitted for your consideration, of the ordinary character, and so far as I am aware there is no other subject calling for any observations from me."

July 7, 1888.—Dowse, B., said he was glad to inform them, what they probably knew as well as he, that their county, as far as crime was concerned, was in a satisfactory condition, with the exception of one small district, and even that was improving. Of offences reported, there were only thirteen as compared with twenty-two for the corresponding period of last year—a very substantial decrease.

TIPPERARY CO. (North) (population—North and South—199,612)—1887.—Harrison, J., said there was nothing serious to come before them at the present assizes. He would say it was certainly a very satisfactory state of things found to exist in their very important and fine county. He felt happy in congratulating the Grand Jury that their county was in a peaceable and satisfactory condition.

July 6, 1888.—O'Brien, J., said from the returns furnished to him he observed that the offences committed during the past half-year were just the same in number as for the corresponding period of last year, and did not represent any excessive amount of actual crime. (Nenagh.)

TIPPERARY (South)—1887.—Harrison, J.: "There were only three cases to go before them—a very small number for so large a district as the South Riding of the County Tipperary—none of them of a grave nature."

July 19, 1888.—Johnson, J.: "The number of cases to go before you is eight. . . . I am informed by the County Inspector, and I believe from that as well as from inquiries made from another and reliable source, that your county is in a satisfactory state." (Clonmel.)

TYRONE CO. (population, 197,719)—1887.—Lawson, J.: "With respect to the state of the county I have nothing extraordinary to say. The list of cases at the present assizes is a very moderate list. There are altogether twelve cases for trial. Of these two are standing over from a former assizes, and therefore bills will go before you in ten cases. Gentlemen, these are of the usual kind that you may expect in a great and populous county like this, and don't show any bad feeling or anything of that kind."

July 9, 1888.—Morris, C. J.: "I am glad to be able to inform you that your labours, so far as they are connected with the criminal administration of the law, will be exceedingly light. I collect from the list furnished to me by the Crown Solicitor, that bills in six cases will be submitted for your consideration, a very small number in this large and populous county, and

none of them, so far as I am aware, calling for any special remark from me." (Omagh.)

WATERFORD CO. (population, 112,768)—1887.—Dowse, B., said there were but four bills to go before them, and they were of an ordinary character. He congratulated them on the satisfactory condition of their county.

July 23, 1888.—O'Brien, J., said that the amount of criminal business to go before them was quite inconsiderable, and showed a diminution as compared with the corresponding period of last year. (Waterford.)

WATERFORD CITY (population, 29,181)—1887.—Harrison, J., said he had great pleasure in saying there was no criminal business to go before them; and, moreover, there was no special criminal case reported since the last assizes.

July 23, 1888.—O'Brien, J., was happy to say that the city enjoyed a state of almost absolute innocence from crime, as there was only one case to go before them. (Waterford.)

WESTMEATH CO. (population, 71,798)—1887.—Lawson, J.: "Your business will be very light, as there are only two cases to go before you, neither of which presents any feature of difficulty."

July 2, 1888.—Morris, C. J., complimented them on the peaceable state of the county, there being only some seven or eight cases to go before him. (Mullingar.)

WEXFORD CO. (population, 123,854)—1887.—Harrison, J.: "I am very glad to say that, so far, at all events, as the number of cases to go before you for investigation is concerned of a criminal nature, they are fewer than in my experience I have known in any other county of the large extent of Wexford. There are only two cases to go before you. I can only congratulate you on the general peace of this county, and hope, if I have the honour of coming here again, the condition of your county will be that you will not even have two cases that you are asked now to consider."

July 26, 1888.—Johnson, J., said the criminal business to go before them could hardly be lighter. (Wexford.)

WICKLOW CO. (population, 70,386)—1887.—Dowse, B.: "I have already since the commencement of this enlarged Leinster circuit addressed four county Grand Juries. I had very little to say to them, and I have still less to say to you. The number of bills to go before you on the present occasion—and when I say that I look with a sympathetic air to my friends the Crown Counsel (laughter)—is only two. One is a case of concealment of birth, and the other is a rather serious case—a case of stabbing; and that is the whole business that you will be called upon to investigate as the criminal grand jury at the present assizes. I am here to discharge the gaol, and

there is nobody in it—(laughter)—for I understand that the two offenders are out upon bail."

July 28, 1888.—O'Brien, J., said their duties connected with the criminal law, so far as their own county was concerned, would be very light, as the county Wicklow contributed very little, there being only two cases from it, one of which was a mere trifling kind of charge. (Wicklow.)

NOTES BY THE WAY.

The Ridley Inquest.—The inquest on Dr. Ridley ended on August 24th, when the jury unanimously returned the following verdict:—“We find that Dr. James Ridley died on the 20th July, 1888, at Fermoy, from wounds inflicted by his own hand with a razor on the same day, whilst labouring under temporary insanity, produced by the apprehension of disclosures at the Michelstown inquest, and that he was compelled to act in his official capacity in contravention of his own humane and considerate views. We beg to add our expressions of deep sympathy with Mrs. Ridley and Mrs. Mandeville in their affliction. We condemn the reckless and unfounded charges made by Dr. Barr against the medical men and poor Mr. Mandeville. We are of opinion that the charges made against Dr. Moorhead are absolutely unfounded, and that his reports and visits had a beneficial effect.” Now put this verdict and that on Mandeville’s death together—they deserve very serious consideration. Both contain the strongest condemnation of the present treatment of political prisoners, and both were the result of the most minute investigation. People say when they hear of such cases: “Of course the juries condemned the Government—the Nationalists will swear to anything if thereby they can bring the administration of the law into contempt.” Well, but those juries were not composed of Nationalists. Take the Ridley jurors—four were Protestant Conservatives, and of the remaining nine, who were Roman Catholics, not one took any active part in politics. Yet they were unanimous in their verdict. They say again: “Oh, but the coroner is a mere partisan, bent on forcing the jury to an anti-Government verdict.” People who say this have not read the reports of the trial. If they had they could not have failed to be struck by the remarkable impartiality which the coroner displayed throughout. His summing-up was calm, temperate, and in all respects judicial. This being so, are we not in fairness bound to accept the conclusion that the two juries have condemned the action of the Government, for the simple reason that the action of the Government deserved to be condemned?

Yet Mr. Balfour openly says in Parliament that he treats such verdicts with contempt. How should he expect Irishmen to treat his Coercion Courts with respect, when he himself sets an example of disrespect? If he thinks little of Crowners’ Quest law, Chief Baron Palles and Baron Dowse should have taught him to think even less of Removeables’ law. Unionists should be reminded of these things when they weep over the spirit of lawlessness in Ireland.

How Mr. Forster treated his Prisoners

—“The punishment which was involved in imprisonment under the Protection Act was altogether different in its character from that which is ordinarily suffered by prisoners. Forster was anxious, above everything else, to abstain from dealing with his ‘suspects’ as though they were convicted criminals. It was necessary that they should be held in detention—some because they were reasonably suspected of having been engaged in the commission of outrages and in other criminal acts; others because their speeches had the effect of inciting those who heard them to resistance to the law. But no criminal taint was allowed to attach to the man who was held in detention under the powers of the Protection Act. He was treated far better than a first-class misdemeanant in an ordinary gaol. He was not degraded by having menial tasks imposed upon him. He wore his own clothes; he could, if he pleased, provide his own food; he read books and newspapers; he received his friends in prison; he associated with his fellow captives. This was the manner in which Forster dealt with the prisoners whom he made under the Protection Act. The penalty imposed upon them was the lightest consistent with their actual detention in gaol. And even the prison doors were opened to them when good reason could be shown for temporarily liberating them. Some were allowed to go home on parole, to see a sick wife or child, others to attend the funeral of father or mother. At the moment when the shrillest cries of passion and hatred were being raised against the Chief Secretary, who held in his hands the keys of Kilmainham, Forster was devoting hours daily to the task of making sure that the imprisonment of the suspects was not merely humane, but even gentle, and entirely free from any trace of cruelty or vindictiveness.”—Mr. Wemyss Reid’s Life of W. E. Forster, vol. ii., pp. 314, 315.

What a Cork Jury thinks of ‘Parnellism and Crime.’—Speaking at Barrow, August 21st, Mr. W. O’Brien made the following interesting reference to the action for libel which he brought against the *Cork Constitution*, and which resulted in a verdict in his favour for £100 damages. “*The Cork Constitution*,” he said,

"is simply a local branch of the *Times*; its chief proprietor, Mr. Tivy, is brother-in-law of Mr. Wilson, who writes the Irish leading articles in the *Times*, and who is generally understood to be author of 'Parnellism and Crime.' " [On this last point we believe Mr. O'Brien is mistaken.] "The man who wrote the libel, the editor of the *Constitution*, is also the correspondent of the *Times* for the whole province of Munster, and is the man from whom the English people derive their information about the whole South of Ireland. Now listen for a moment. Mind you, it was tried in a venue of their own choosing, before a special jury of the county of Cork, the majority of whom were my political opponents, five of them staunch Tory Protestants, one of them a Catholic Liberal Unionist, and one of them a sub-agent or rent warner on the estate of Lord Ormathwaite. That was the tribunal. The charge that the *Constitution* made against me was precisely the charge with which the '*Times*' has been for the last two years assailing us. They charged me in the most distinct terms with organising murder, with making it my mode of livelihood, with trafficking in outrage and in crime in order to fill my pockets with American dollars, and so on through all the other infamous accusations with which the readers of 'Parnellism and Crime' are familiar. As I told you, I thought it worth while just for once to try what there was in all this braggadocio of the *Times* about its anxiety to get us before a jury, and of the terrible secrets that were to be wrung out of us. As I have told you, the chief proprietor was intimately connected with the *Times*; the editor was the Munster correspondent of the *Times*; they had all the information and all the resources of the *Times* at their disposal, all those appalling proofs that the *Times* has been amassing, and which are to frighten us out of our senses when we come to face the Commission, and I naturally supposed that our opponents would be only glad of the opportunity at least to stand by those charges, to justify them, and if they could justify them, to hurl me out of a court of justice branded with eternal shame. What has happened? The moment they were put on proof of the charges which they have been dinging into your English ears for the last couple of years they ran away from every accusation that they made. They shirked out of it; they shrank from justifying it; they shrank from putting in a plea of justification or from pleading that it was true in substance and in fact. They put in the more modest plea of fair comment, which enables a man to say—"It is true I have made the vilest charges against you; it is true I am not able to prove them; but whether they are true or not you are a public man; a public man is a fair target for strong comments. You made strong comments

yourself, and you cannot blame us.' That plea of fair comment did not oblige them to prove anything, but it allowed them to range over my whole life, and to bring up in judgment against me every thought, word, and action of my life; and yet, when they had me hour after hour before them for cross-examination, not only did they shrink from attempting to prove that I was an organiser of crime, but they actually assured the jury that they never meant to say anything of the kind. . . . Actually, the man who wrote that dastardly libel, accusing me in the plainest language of organising murder and crime for my own selfish ends, that man was in the witness-box, and on cross-examination, why, he almost made me blush at the compliments that he paid me. He described me as one of the most unselfish and disinterested persons he had ever met, and this man, from whom the English people derive their impressions about Ireland, and who wrote of me in these atrocious terms, this man actually said that so far from living by crime or profiting by crime that he believed I would be a richer man to-day if I never had touched politics in all my life. . . . One of the jury afterwards said: 'Our great difficulty was in measuring damages, for how we could say you sustained one farthing's worth of damages after the very handsome compliments that were paid to you.' That is the collapse that they came to, and I know nothing more ignominious, except, perhaps, possibly the collapse that will come one of these days when the *Times* newspaper is summoned to produce its proofs or for ever to hang down its head in silence. Well, but did the *Times* open its lips about that case? Did they acknowledge that their charges had been branded as false by a jury, the majority of whom, as I told you, were my bitter political opponents? No, but the reports they published of the case were the reports sent to them by the very man who had libelled me. My answers were most grossly and shamefully garbled and misrepresented. Mr. Chamberlain, at his garden party in Birmingham, referred to that case. Was it to tell his audience honestly the verdict, or to tell them honestly the utter collapse and break down of every charge that they attempted to make against me? No, but he picked out one of those very garbled answers reported by the man who had libelled me, and represented me as saying the very opposite of what I did say; and although I publicly corrected him, and referred him to my exact words and what my real evidence was, he has never to this hour apologised for the wrong that he did, to me or retracted the falsehoods that he circulated against me. That is the sort of fairplay that Mr. Chamberlain is learning in the drawing-rooms of the Duchesses."

Mr. Blunt and Dr. Kinkead.—In Mr. Blunt's article in the last number of the JOURNAL certain statements were made concerning Dr. Kinkead; among others, that "he was, to my knowledge, summoned before the Prisons Board in Dublin, and cautioned regarding me by Mr. Bourke, the chairman of the Board." Dr. Kinkead at once wrote to the *Freeman's Journal* emphatically denying Mr. Blunt's statements. Mr. Blunt replied in a letter to the *Times*, in which he says:—"I owe Dr. Kinkead too much for his care and kindness to me in prison to seek a quarrel with him for this denial; but I must affirm most positively that, with regard to his visit to Dublin, to his having seen Mr. Bourke and conversed with him about my case, I had his own account of it to rely on, given me the day after his return from Dublin, the 6th of February." After discussing in detail Dr. Kinkead's denial, he adds:—"The truth is, the whole treatment of political prisoners in Ireland has been exceptional and capricious. I was never treated as an ordinary prisoner, but on some points better, on others worse, than such. I have hitherto supposed that this was due to the humanity of those in charge of me—Dr. Kinkead notably—softening the severities desired by the Government. But Dr. Kinkead's letter, taken with his omission to mention the interview he had with Mr. Bourke, would seem to suggest that the leniency, as well as the severity, was ordered. I cannot solve the riddle. A prisoner in his cell through his long weeks of solitude, broken only by the visits of officials he hardly knows whether to regard as his friends or foes, is impressed with doubts and conjectures like one waiting in the dark for the slides of a magic lantern. The low diet and the silence reduce him to weakness, and he comes to lean on his attendants, and especially on his doctor, as a sick man does on his nurse. He believes in their kindness because he depends so entirely on them. Perhaps I have believed too much in Dr. Kinkead; and perhaps, after all, he is no better than he would have us believe—that is to say, than the Prisons Board and the Government. In any case, the public has no other means than the dim evidence of released prisoners for knowing what passes within the prison walls. The officials have an easy task of denial. But I believe I have done my duty by stating my experience, as far as it bore on Dr. Ridley's and Mr. Mandeville's deaths."

occurred to enliven it. But the administration of "lawless law" needs all the more to be watched when it is least sensational and its victims most obscure. There has been no lack of thrilling horrors, however, on the Vandeleur estates of late; and, but for the obscurity of the poor men so excessively punished for the "violent" defence of their homes, four of the summary court's convictions at Kilrush, on August 1st, would surely be sensational enough. For "obstructing the sheriff and assault on a policeman," two men, T. Moran and M. Scallan, were sentenced to five months' imprisonment. Two more, Denis MacLigan and T. McMahon, were condemned to seven months' imprisonment for the usual kind of resistance to the process of eviction. A fifth man, Simon Connell, escaped some similar judgment because he was in hospital, suffering from the effects of official assault. For his case no rule was made. The excessive length of these sentences requires no comment.

The general record for the last four weeks is as follows:—

Week ending	Adjourned.	Withdrawn or dismissed.	Bail.
July 31 ...	47	26	4
Aug. 7 ...	28	17	1
Aug. 14 ...	39	0	10
Aug. 21 ...	7	1	0
			1
	121	66	

As regards the nature of the offences charged, our analysis yields the following particulars:—

Class	I.—Agrarian cases	47	Adjourned.	Withdrawn, or dismissed.	Bail.
"	II.—Public meeting cases, &c. ...	18	5	0	0
"	III.—Incitements ...	15	8	3	0
"	IV.—Boycotting, Intimidation, &c. &c.	26	13	3	5
"	VII.—Miscellaneous, including 1 case of threat to mur- der, 10 of ob- struction to bailliffs collect- ing the Leahy tax, and 4 arising out of trespasses ...	15	0	4	0

The ten persons who obstructed the bailiffs in collecting the Leahy tax did so, it appears, by blowing horns, shouting, and hooting. Four were dismissed, but the other six sentenced to three weeks' imprisonment each. To three of these, however, the offer was made of allowing them out on recognisances. The offer was

THE RECORD OF COERCION.

THE machinery of coercion has, for another four weeks, pursued its dull, monotonous round; and, till the arrest of Father Kennedy and the Messrs. Redmond on the 27th, few striking events have

refused, and these men went to prison with the other three. Their resistance was to a tax which the commonsense of their community deemed unjust, and, no doubt, they judged that to accept bail would be to concede the principle. There is no lack in Ireland of "village Hampdens."

Our readers will remember the case of Mr. Richard Latchford, Justice of the Peace in Tralee, who was tried under the Crimes Act for so-called riot, and was sentenced by Mr. Cecil Roche and Captain Massy to one month's imprisonment. Mr. Latchford's real offence was his disregard of a legal injunction which had been obtained by a gentleman with whom he had a dispute about a watercourse. The injunction was to restrain him from laying certain pipes, and he continued to lay the pipes, whereat some excitement was roused in the neighbourhood. There is, of course, a proper way of dealing with such a matter. The way it was dealt with is peculiar to Ireland. Mr. Latchford, a popular magistrate, who had reproved Mr. Roche on a former occasion for his dealings with the people, was arrested on a charge of riot—riot carried out by one man alone, and an eminently respectable and well-to-do citizen, moreover—and brought before the summary court presided over by a magistrate who had not very creditable reasons of his own to bear an animus against Mr. Latchford. So the latter was sent to prison for a month.

In due course, however, his case was brought on in the Court of Exchequer by an application for habeas corpus; and the application was granted on the ground that the charge was not legally set out in the conviction, being simply a charge of riot without any statement of the facts. Resident magistrates are sometimes quite ignorant enough to lay their judgments open to reversal in this way by neglect of some technical legal forms. But in this case there was a better reason than ignorance for neglect to draw up the terms of the conviction in accordance with legal requirements. If Mr. Latchford was guilty of riot, it must have been under certain circumstances, and *with certain other persons*. Those circumstances and persons would have constituted the "facts." Can it be that Mr. Roche neglected to specify them in his sentence because he neglected to have them specified and evidenced in his court? It was as easy for him to say, and perhaps to think, that Mr. Latchford was guilty of riot generally without reference to particulars, as it is for the average reader of the *Times* to believe that Mr. Parnell is guilty of complicity in the Phoenix Park murders, the manner, time, and extent of that complicity being wholly undetermined and out of all relation to facts.

Commonsense, as well as law, requires that

accusations should be complete in particulars. "It might be quite right," said Baron Dowse on this occasion, "to say that a person who took part in a riot or unlawful assembly should be convicted summarily, but when the magistrates were stating the summons against him, and making a conviction, it was not sufficient to say that he took part in a riot, they should state there was a riot in a particular place, setting it out by apt words, and then stating that he took part in it. That was not done, and in his opinion the conviction was bad."

Mr. Latchford's release was ordered, and he left court with a number of friends to change the prison clothes in which he had been brought up from Tralee gaol to Dublin. This, however, was on Monday, August 6th, and the term of his imprisonment would have expired on the 15th, so bad law and admitted injustice notwithstanding, the summary court method worked Mr. Roche's will pretty successfully on this respected and popular Protestant citizen.

The four important arrests made on Monday, the 27th of August, mark significantly the first fortnight of the Parliamentary recess. Two members of Parliament, a newspaper proprietor, and a priest are the victims of this fresh display of vigour. Mr. Balfour will doubtless use freely the advantage of his present freedom from parliamentary criticism, but happily it will not this time avail him long.

DIARY OF THE MOVEMENT.

August 1.—The *Times'* Forgeries Bill in Committee. Amendment offered by Mr. R. T. Reid to insert after "other persons" the words "in so far as the same bear upon the alleged complicity of the said members." After a long debate, the amendment was rejected by 241 to 194.—Mr. William O'Brien addresses a great demonstration at Plymouth.—At the inquest on Dr. Ridley, letters from Dr. Barr were read in court and produced a sensation.—Continued evictions on the Vandeleur estate.

August 2.—Mr. Labouchere calls the attention of the House to the abusive language of the *Times*, which it was admitted constituted breach of privilege. In the same debate Mr. J. E. Redmond showed how the *Times* had misrepresented him, and had refused to insert a letter from him giving the facts.—After several amendments had been voted down, the *Times'* Forgeries Bill was forced through by the closure.

August 3.—In Committee of Supply in the House, Mr. Morley drew attention to the case of Mr. Latchford and his prosecution under the Coercion Act for an ordinary assault, and trial by his personal enemy, Cecil Roche, R.M. Mr. Balfour, as usual, defended his subordinate.

August 4.—Remarkable letter from Mr. W. J. Lane, M.P., respecting his relations while in prison with Dr. Ridley, and pointing to the latter's suicide as being due to remorse for having been the instrument for inflicting cruelty on political prisoners.—At Dublin the Lord Chief Baron granted an absolute order for a writ of *habeas corpus* in the case of Mr. Latchford, on the ground that there was no sufficient charge of riot set forth in the conviction.

August 6.—In the Exchequer Division at Dublin an application to make absolute the conditional order for writ of *habeas corpus* in the case of Mr. Dillon failed.

August 7.—The *Times'* Forgeries Bill again in the House on consideration of Committee report. Mr. Labouchere moved a proviso, the object of which was to prevent the *Times* escaping scot-free after its libels and forgeries are exposed before the Commission. The Government opposed, and the proviso was rejected by 191 to 120. Other amendments by Mr. Hunter and Mr. Sexton rejected.—Remarkable evidence of Father Murphy at the Ridley inquest.

August 8.—The *Times'* Forgeries Bill read a third time by 180 to 64, after Sir W. Lawson had withdrawn an amendment opposing the Commission.—Mr. William O'Brien gives evidence at the Ridley inquest, showing that the deceased was kind and conscientious, but weak and nervous.

August 9.—Mr. A. J. Balfour slanders Patrick Murray, driver of the Home Rule Union van.—Messrs. W. J. Lane and J. Hooper give evidence at the Ridley inquest as to their treatment by Dr. Ridley during their imprisonment.

August 10.—Mr. James O'Kelly sentenced to four months' imprisonment by Henn and Smith, R.M.'s. Notice of appeal being given, Mr. O'Kelly was admitted to bail.—At the Ridley inquest, Dr. Barr again accused five doctors of prominent position of falsehood. He also said that Mrs. Mandeville had uttered an untruth, and that Mr. Mandeville had not got punishment enough.—In the House of Lords Lord Herschell delivers a masterly speech on the *Times'* Forgeries Bill.

August 11.—Radical and Irish demonstration at Dundee, attended by 10,000 persons, denounces the administration of the Coercion Act and calls for the release of Mr. Dillon.

August 13.—It is announced that a summons has been taken out at Edinburgh by Mr. Parnell against Walter and Wright, the proprietor and publisher of the *Times*. Damages claimed, £50,000. Also actions for libel against the *Times* entered in the Queen's Bench Division by Mr. T. P. O'Connor and Mr. J. E. Redmond.—Mr. T. Barry sentenced by Eaton and Hutchinson, R.M.'s, to six weeks' imprisonment at Fermoy for urging the people to resist the Leahy blood tax.

August 14.—Letter published from Mr. Gladstone condemning the imprisonment of Mr. Dillon.—Evidence of Dr. Moorhead at the Ridley inquest.—At Castlerea, Becket, R.M., and Longbyrne, R.M., sentenced Mr. Fitzgibbon to four months' imprisonment, Mr. Findlay to three months, and Messrs. Noud and Oats to two months.

August 15.—Continuation of Ridley inquest. Examination of Drs. Barr and Ronayne on the treatment of the Tullamore political prisoners.—Mr. Balfour inspects the Royal Irish Constabulary, and congratulates them on the efficient manner in which they have carried out his instructions.—Meeting at Ballinasloe to protest against the action of the Government in superseding the elected Guardians proclaimed and dispersed.—The Parnell Commissioners appoint the 17th September for their first sitting.

August 16.—Commencement of the Burkes-town evictions. The struggle in Somers's house lasted from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m., and the evicting forces were finally discomfited. Somers had offered the landlord (Mr. Byrne) terms which Mr. Considine, R.M., thought ought to be accepted.—“Parnell Defence Fund” opened at a private meeting of leading Liberals in Liverpool.

August 17.—Jury in the Ridley inquest declare that Dr. Ridley whilst temporarily insane took his own life, dreading disclosures at the Mitchelstown inquiry. That he was compelled to act against his wishes; and that Dr. Barr's allegations against the other medical witnesses and Mrs. Mandeville were “reckless and unfounded.”—Six evictions at Burkes-town.

August 18.—Marquis of Ripon presided over a great Liberal demonstration at Nocton, in Lincolnshire, at which Mr. Morley delivered an address upon the Irish administration, severely criticising the “Parnell Commission.”—Mr. O'Shea, secretary of the “suppressed” Carrigna Branch of the National League, served with summons under the Coercion Act, for using intimidating language on the 7th of March last.

August 20.—Mr. Gladstone is presented with the “Gladstone Vase” by the Liberals of the Pottery district, and makes a strong attack on the Irish policy of the Government and a searching criticism on the constitution and work of the “Parnell Commission.”—A great demonstration of miners at Barnsley condemn the Irish Government.—Captain Keogh sentences Patrick McGrath to two months' imprisonment for resisting the sheriff in evicting him.

August 21.—A parliamentary return published showing that during the quarter ending June 30 last, 115 families had been evicted.—Welch, Keogh, and Irwin, R.M.'s, dismiss Mary O'Dea's action against the sheriff, for breaking into her house “by mistake,” as trivial.—Mr. W. O'Brien,

M.P., addresses an enthusiastic Liberal demonstration in Barrow.—Death of Mr. Henry Richard, M.P.

August 23.—Earl Spencer contradicts the statement that his views on the Irish question were undergoing a change.

August 24.—Publication of Mr. Mandeville's letter on his prison treatment.—Large sections of Queen's County proclaimed under the Crimes Act.—Crimes Act court held at Blarney sentences Timothy O'Connor to two months' hard labour for intimidation, and Timothy Coleman to three months for intimidation and alleged assault.

August 25.—At a Tory demonstration in Manchester, Lord Cross declared that this Tory Government "conferred greater benefits on Ireland than it ever had during the last century."

August 27.—Mr. John E. Redmond, M.P., Mr. W. Redmond, M.P., and Mr. Walsh, editor of the *Wexford People*, arrested for intimidation.—Father Kennedy lodged in Cork jail to undergo four months' imprisonment for promoting the Plan of Campaign.—Conference of Roman Catholic clergy at Drogheda unanimously pass a resolution praying for Mr. Dillon's release; and further resolved to support the "Parnell Defence Fund," and to recommend it to the people.

August 28.—Further parts of Wicklow, Galway, and Mayo proclaimed.—Mr. Waddy and other English M.P.'s visit Mitchelstown to examine the position of the square and scene of the late massacre, with the intention of moving the adjournment of the House in the autumn, in connection with the report of Mr. Colomb, Inspector-General of the Royal Irish Constabulary, which states that Lonergan and the others were killed by a ricochet shot.

August 29.—Clanricarde evictions recommenced.—Colonel O'Callaghan comes to an agreement with his Bodyke tenantry, giving a clean receipt up to November, 1887, the tenants paying a half-year's judicial rent, less 25 per cent.

August 31.—Clanricarde evictions, continued: several arrests made.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN AND MR. PARNELL.

A COLLAPSE IN EIGHT SCENES.

THE story of how Mr. Chamberlain came to grief in his most recent attempt to discredit Mr. Parnell has something more than a personal interest, and it is as well that our readers should have its different incidents brought together. We propose to tell it as much as possible in the actors' own words.

Scene I.—July 24th.—Mr. Chamberlain in debate on second reading of Crimes and Allegations Bill.

"When I entered this House in the year 1876 I took my seat on the bench below the gangway. On those benches I found near me, and often fought side by side with, the hon. member for Cork. I was at that time intimate with him. We did not look at questions altogether from the same point of view; but nevertheless we found that at times we could co-operate with each other, and our intercourse was close and frank. I must say that at that time the estimate that I formed of his character—of the honesty of his motives, of his sincerity and his patriotism—will not allow me to easily accept the charges made against him. I have retained since that occasion my belief in the integrity of his character, and I did not associate myself with the accusations made against him by the late Mr. Forster in this House; and I may say that I took an active part in securing his release from Kilmainham. But the only thing which has shaken, or could have shaken, my faith in my opinion of the hon. member in the slightest degree which I then formed, or which could tend to disprove it, would be his reluctance to face a full inquiry."

Scene II.—July 28th.—Mr. Chamberlain at Birmingham—not in the Town Hall, but among the orchids of Highbury—present, Mr. Jesse Collings "and others." Among other things he said of the Irish members, "the so-called Nationalists": "My own belief is that there are some of them who do not wish Ireland to be prosperous, because as long as Ireland is discontented there is hope for the continuation of the agitation by which they profit."

Scene III.—July 30th.—Mr. Parnell in House of Commons: "Mr. Speaker, I had not an opportunity of thanking the right hon. gentleman, the member for West Birmingham, for the very kind references he was good enough to make of me, and for the unsolicited character he was kind enough to offer me on the last occasion when he addressed the house. The right hon. gentleman spoke of the days long ago when he entertained a better opinion of me than that which he is able to entertain for me now. I care very little as to the opinion the right hon. gentleman may entertain of me. I have never betrayed the secrets of my council. My principal recollection of the right hon. gentleman, the member for West Birmingham, before he became a Minister was that he was always most anxious to put me forward and to put my friends forward to do work which he was afraid to do himself, and after he was a Minister my principal recollection of him was that he was always anxious to bring to us the secrets of the councils of his colleagues in the Cabinet, and to endeavour, while sitting beside those colleagues and in consultation with them, to undermine their councils and their plans in our interests; and if this inquiry be intended to include these matters,

as I see no reason why it should not, I should be abundantly able to make good my word by documentary evidence, not forged."

Scene IV.—July 31st.—Mr. Parnell continued his speech, and Mr. Chamberlain replied. The latter repudiated the charge of disloyalty to his colleagues, and with reference to the scheme of national councils, which was discussed between him and Mr. Parnell, said: "The hon. member for Cork has denied that he gave his approval to that proposal."

Mr. PARNELL: "I have done nothing of the sort."

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: "The hon. member is very apt to contradict me in this House."

Mr. PARNELL: "I did not deny that I gave assent to the proposal of the construction of national councils in Dublin. What I denied was that I constructed that scheme of the right hon. gentleman."

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: "The hon. member not only denied that he constructed what he calls my scheme of national councils, but he put up his colleagues in this House, the late Mr. E. Dwyer Gray, for instance, and the hon. member for North Longford to say that this scheme was my scheme. But I state now that this scheme was brought to me from the hon. member for Cork, and I am glad to tell the hon. member that I have the proof of what I assert in his own handwriting—in letters, the whole of which are written in his own handwriting, and the body of which are not in the writing of his secretary. These proposals were brought to me on behalf of the hon. member. I don't say now whether they were good or bad, but they were in accordance with proposals which I had laid down in communication with Irishmen, and though I disapproved of some of the details I sent word to the hon. member that I accepted them as coming from him, and that if they were satisfactory to the Irish party I would lay them before my colleagues and give them all the support which I could."

Scene V.—Mr. O'Shea writes to the *Times*, August 1st, saying that the local government scheme which he presented to Mr. Chamberlain "was altogether Mr. Parnell's, and Mr. Chamberlain adopted it with considerable hesitation, because of its not being sufficiently consonant with Radical principles." He adds that if Mr. Chamberlain "has not destroyed it, he must still have in his possession Mr. Parnell's own Coercion Bill. It is a copy of the original Act altered by his own hand into the form in which he proposed it should be passed, with just enough show of opposition in the House of Commons to satisfy those concerned."

Scene VI.—Mr. Parnell writes to the *Times*, August 4th, concerning national councils scheme: "If, as is alleged, Mr. Chamberlain

possesses such proofs in my handwriting, why does he not publish them? Nay, more, I think he is bound to publish these alleged proofs, and I call upon him to do so." Similar challenge as to Mr. O'Shea's statement regarding "Mr. Parnell's own Coercion Bill." "And now I may explain," he goes on, "that the only sense in which I can be called the author of this scheme is that in 1882 I was responsible for the framing of the constitution of the Irish National League, in which the establishment of a central council in Dublin for administrative purposes, and administrative purposes only, was embraced. We then thought that, pending an extension of the suffrage, and the expected great increase in our Parliamentary strength, such a council, to replace the Dublin Board, would have been a useful and harmless reform. . . . But Mr. Chamberlain proposed to give his central authority legislative functions, and he also offered it as a substitute for a Parliament, and he therefore differed from us both in the nature of the scheme and in the objects with which he put it forward." Mr. Parnell, accordingly, had declined to accept a scheme which would damage the Irish claim to a restitution of their Parliament.

Scene VII.—Mr. Chamberlain writes to the *Times*, August 6th:—

"SIR,—I accept Mr. Parnell's challenge, and will forward to you in the course of a few days a full statement of the communications initiated by him, which passed between us in 1884 and 1885.

"Yours obediently,

"J. CHAMBERLAIN.

"Birmingham, Aug. 6th."

Scene VIII.—Mr. Chamberlain writes to the *Times*, August 11th:—"After reading it (Mr. Parnell's letter of August 4th) carefully I find a difficulty in ascertaining what is now the issue between us, or on what point Mr. Parnell differs from any statement of mine with reference to the communications which took place between Mr. O'Shea and myself in 1884 and 1885." As to his own plan, he is ready to admit Mr. Parnell's disclaimer of any assent to it. As to the scheme which he had attributed to Mr. Parnell (contained in a memorandum signed by Mr. O'Shea, which he appends): "The correspondence at the same time corroborates Mr. Parnell's statement, that he did not put forward this proposal as a substitute for an Irish parliament." As to "Mr. Parnell's own Coercion Bill," it is "a copy of the Prevention of Crimes' Act, 1882, in which the clauses to which Mr. Parnell objected had been struck out by his own hand." Mr. Chamberlain enumerates the remaining clauses. "In conclusion I may be allowed to say that neither at this time, nor subsequently, has it appeared to me

that there was anything in these communications of which Mr. Parnell had cause to be ashamed. I believe then that he was sincerely anxious to see the end of the dangerous agitation which had for so long distracted Ireland."

Of course, Mr. Parnell did not reply.

HOME RULE UNION.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.—A meeting of the Executive Committee was held at Palace Chambers on August 9th. Present: Professor Stuart, M.P. (in the chair), Miss Monk, Messrs W. Martin Edmunds, Richard Eve, T. E. Gibb, Rev. J. S. Jones, G. P. Macdonell, Dr. Bernard O'Connor, W. S. Robson, and the Secretary. After transaction of routine business, the Chairman announced that Sir W. Harcourt and Mr. John Morley had expressed their willingness to become Vice-Presidents of the Union. A letter was read by the Secretary from Mr. H. P. Cobb, M.P., resigning his seat on the executive, on the ground of his inability to attend the meetings. The Secretary was unanimously directed to express to Mr. Cobb their regret at his resignation. On the motion of Professor Stuart, M.P., seconded by Mr. W. S. Robson, Mr. R. T. Reid, Q.C., M.P., was unanimously elected to fill the vacant place on the Executive. The members of the Executive who, should be from time to time able to attend meetings at the offices of the Union, were appointed a Vacation Committee with power to transact the ordinary business of the Union, three being a quorum. The Vacation Committee to report to the next meeting of the Executive, which it was decided should be held on the first Tuesday in October. It was agreed that the van should proceed on a tour through the Buckrose division of Yorkshire during the three weeks following the 13th August. The Hon. Treasurer reported that from inquiries made by himself and the Secretary, he had ascertained that the cost of building a new travelling van would not be less than £100. Formal sanction was given to the affiliation of the Gladstone Club Shipton, Yorks, Peckham and Dulwich Radical Club, and Reading Women's Liberal Association.

THE VACATION COMMITTEE.—The first meeting of the Vacation was held at Palace Chambers on August 28th, when there were present: Dr. Bernard O'Connor (in the chair), Messrs. Lough, Macdonell, Walford, and the Secretary.

It was decided that the documents laid before Mr. Gladstone by Mr. Sydney Hallifax should be published in pamphlet form by the Union. A vote of thanks was unanimously passed to the proprietors of *United Ireland*, for their generous grant of cartoons, for distribution by the Home Rule Union van. Formal sanction was given to the affiliation of the Sutton Liberal Club, St. Helens, Lancashire, and the North Lambeth Liberal and Radical Club.

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Ellis, Edwin	0	5	0
Ellis, Mrs. E.	0	2	6
English Home Ruler	0	10	0
F. Y.	1	0	0
Fascally, Mrs.	0	2	6
Francis, T. S. ...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Fraser, Mrs. ...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Gillon, J. Bruce ...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Grant, Wallace ...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Hardcastle, Hon. Mrs. ...	...	...	...	1	0	0
Hargrove, Mrs. ...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Hargrove, — ...	...	...	...	0	2	6
Hawker, Miss M. ...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Hoare, Hugh E. ...	...	...	...	5	0	0
Holden, Angus (donation) ...	...	...	...	25	0	0
Holden, Angus (subscription) ...	...	...	...	25	0	0
Holden, Isaac, M.P. ...	...	...	...	10	0	0
Horniman, F. T., F.R.G.S. ...	...	...	...	1	1	0
Howard, Mrs. G. ...	...	...	...	5	0	0
Jackson, H. ...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Kearns, Mrs. L. ...	...	...	...	1	1	0
Lawrence, Mrs. T. J. ...	...	...	...	1	0	0
Lyston, Miss ...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Marshall, Sir James ...	...	...	...	1	1	0
McCarthy, Justin ...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Miers, Mrs. ...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Nourse, J. ...	...	...	...	5	5	0
Ouchterloney, Miss ...	...	...	...	0	6	0
Parkyn, E. A. ...	...	...	...	0	10	6
Prince, J.... ...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Rae, Dr. J., M.D., F.R.S. ...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Rae, Mrs. ...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Sale, Mrs. (donation) ...	...	...	...	1	0	0
Sheffield, E. ...	...	...	...	5	0	0
Sickert, Mrs. ...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Simonds, G. M.... ...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Skerritt, Miss ...	...	...	...	1	0	0
Tatham, B. E. (?) ...	...	...	...	2	0	0
Tenison, Dr. E. R., M.D. ...	...	...	...	0	10	6
Thompson, Miss E. Skeffington ...	...	...	...	0	5	0
United Liberal Club, Hull	1	1	0
Ward, J....	0	5	0
Walker, C.	0	10	0
Whitehouse, Rev. J. O.	1	0	0
Whitehouse, Miss	0	10	0

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THE LAST SESSION AND THE NEXT.

BY THE RIGHT HON. JAMES STANSFELD, M.P.

I AM sometimes asked what has the last Parliamentary session done for Home Rule, and what will prove to have been the influence of Local Government discussions and legislation upon the Irish cause. My answer has always been: "No direct marked determining effect or influence at all. Why should any such effect be anticipated?"

County boards, if given to Ireland, would not solve the Irish question. Nobody is any longer so uninformed as to believe that they would be anything to the Irish people but an instrument and

an occasion for furthering their claim to national self-government in purely Irish affairs.

We may, it is true, be entitled to argue that, having given some kind of local government to England, the parties in power are bound, in consistency, to make an analogous offer to the Irish people. But they will not feel bound to be consistent—at any loss to themselves—and they will have answers ready: "Not until English local government reform, but just begun, is made complete." "Not until the case of Scotland also shall first have been dealt with." "Not until Ireland shall have given up her Nationalist claim, and the tenant shall have ceased to protest against the payment of what he deems excessive rent;" and so forth, to the end of any necessary length of time.

What has been happening this last session has been simply this. The Tory Government and their Liberal Unionist allies, to make a show of work, have, with the assistance of the Liberal Party—without which they could have done nothing—and amidst the misgivings of the Tory party, passed a measure of local government founded upon Liberal principle, albeit incomplete. They have thus occupied and gained a session. I say "gained," because it is perfectly understood that the whole policy is no other or better than a game of time against the life of one man. It is an ignoble game. It stamps the character of those who have conceived it.

It had chances—it may have chances yet—but they diminish daily. Its greatest success would be no more than a postponement; its failure will be crushing and complete.

If they have "gained" a session, that is already but a gain of the past. But we also have gained, and for the future: we are one session nearer to the next appeal to the country, which, in our conviction, will result in a Parliamentary majority for Home Rule.

Some of our opponents are trying to keep up their courage by making believe that they passed the Local Government Bill in spite of us. They know better; or if not, they will find out the limits of their power when they attempt legislation of which we disapprove. The truth is, that neither they nor we can make much of the Local Government Act as a positive element of weight or force in the Home Rule controversy. For this reason—to put it simply—that the Home Rule question has ceased to be, in any sense or degree, a question of Parliamentary tactics. The Tories and the Liberal Unionists have their majority. They will hold together for very life's sake.

The question of Home Rule can only be decided by another appeal to the country; and the next appeal will turn upon the Home Rule question, and thus the only matter of vital interest, for us and for our opponents alike, is the effect—pending that appeal—of their action and ours upon the public mind. They speculate upon the baseness of England. Their hope is to train the people of this country to an acceptance of their policy of cynical brutality, whose object is to crush out of the Irish people the saving forces of the spirit of nationality and the love of home. Our hope is that Great Britain will revolt against this baseness. The next General Election will decide whether we are right or they. We at least have no fear. It is they who

hold back from an appeal, the result of which they fear. It is in their power—within the limits of the Septennial Act—to determine whether and when they will dissolve. But there is something stronger than the Septennial Act; and fear or hope will drive or lead the Government to make their last appeal, long before the seven years have come to a close. Should they at any moment seem to see a favourable opportunity, they will seize it, and seek another "mandate" to help them in their game "against the old man's life." Should they feel the tide turning against them, they will have another and a different motive—they will be tempted to seek "another mandate" before it is too late. Probably they will wait until it is too late. It is a common fault of governments.

The Parnell inquiry is not unlikely to provide the turning point. They have already almost lost faith in it as a possible means of injuring the Irish or ourselves. Let us assume that it begins to go in Mr. Parnell's favour and against the *Times*. What will happen then? Many of their supporters will begin to see the end, and to think of self-preservation and escape—a dangerous mental condition for a party militant. They themselves will not wish to stay until the lowest depth be reached. They will argue—any men of any sense or spirit would so argue—Let us fight while there is yet a chance. Thus it is that when the nation is ready to decide, Septennial Acts notwithstanding, the time of the great appeal is near.

The Government have had the advantage of a session in which we, their opponents, have helped them to legislate. They appealed to us for help. The Minister in charge of the Local Government Bill frankly announced at once, upon its introduction, that it could not pass without the willing help and sympathy of their opponents.

They received that help, and they

acknowledged it ; but it is not likely that there will be any other similar and equally successful appeal in the session of 1889. We have carried our patience to an extreme. Whilst we have been helping them to pass a measure built up on our principles, Ireland has been suffering at their hands. The Irish people, under their Nationalist leaders, have sought to show to Great Britain with how much patience they could endure unjust and unworthy suffering, because of the sympathy which we Liberals have shown, and of the hopes which we have raised in their hearts. Their patience has been wonderful—it is a great lesson to this country, and is having its effect ; but the time is coming when, if they can continue to bear it all, we no longer can or ought.

There will be no more sessions like the last. We want to close. The lawlessness of Government law and administration, the insufferable treatment of the Irish as a subject and an inferior race, the avowed policy of crushing the life and soul out of them, the insolence of the pretence that the Liberal Party consists of the blind followers of one great but mischievous man, the utter baseness of their whole game against his life ; all these things are training and nerving and steeling our people to the fight. This, then, we have gained. We have reached the time when we feel that what we have to do is to bring this business to an end ; to run no further risk of the shame which would creep upon us and confound us were we to stand idly by, busying ourselves with side issues, whilst the great question cries aloud for a solution, and lawless indignity is being heaped upon us, and upon the people whose cause we have espoused.

There is only one policy consistent with our dignity and our duty ; there is only one object worth our consideration ; the lesson of the struggle has been long enough. Let us hasten its decision.

Let us bring this great duel between principles and parties to the earliest possible issue ; and may God defend the right !

MR. GLADSTONE'S "CHANGE OF FRONT."

BY MR. E. WALFORD*

NOTHING is more common than to hear our grand old leader, Mr. Gladstone, attacked on account of the *suddenness* of his "change of front" in respect to the burning question of "Home Rule for Ireland." It is always assumed that when, soon after the General Election of 1886, it came to be first secretly whispered and then openly asserted that Mr. Gladstone was likely to come over to Home Rule, such a change was most sudden, and, therefore, most suspicious and such as to destroy the confidence with which the Liberals, up to that time, had looked up to him. It is my desire to show, in a few brief words, that this change, if sudden to the world outside, was by no means so unexpected to those who had closely watched and followed his previous career.

First of all, Mr. Gladstone, ever since he shook off the ideas of his early education at Eton and Oxford, has always been a warm supporter of the poor and the oppressed, both at home and abroad. It was this feeling which led him, when he first took office under Sir Robert Peel, to desire to be sent to Ireland as Secretary. It was this feeling which led him to interfere between the people of Italy and their rulers ; it was this feeling which led him gradually to trust the "masses," and not only the "classes." In him, if in anybody now living, "the child" has been "father to the man." It is more than twenty years ago since he spoke or wrote these words :— "Among our first steps should be a sedulous and special attention to the interests of the poor and the weak, founded on the rule that those who are least able to take care of themselves should be most tenderly regarded by others." It was more than twenty years ago that Mr. Gladstone began to see that the Protestant Established Church in Ireland would not "work" as an establishment, not being the Church of the masses, or of the Irish people. And hence he gradually weaned himself from speaking in its defence, till at last, in 1868, he proclaimed that, in his opinion, it could no longer be defended, and that its end had arrived. That end did come in 1869.

And what is the earliest trace that we can find of Mr. Gladstone's mature conviction as to the policy of granting Home Rule to Ireland in some shape or other ?

I can find one faint trace as far back as the year 1871, when he said that "if Home Rule were given to Ireland, it ought to be given to Scotland and to Wales as well." It may be said that this is an obscure hint; but "a feather," they say, "will show which way the wind is blowing"; and his words are a proof that he was even then—more than seventeen years ago—beginning to contemplate Home Rule as a possible fact. In 1882, however, we come to some words spoken by Mr. Gladstone which were thought at the time to sound very oracular, and which, therefore, were treasured up in the hearts and the memories of those who looked for great things in the future from the leader of the Liberal Party. He said in that year:—"We attach great value to the extension of Local Government in Ireland. We agree that one of the great evils of Ireland is the want of local administration. The state of Ireland never can be satisfactory till its people have learned, by tradition and practice, to exercise those powers of government which are so useful. . . . Mr. Molloy and Mr. O'Sullivan have recommended an Irish legislative authority to deal with Irish affairs. They have declared their adhesion to the integrity of the Empire, and recorded their desire that Irish questions should be treated by Irishmen. So far as these declarations go, I don't think that there is anything to which exception can be justly taken. The principles on which the leaders of the Irish party proceed is that purely Irish matters shall be treated by a purely Irish authority, and Imperial matters by an Imperial authority in which Ireland shall be represented." It is true that he added his conviction that the House of Commons would never assent to any measure by which the one great central and paramount authority—the Imperial Parliament was meant, of course—so necessary for holding together this great Empire, will be diminished.

What he said in 1882, he says now in 1888; not less, and scarcely more. Mr. Gladstone has told us that, as his experience has widened, he has seen more and more reason for trusting the people. He has seen that, with the aid of education in the schoolroom and by the press, it is safe to entrust Englishmen with the power of working out their own destinies. And what is this but self-rule, and Home Rule? And so when, in 1885, and again in 1886, he saw that more than four-fifths of all the newly enfranchised voters of Ireland—the whole of Munster, Leinster, and Connaught, and half of Ulster—were sent from the Sister Island to ask for a statutory Parliament, he recognised the voice of the people as the voice of God (*Vox populi vox Dei*), and he bowed before it. Some weeks, and even some months passed, it is true, before he carried out his long-felt suspicions, his growing and grown opinions, his mature convictions, into action; but I think

that I have shown good reason for holding that the change that came over Mr. Gladstone in the winter of 1885-86, was by no means so sudden a change of front as most persons think it to have been.

This argument receives, I venture to think, strong confirmation from the newly-published "Life of Mr. W. E. Forster," by Mr. T. W. Reid, for we learn there that when Mr. Forster gave up the post of Irish Secretary in 1882-83, he did so with much regret and grief, because he felt that a great gulph had appeared between himself and his chief, which could have had no other origin than their difference of opinion as to the proper cure for the grievances of Ireland. Mr. Forster, it is hardly necessary to say, took up the position since maintained by Lord Hartington and his "Dissident Liberal" friends; and this would have not caused any divergence had he not felt and known that Mr. Gladstone was growing, and, indeed, had grown, mistrustful as to the policy which should be followed by England towards Ireland. To use Mr. Reid's own words, "It was only when they reached the parting of the ways, and when Mr. Gladstone had convinced himself of the necessity of a new departure in the policy of the Government towards Ireland, that the two men fell asunder." He continues: "Mr. Forster had learnt not only to esteem Mr. Gladstone, but to love him during their intercourse as colleagues, and he . . . had never ceased to be supported by him until the moment came when the Prime Minister found reason to change his Irish policy."

It follows, therefore, that, however it may appear to the outer world that Mr. Gladstone's great change dates only from January, 1886, Mr. Forster very plainly proves that, in reality, it dates from a period three, if not four, years earlier.

WHY MAY NOT MR. HARRIS ADDRESS HIS CONSTITUENTS ?

"Surely, if there be one thing in a free country more dear than another, it is that any one of the people may speak openly to the people."

—JOHN BRIGHT.

We are induced again to recall the admirable sentiment of Mr. Bright, in order to illustrate some further doings near Ballinasloe. On Monday, September 17th, Mr. Harris issued notices that he would meet and address his constituents at Gorthanumera, between Ballinasloe and Portumna; and about 3,000 persons were present at the appointed time. When Mr. Harris arrived he found District Inspector Wade with a large body of police, and was informed that, as the National League was proclaimed in that part of

the county, no meeting could be permitted, and that if any attempt was made to hold one, the people would be dispersed by force. The following conversation then took place :—

Mr. Harris: "I came to address my constituents."

Mr. Wade: "I regard this as a National League meeting, and will not allow it to be held."

Mr. Harris: "Do you take it on yourself to prevent me from addressing my constituents?"

Mr. Wade: "I will not allow the meeting to take place."

Mr. Harris: "We will hold the meeting whether you like it or not."

Mr. Wade: "I shall do my best to endeavour to prevent you. I shall disperse the crowd by force," Which he at once proceeded to do.

Mr. Harris, having advised the people to disperse quietly, turned to Mr. Wade and said, "As this county is proclaimed, we will go into another county. We shall go to Tipperary." "Very well, sir," said Mr. Wade, "and you need not be surprised to meet me there too." "I would not be surprised at anything you do."

The District Inspector, did, in fact, follow Mr. Harris as far as Portumna. There, however, County Inspector O'Brien appears to have stopped further interference with Mr. Harris. Mr. Wade, at any rate, proceeded no farther. The Tipperary side of the Shannon was reached, and an enthusiastic meeting was held, attended by some 5,000 persons. So far as we can judge from the short newspaper reports, the speeches, which were mainly devoted to advocating union among the Clanricarde tenantry, were sensible and moderate. Of course, the meeting was orderly; and when it was over the people went quietly home.

Now, why may not Mr. Harris address his constituents? Why must he be put to the trouble of crossing the Shannon before he may make his speech? The District Inspector's reason surely cannot be taken seriously; for, though the district is proclaimed, it was never the intention of Parliament to prevent a member from addressing his constituents by putting it in the power of an officious Inspector to stop his meeting by calling it a meeting of the National League. Nor can the reason be found in the character of Mr. Harris's speeches; for he contents himself with urging upon the tenants the necessity of combination. And the Crimes Act, as its friends constantly assure us, was never intended to hinder combination. Oh, dear no! Nor can the explanation be found in any apprehension of a riot. Nobody who ever saw an Irish political meeting could gravely suggest such a thing.

"In Ireland at the present time," said Mr. Chamberlain, at Bradford (a foolish saying no doubt it was, but perhaps he did mean something by it), "coercion means only what it means in

England and Scotland—that men must obey the law. At the present moment in Ireland there is greater liberty of speech, and there is greater liberty and licence for the press, than there is in any other country in Europe." Somebody in the audience cried "Oh!" and we think "Oh!" was a very suitable remark to make in the circumstances. Mr. Chamberlain's big words make it all the more difficult to understand why Mr. Harris may not address his constituents.

THE VAN IN BUCKROSE.

THE three weeks' tour of the van in the Buckrose Division of the East Riding of Yorkshire was brought to a close on September 1st, at Flamborough, where an enthusiastic meeting was addressed by Michael Conway, Esq., M.P.

The whole tour was a great success, as is shown by the following letter which has been received by the Secretary of the Home Rule Union from the Liberal candidate for the division:—

"Woodlands, Bradford, Yorkshire,

"September 17th, 1888.

"DEAR SIR,—The Home Rule van having completed a most successful tour in the Buckrose Division, I think it is only right that I should express to you my views upon it.

"I may say that on first hearing of the institution of the van, I was convinced that it was an excellent method of conveying information to the scattered villages of the county divisions, which it would be difficult or impossible to reach by any of the ordinary methods. I therefore engaged it from you at the first opportunity, and my first impressions have been amply confirmed. The service it has rendered in the division it is not possible adequately to estimate.

"A programme was supplied to the conductor giving the route he had to take so as to embrace the entire division. He thus quietly perambulated through every part from village to village, distributing literature and posting placards on his way on walls, farm and other isolated premises, which are ordinarily beyond the range of any similar agency altogether.

"His day's journey terminated at some leading village which was convenient to put up for the night. The van simply drew up on the village green or other suitable position. Those appointed to speak commenced operations, and soon gathered a meeting, which was often of a lively character, but without bad feeling, and was much appreciated.

"The tour of the van has created throughout much curiosity, and has served to evoke some amount of enthusiasm and interest in political questions which could not have been the case without it, and which it will be difficult for our opponents to

neutralise. I am arranging to follow it up during the coming winter with illustrated magic lantern lectures, and hope in this way to sustain the interest so happily produced by the van, educate the people on the absorbing question of the day, and pave the way for a successful political campaign.

"I remain, dear Sir,
"Yours truly,
"ANGUS HOLDEN."

THE JOURNEY OF THE VAN FROM YORKSHIRE TO ESSEX.

IMMEDIATELY after the van had been started in the Chesterton Division of Cambridgeshire, where it commenced operations, the Secretary of the Union received letters from all parts of the country begging that it might be sent to the divisions on whose behalf the letters were written. It was immediately arranged to send it to the Buckrose Division of the East Riding of Yorkshire, where it concluded its tour on the 1st of September. It was also early arranged to attack those constituencies in Essex, commencing on the 24th of September. But in the interval between the 1st and the 24th, the harvest operations, unusually late this year, rendered it difficult for county constituencies to arrange for a tour of the van. One division did, however, apply for it for those three weeks; but it was felt by the Committee that more good would be done by spending the three weeks in driving from the Buckrose Division into Essex, through the eastern counties, and thereby waking up the constituencies where seats might be won, and giving them an impetus which might enable the van to return along the route that it pursued, and take each constituency in turn, working it thoroughly.

After leaving the Buckrose Division the van passed through the Holderness Division to Hull, when it crossed the Humber, and then through the Brigg, Gainsborough, Sleaford, and Stamford divisions of Lincolnshire; then through North Cambridgeshire to South-west Norfolk; and thence through the Stowmarket and Sudbury divisions of Suffolk into Essex. In each of these divisions the van spent from one to four days.

The success of the journey is proved by the fact that the officials of the Liberal Association of every single division the van has passed through have requested that it may return for a three weeks' tour in each division.

We will now follow its route in detail:—

On the 4th of September the van arrived at Beverley. There was quite a flutter of excitement in the place during the afternoon. Many country people came in. One strong fellow getting into the train at Cherry Burton, exclaimed to a friend

on the platform, "I'll bring you back lots of news of Paddy"! And sure enough this worthy fellow was seen in the meeting drinking in every word that was said. Over 1,500 people assembled in the Market Place at 7.30; and a very earnest meeting was held. One or two men attempted to disturb it at the outset, but a few stalwart fellows soon conveyed them to a considerable distance, and no more was heard of them. Many of the leading Conservatives stood near, and others sat at the open window of the Conservative club close by; and it was asserted on good authority that they considered their cause in Beverley rather "severely hit." It should be mentioned that the success of the meeting was largely due to the efforts of Dr. Appleton, who is the leader of the Home Rule cause in Beverley.

On the 5th, the van proceeded to Hull, when two very remarkable meetings were held. Dr. Bernard O'Connor was the chief speaker on both occasions. In the afternoon a meeting of upwards of three thousand people was held in the open air, and Dr. O'Connor held their attention and interest for an hour and a-half. In the evening a banquet was held in his honour, and another most instructive speech was delivered by him. The success of these meetings is evidenced by the extreme indignation expressed in the local Tory press on the following morning.

On the 6th, the van crossed the Humber, and, in the evening, another successful meeting, again addressed by Dr. O'Connor, was held at Brigg. Brigg is the centre of a division now held by a Liberal who has been declared on the highest authority to be the "finest electioneer in England," and accordingly only one night was spent in the division.

On the 7th, the van passed into the Gainsborough division, and another successful meeting was held at Kirton Lindsey, again addressed by Dr. O'Connor.

On the 8th, the van arrived at Gainsborough, where the only failure of the tour was experienced. But the failure was not due to the strength of the Coercionists or the weakness of the Home Rulers. The speaker sent down by the Union was Mr. Morton. A meeting of several hundred people had assembled. Mr. Morton commenced his speech, but in about ten minutes the audience, which had up to this point been extremely attentive, began to disperse. The chairman explained that the fire bell was ringing. It was a feeble tinkle which our unpractised ear could scarcely distinguish amid the noise of the traffic. But the flames that shot up a moment after from a house less than a hundred yards off showed that a serious fire had commenced. It was rumoured that four hundred pounds of gunpowder were stored in the house, but this did not deter the speaker's audience from taking part in the effort to extinguish the fire, and after about

our hours it was "got under," not before a large amount of damage had been done.

The week commencing Monday, September 10th, was a busy and useful one. On the 10th the van was at Lincoln, and it seems, to those who have recently visited it, the most certain borough in England to be won from the Tories at the next election. The local circumstances are very interesting. There is a Liberal Club, started eight or nine years ago, and composed mainly of working men, with a considerable number of tradespeople as members. The members are the proprietors; they hold ten-shilling shares. The debt now unpaid is very small, and their credit is good. With rare foresight they refused in times past the offers of wealthy Liberals to pay off their debt. No, they would be independent. When the split occurred over Home Rule, the wealthy members who supplied the sinews of war to the Liberal Association were no longer willing to give their assistance—"they would wait for the reunion of the Liberal Party"—and so the Liberal Association became moribund. But the club, free from the sinister influences of mammon, declared unanimously for Home Rule. They took in hand the political education of Lincoln. They applied to the Home Rule Union, and some time ago a series of five lectures were given on successive days in the borough by Mr. F. Sydney Morris on behalf of the Union. The result has been that the Liberal Association has been reorganised on a Home Rule platform. An excellent Home Rule candidate, Mr. W. Crosfield, has been chosen, and the borough is regarded as a "safe win."

When Mr. Morton arrived at Lincoln he found that the local leaders had observed that Mr. Sydney Morris was to address meetings with the van for the rest of the week, and they complained that he should not have been invited to speak at Lincoln. It was obvious that the people were determined to have him, and so he was telegraphed for. The weather was unfavourable, and the meeting was held in the Corn Exchange; but over a thousand people assembled, and the speech Mr. Morris delivered fully explained the popular enthusiasm for him.

The most successful and enthusiastic meeting of the week was, however, the Tuesday night meeting in the Market Place, Grantham. About seven hundred people were assembled, and it was evident from the outset that they were in the best of humours. The meeting was a long one, stretching on to two and a half hours, several local friends having contributed to its interest and success; and when all was over the people still stood about, and more than one exclaimed, "We ain't had enough!"

The Bourne meeting on the Wednesday night calls for no special notice. Two Tories who accused Mr. Morris of coming there to tell lies, were

invited to come forward and state their case, but declined to do so, and were thus silenced.

The next night, in Market Deeping, two "Liberal Unionists" made a meeting lively and successful, which otherwise would have been dull, through the timidity of the people, who seemed terribly afraid of letting their politics be known to their neighbours. The meeting had just commenced, when two young fellows rode up on bicycles. Leaving their "nags" at the inn, they came to hear what was said. Several times they were on the verge of interrupting, but restrained themselves; afterwards, however, they wished to ask some questions; and, mounting a chair, made short speeches, in which they avowed themselves followers of Bright and Chamberlain, and concluded by asking questions with reference to the Plan of Campaign, the unfairness of Irish land laws as compared to the English, and the representation of the Irish people upon various governing bodies, and in Parliament. This warmed up the meeting; the interest deepened. The courage of the opponents was appreciated by the audience, and the reply to them was eagerly waited for. The reply was given at some length, courteously, but with warmth and energy. The crowd were most hearty in the expression of their sympathy and approval. The Liberal Unionists uttered not another word, and the incident terminated. The Home Rule speakers met their two opponents in the hotel, and they shook hands, and generously acknowledged that they had been thoroughly and effectively answered.

The meeting on Friday night at Crowland was a good one, and seemed to be all Liberal. It would have been better, but that so many were busy with the harvest. And, after all, one must confess that it is natural that to a farmer the question of housing his corn should appear more pressing than the question of Home Rule.

It should be mentioned that the success of the meetings at Grantham, Bourne, Market Deeping, and Crowland is very largely due to the secretary for the Stamford Division, Mr. Charles Chapman, of Stamford; and those at Bourne and Crowland to the Rev. W. East, of Bourne, and Mr. Scott, of Crowland.

On Saturday, the 15th, the van arrived at Wisbeach, where a good meeting was held. On Monday, the 17th, it entered the South-west Division of Norfolk.

On Monday, September 17th, the van entered South West Norfolk, where it remained three days. On Monday night a meeting was held in the Town Hall, Downham, at which the chair was taken by Mr. H. Lee-Warner, of Swaffham. The lecturer here, and every night for the following week, was Mr. E. John Harry.

On Tuesday the van arrived at Methwold, where a meeting was held in the Duchy of Lan-

caster Schoolroom. Mr. Lee-Warner again attended, with Mr. Harry, and addressed the meeting.

On Wednesday the van arrived at Mundsford, a Tory stronghold, where no Liberal meeting has ever been held before, yet the interest excited by the van attracted an audience which the speeches of Mr. Harry, Mr. Lee-Warner, Mr. A. C. Rix, and Mr. Bell, induced to carry a resolution condemnatory of the coercive policy of the present government.

Thursday morning the van passed through Thetford, where a mid-day meeting was held in the Market Place, under the chairmanship of the Rev. B. D. W. Gregory, and addressed by Mr. Harry. The people of Thetford were exceedingly anxious that the van should remain there for the night, but time would not permit of this, and the van had to push on to Bury St. Edmunds. Thetford was, however, consoled by a large meeting in the Town Hall in the evening, which was addressed by Dr. Aubrey, the Liberal candidate for the Horncastle division of Lincolnshire. The same night, at Bury-St.-Edmunds, a most successful meeting was held on the Playfield, addressed, from the tailboard of the van, by Mr. Harry.

At Lavenham, on Friday, and at Sudbury, on Saturday, September 22nd, excellent meetings were also held.

On Monday, September 24th, the van entered the County of Essex, where it will be engaged till the end of November in systematically working the Saffron Walden, Maldon, South Eastern, and Epping Divisions.

Not only has the van done a definite amount of educational work during its three weeks' drive through the Eastern Counties, but it has excited an interest which the local liberals are of opinion must lead to further and more earnest Liberal work in the constituencies through which it has passed.

IS NOT MR. DAVITT RIGHT?

BY A MALCONTENT.

THE Liberal party ought to be grateful to Mr. Davitt. He has spoken some plain words of warning, which are serious because they are substantially true; and, if our hearts are in the work we have undertaken, we shall do well to give heed to them. "I know right well," he said at a meeting at Knockaroo (September 9th), "that the general custom at meetings and in National papers is to laud to the skies everybody and everything Gladstonian. I think we have gone ridiculously far in this respect, and that our very enthusiasm over Mr. Gladstone's conversion is one of the causes why his following in Great

Britain look on so complacently while the homes of our people are being emptied and pulled down.

. . . I maintain, and I do not care who is pleased or displeased, that most of the evils inflicted upon us by Tory rule since 1886 are on account of the alliance between Mr. Gladstone's following and that of Mr. Parnell. We were led to believe that it would be otherwise. We heard of and listened to declarations about hundreds of Liberal M.P.'s, and other influential English friends, resolving they would come to Ireland, defy coercion, uphold the right of free speech, and prevent the Tory landlord Government from trampling on the rights of a people who were now the allies of a great English party. All this we have heard and believed; as yet we have had more eviction brutalities, more murders by policemen, more general Castle lawlessness since 1886 than during double the period when we fought single-handed against two coercionist English parties." Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Dillon have both taken occasion to express their dissent from Mr. Davitt, and their belief in the English people. On one point we heartily agree with them. "Certainly, whoever has been idle," said Mr. O'Brien at the Tim Moroney demonstration, "the last man living who deserves reproach from us is that marvellous old man who, at a time of life when most men are pining for rest and are sinking into the shadow of the grave, has proclaimed the wrongs of Ireland night and day to the ends of the earth, combating the demon of Toryism and of Liberal Unionism, fighting them with an energy which ought to shame the youngest men amongst us, and with a magnificent courage which ought to make us blush when we talk about difficulties and toils. For my part I do not grudge the warmest tribute that Irish hearts can pay him." Nor do we. The fault is not with Mr. Gladstone. If the rest of us had a hundredth part of Mr. Gladstone's zeal, in three months we should be free to make a gift of our Home Rule Union van to the neediest baker we could find, and be intriguing for places at the opening ceremony at College Green. The fault is with us, the rank and file of the Liberal party.

There is consolation, indeed, in the words of Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Dillon. They show that in spite of our remissness we can trust yet a little longer to the native generosity of Irishmen. We are willing and eager to believe that they express more truly than Mr. Davitt the prevailing feelings of their countrymen. But it is incumbent upon us not to strain their faith too far.

We have made a solemn league and covenant with the best part of the Irish people. They have kept their pledge. They have borne themselves with a patience, a moderation, and a restraint such as will compel the admiration of those who in the future tell the story of the struggle of

Ireland for self-government. In the midst of a great revolution, an excitable, passionate people, have at the first touch of English sympathy, and on the mere promise of justice, laid aside the weapons of violence, and in their trust of us have borne insult and outrage with a calm and steadfast equanimity. They have taken our word of honour. Have we kept it?

If Mr. Davitt gives a true picture of Ireland during the last two years, then assuredly we have not kept it. "As yet," to repeat his words, "we have had more eviction brutalities, more murders by policemen, more general Castle lawlessness since 1886 than during double the period when we fought single-handed against two coercionist English parties." There is no doubt that this is substantially true. The rest of us speak quite as strongly as Mr. Davitt when our purpose is simply to attack the Government. But if it is true, the English people cannot be in the state of flaming indignation which, in 1886, we declared they would exhibit unless the policy of coercion were abandoned. If they were in real earnest, as much in earnest, for instance, as they were in resisting the licensing clauses in the Local Government Bill, the whole bad business would soon be at an end. Whatever the cause, whether ignorance or the capacity to bear with composure the misfortunes of others, we have to face the fact that, as yet, we have not fulfilled the high expectations of 1886. We have done a good deal to spread information about Ireland, though we still see around us a thick fog of ignorance. We have secured the conversion of a good many electors to Home Rule, and have filled with a sense of uneasiness the minds of a good many more. There is no reason to doubt that, if a general election were to take place soon, we should win. But all this is not enough. A general election may be far off. Is Ireland to remain till then subject to an insulting and degrading form of oppression? For degrading it is. Every day that it lasts affects injuriously the character of the people, and makes the future task of self-government more difficult. In plain terms, it is our duty to make the present methods of government impossible; and mere words of benevolence will not suffice.

We are not thinking of any heroic or theatrical remedies. There has been already quite enough of the melodrama in our agitation. We had better, for instance, cease to indulge in mere abuse of the "bloody Balfour," for we do more harm than good by attacks which cannot fail to strike sensible, practical men as stilted and unreal. What we do want is a true interest in the question. Say what we may, the mass of the English people are not interested. To them the imprisonment of innocent men, the degradation of the law, and the cruelties of the evictor are but

shadows of the platform, and do not in their naked reality touch the heart and quicken a sense of honourable indignation. Cost what it may we must bring these things home to them. Let us fling all other questions aside, and through the coming winter carry on a ceaseless and zealous agitation. There is spirit in the English people if we know how to rouse it. It is not roused yet, and the fault is ours.

THE SORROWS OF IRELAND.

AN APPEAL TO THE WOMEN OF ENGLAND.

(An open Letter to Mrs. Henry Fawcett.)

DEAR MRS. FAWCETT,—A very long-standing regard for you induced me to read with much interest your speeches at Nottingham last Wednesday; and I feel bound to tell you how they affected me.

I note only one tone in them—the tone of the combatant who is in danger of becoming reckless. For instance, you tell us that different Governments "have vied with one another in doing all they can to place the Irish tenant in a satisfactory position," and you tell us this just as though this policy had been the habitual policy of the "different Governments" who have been so considerate concerning Ireland. But you surely know that for generations, year after year, until Mr. Gladstone took up their cause (and only very lately) the Irishmen outside and inside the House of Commons never had the slightest attention paid to them by any Government. Steadily, through scores of miserable years, every Bill brought in to help the wretched Irish tenant was, "by different Governments," ignored or defeated. You yourself say that the present satisfactory position has been "won" by the Irish tenants themselves only "through the tortuous paths of political agitation." It is simply a mournful story of ignorant and cruel neglect. Nor is all this by any means atoned for by what we have hurriedly and grudgingly done during the last very few years. What we have done to help the Irish tenant has been merely to uncoil, to a certain extent, the fetters that have been mercilessly wound round him in the past. Many of the apparent advantages we have given to him are illusory; and most of them have come too late.

The leading thought of your principal speech, however, was that the Irish tenants have themselves to blame. You say they lack honesty, industry, sobriety, and self-reliance. O, but this is cruel! "Honesty"! when these poor creatures, it is well-known (by those who really know them),

have a passion for paying their way—and do pay their way, under righteous conditions of life. "Industry"! when, all over their country, thousands of them have worn themselves out with turning barren bog or stony land into fruitful soil, and, not for themselves, but for ever-watchful eyes and ever-greedy hands, ready to appropriate the results in added rent. "Sobriety"! when, as compared with the people of Scotland, they are, as a whole, almost abstainers. "Self-reliance"! when, neither in agrarian, municipal, nor political affairs, have we ever given them the chance to rely upon themselves; and yet when, to our very faces, they are nevertheless showing how superbly men and women, without such opportunities, can defy even such a strong Government as ours, and drill themselves into national life, in spite of us. The truth is they have shown and are showing more "self-reliance" than your new friends like.

You say that "in England, a man who is able to pay his just debts, which he has entered into voluntarily, and refuses to pay them, will find himself in prison, and will be universally regarded as a swindler. In Ireland he is regarded as a patriot." And your hearers laughed and cheered! It is enough to make the heart ache. "Just debts," you say, and "entered into voluntarily." Heaven pity the poor creatures who are in the case of those to whom you refer, when even a good woman can turn against them! But surely you speak as not many women in England feel. What you call "just debts" are the accumulations of grievous burdens laid upon tenants who are at the mercy of landlords who have taken advantage of their helplessness to make them pay rent for what they have made fruitful, or to confiscate what they have created. The arrears of rent, that are mostly in question, and that have become a millstone round the necks of these poor people, are arrears of rack-rents that have become more and more unjust and cruel, not only because they were rents put upon the products of the tenants' industry, but also because of a continuous fall in prices which, in an enormous number of cases, made the payment of such rents impossible; and therefore, as the decisions of Her Majesty's Commissions show, they are not "just debts," but witnesses to long-endured injustice. It is true that, in a sense, these engagements were, by these tenants, "entered into voluntarily"; but what a ghastly use of the word "voluntarily," when we remember that resistance or refusal at any stage of the long exhaustive process meant being driven forth from the old home, and the loss of all!

Referring to the bitter cry of these tenants, you say that "in England, a man who makes a loud disturbance over petty discomforts which he has brought upon himself by his own deeds is laughed at; he is ridiculed, but in Ireland he is a martyr."

And, again, this was received with laughter and cheers! You call eviction from the home of your fathers a "petty discomfort"; you call the battering down of the house you yourself built a "petty discomfort"; you call being cheated out of a little farm which is half your own a "petty discomfort"; and you can find it in your heart to say that these poor creatures have "brought it upon themselves by their own deeds"; and you suggest that we ought to laugh at them and ridicule them.

I will only add that I have also read what you referred to as "the treat the meeting has in store,"—the speech of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain. For that speech I was well prepared, and I was not surprised. In it I noted the painfully familiar tone of hard and masterful misrepresentation—as lacking in discriminating justice as in human sympathy. But England's commonsense, as well as its conscience and heart, will judge, in time; and full justice will be done.

The miseries of Ireland have, to a large extent, grown out of a bad system of Government, whose worst feature has been the stubborn and stupid attempt to deprive the people of Ireland of all sense of national responsibility, by ruling them from without. Home Rule would give to the people who are at home the right to look after the home—an arrangement as sensible as it would be just. That will come; and our children will wonder what spirit of pride or obstinacy it was, on our side, that delayed so great a good so long.

Respectfully yours,
JOHN PAGE HOPPS.
Leicester, Sept. 29th, 1888.

NOTES BY THE WAY.

Self-government, not Secession.—We extract the following passage from the *Freeman's Journal* report of an interview with Mr. A. Shuman, a Boston merchant, who is now in Ireland. It deals with a favourite Unionist argument, often paraded with considerable success. "It has been asserted by enemies of Home Rule that many educated Americans were opposed to our movement on the ground that it is analogous to the attempted secession of the Southern States from the Union in 1861? Is that true?" "I do not think there is a scintilla of truth in such an assertion. I certainly have not heard of such an objection raised by any American. Why, sir, there is not the slightest analogy whatever between the attempted secession of our Southern States and your splendid efforts to secure the right of self-government. The Southern States had perfect self-government—

precisely what you are asking. Each Southern State in 1861, when it passed its secession ordinance, was sovereign within its own borders—that is to say, it had absolute jurisdiction over its militia, police, judiciary, and corporations; in a word, it exercised all the authority of an independent State save in the power to declare war, to make treaties, impose customs duties, regulate the postal service, coin money, and some other less important matters which are clearly set forth as reserved in the National Constitution, and over which the Congress alone, in which all the States are represented according to their population, has jurisdiction. Now if Ireland had a Parliament exercising such power as that possessed by the Southern States when they attempted to secede from the Union copartnership, and if she attempted to cut loose from Great Britain by force of arms, the cases would be analogous, and coercion for Ireland might be justified. But you are (and the American people understand it precisely) but asking for that measure of Home Rule which every State of the Union possessed in its full plenitude in 1861 as it does to-day, and which is the crown and glory of the American Government expressed in our significant national motto, *E pluribus unum*—many in one. I will venture to say there is not an American in my own State of Massachusetts from my friend Governor Ames to the toiling mechanic in our multifarious workshops who is not desirous and hopeful of seeing Ireland making her own laws precisely as Massachusetts does, while preserving the same connection with the Empire that our State does to the United States." Mr. Shuman, it will be noticed, deals only with the constitutional question; but the contrast appears even greater when we remember that the real point at issue between the Southern and the Northern States was the maintenance or the abolition of slavery.

The Crime of Combination.—We are often told by apologists of the present administration that there is no intention of suppressing combination in Ireland. Then what is the meaning of the following incident, as told in the Irish Newspapers?

"To-day (Sept. 24th) Mr. Kilbride, M.P., visited Glenbeigh and addressed his constituents, in company with Mr. J. D. Sheehan, M.P. A meeting was held, and Rev. Father Quilter, P.P., presided. Mr. Pierce Mahony, M.P., and Mr. J. D. Foley, C.E., were on the platform. A large force of police were present at the meeting under Removable M'Dermott.

"When Mr. Kilbride, in the course of his speech, advised the people to organise together like the evicted tenants of Luggacurren,

"Mr. M'Dermott, R.M., interposed, and said he would not permit Mr. Kilbride to continue.

"Mr. Kilbride said he would not desist until he was prevented by force.

"Mr. M'Dermott said he would stop any further proceedings.

"Mr. Kilbride said he would not close until the police took possession of the platform.

"A policeman was then sent on the platform, and Mr. Kilbride asked the people, as they were prevented from proceeding further with the meeting by the armed forces of the Government, to disperse quietly.

"The meeting then dispersed."

Will some of those who talk so much of equal laws explain why the Trade Union Congress was allowed to meet the other day at Bradford, and to pass resolutions in favour of combination among English workmen, and why Mr. Kilbride may not preach combination to Irish tenants?

The Parnell Commission.—The first meeting of the Parnell Commission was held on September 17th. It would be out of place to comment upon the proceedings, beyond saying that those whom the *Times* attacked have every reason for satisfaction. The chief points settled were: (1) as to procedure, that the *Times* should begin by tendering its evidence in support of the charges and allegations; (2) that the *Times* must make discovery of such documents as may be in their possession relating to the matters at issue, the Court to decide what documents should be produced for inspection to the other side, and that a like order should be made against the other side; (3) that the *Times* should give particulars of the persons against whom charges and allegations have been made. The counsel for the *Times*, Mr. Graham, actually opposed the application for these particulars, on the ground that the charges were against an organisation, and not against individuals. Over and over again in the course of the day the *Times* showed what looks like a disposition to hedge. One most extraordinary passage between Sir James Hannon and Mr. Graham is especially significant:—

"Mr. Graham respectfully protested against this attempt to place his clients in the position of parties to the inquiry.

"Sir James Hannon: Can you prove substantially any charge?

"Mr. Graham: I understand your lordships are appointed to inquire into and report upon the charges put forward in a certain publication and in the speech of the Attorney-General.

"Sir James Hannon: Yes, yes; but the question is what are you going to do? You are here representing the defendants in the action referred to. Do you propose to substantiate any charges?

"Mr. Graham : I propose to give the Commission all the information I can give."

"Sir James Hannen : Do you propose to substantiate any of those charges and allegations?"

"Mr. Graham : I don't know. I propose to lay all the information before you that I am capable of giving that may tend to substantiate the charges and allegations."

"Sir James Hannen : What charges?"

"Mr. Graham : That I am not in a position to state, but I will give you all the information I can."

Will it be believed that in the *Times'* report of the proceedings next day the word "specify" appears in place of the word "substantiate" in Sir J. Hannen's questions?

A Removeable's Notion of Justice.—The *Cork Herald* is responsible for the following extraordinary incident. We wonder if it can be true? It "took place at Galbally during the trial of John Ronayne on a charge of alleged participation in an unlawful assembly. The policeman who was examined for the prosecution proved nothing against the prisoner except that he was on the street, and that stones were thrown at the police from a crowd. He did not see the man throw a stone, and, on being pressed, he stated that from his general character he did not believe Ronayne to be a man likely to throw one. At this juncture the following colloquy occurred, between Removables Rolleston and Mr. Barry, who represented the accused :—

"Major Rolleston (to the policeman) : How do you know that he (meaning the accused) did not throw a stone?"

"Mr. Barry respectfully pointed out that the question was an unfair one. It implied a presumption of guilt, whereas one of the most common principles of English law was that a man was to be deemed innocent until he was proved guilty."

"Major Rolleston : Oh! that has now come not to be generally accepted as a principle of law."

"Mr. Barry said he was inclined to think with Major Rolleston, having in view the manner in which the Crimes Act was administered."

It will be observed that Major Rolleston's idea right through the affair was that if the policeman did not know positively that the defendant did not throw stones, he should be convicted of throwing them."

Mr. Dillon's Speech.—If our space had admitted, we should gladly have reprinted the speech delivered by Mr. Dillon at the fortnightly meeting of the National League, on September 25th. The reports in the English papers by no means did it justice. It was a truly noble speech,

magnanimous, courageous, and true. No one who read it can wonder why the Irish people trust their leaders. Either the Irish Press Agency or the National Press Agency should publish it at once; and they might do worse than publish Mr. Balfour's Glasgow speech along with it. The contrast between the calm dignity of the one, and the flippant vulgarity of the other could not fail to have good effect.

Crimeless Ireland.—It should have been stated in our last issue that the charges of the judges to grand juries in Ireland during the summer assizes of last year, contained in our article entitled "Crimeless Ireland," were taken from the reports of them in Mr. J. A. Fox's pamphlet "Coercion without Crime." The charges for this year were taken, as in previous articles, from the reports in the newspapers.

The Star Chamber Courts.—Here is a summary of the official return of the proceedings of the Star Chamber courts in the June quarter—that is, the period in which chiefly those tribunals have been at work, since the passing of the Act—

"At Castleisland four days were occupied, eight witnesses were examined, and several prisoners were returned for trial.

"At Castlerea sixteen days were occupied, seventy-three summonses were issued, seventy-nine witnesses were examined. Seven, named Thomas Giblin, Thady Flynn, John Connolly, Thomas Boland, Bernard Reilly, Patrick M'Dermott, and Timothy Caulfield, were each sentenced to seven days' imprisonment for contempt. The trial of the eight persons who were arrested in connection with this case is still pending.

"At Mullaghroe seven days were occupied, and fourteen witnesses examined. John Conroy was sentenced to seven days.

"At Mullinahone four days were occupied, and seven witnesses were examined. Two men named Michael Power and Thomas Moloney were each sentenced to eight days' imprisonment for contempt. The result is still pending.

"At Falcarragh ten days were occupied, eleven witnesses were examined, and Francis Quinn, John M'Gee, Shane O'Donnell, William Griffith, Hugh Boyle, and Thomas M'Hugh, sentenced to twenty-five, fifteen, twenty-two, twenty-nine, sixteen, and twenty-nine days' imprisonment respectively for contempt. The result is still pending.

"At Dungloe six days were occupied, three witnesses were examined, and James Sweeney, Charles Gallagher, Patrick Rearty, John Sweeney, James Sweeney, junior, and Edward Boyle sentenced to fifteen, fifteen, twenty-two, and fifteen

days' imprisonment respectively for contempt. The result is pending.

"At Balla, Claremorris, and Kiltimagh nineteen days were occupied, fifty-nine witnesses were examined, and there were no committals for contempt. The result is pending.

"At Loughrea and Killimore six days were occupied, and Patrick Killeen sentenced to four days' imprisonment; Hugh Monaghan and John Broderick, to twenty-one days' each; and Patrick Lowry to twenty days' imprisonment for contempt. Result of inquiry — twelve persons arrested, against whom proceedings are now pending.

"At Gort, ten days were occupied, thirty-three witnesses examined, and no committals. Result of inquiry — Michael Cahill, Martin McGrath, Michael Noone, Michael Brannelly, and Thomas Reilly, were, on the 16th June, 1888, returned for trial at Summer Assizes, for being concerned in the attack on Michael Hoarty, of Loughill, on the 16th October, 1887.

"At Keenagh, county Longford, six days were occupied, thirteen witnesses were examined, and John Hanly sentenced to fourteen days' imprisonment for contempt. The result is pending.

"Thus it is clear that most time was occupied, most witnesses were summoned and examined, and most persons committed to prison for contempt, in those places which have been free from serious crime, for of all the places mentioned in the foregoing summary, the only two in which serious crimes have been committed are the Castleisland and Loughrea districts, and even there serious crime has been rare or non-existent for some time past. In Castlerea, Mullaghroe, Carragh, Dungloe, and Keenagh—where the net has been spread widest—crimes of violence have been for a long time unknown. But in those districts of Roscommon, Donegal, and Longford respectively, there have been struggles between bodies of tenants and their landlords, and Mr. Balfour, having failed otherwise to terrorise the tenant combinations of those localities out of existence, determined to try what he could effect towards that end by means of the terror of the Inquisition. Never has the real aim of the 'Unionist' Coercion Act—namely, to help the landlords in the collection of their rents, just or unjust—been more clearly revealed."—Mr. J. J. CLANCY, M.P., in *Freeman's Journal*.

since told us that he is not penitent, and we can hardly suppose that Mr. Balfour's conscience smote him when he thought of that much-loved Irishman growing ill in Dundalk Jail. Politicians of this "brave" man's type, however, have other faculties which serve the purposes of a conscience fairly well; and public opinion, as aroused by John Mandeville's inquest, may have caused a little emotion, which we will not call fear, even in the cast-iron breast of the Irish Secretary.

Mr. John Dillon and his colleague, Mr. Blaine, are free, and there are not lacking other signs that the coercionists are perhaps beginning to weary of their work. The September record is certainly lower than any other since the year began. It has one feature black enough indeed to check all disposition to jubilate as yet, but the first point to notice is its general lowness, the average number of the convictions for the five weeks ending September 25th being only 6½.

The record is as follows:—

Week ending—	Adjourned.	Withdrawn or dismissed	Bail.
Aug. 28 ...	3	0	0
Sept. 4 ...	3	0	0
Sept. 11 ...	58	36	1 2
Sept. 18 ...	3	0	0
Sept. 25 ...	6	0	3
	73	42	

As regards the nature of the offences, we find the following particulars:—

Class	I.—Agrarian cases	Adjourned.	Withdrawn, or dismissed.	Bail.
"	II.—Public meeting cases, &c., i.e., unlawful assembly	32	32	0 0
"	III.—Incitements	3	0	0
"	IV.—Intimidation	10	2	4 2
"	VII.—Miscellaneous, described as including assaults	4	0	0
		73	36	4 2

Class III is made up of the two priests, Fathers Farrelly and Clarke, who were sentenced at Arklow, on September 21st, to six weeks' imprisonment each for inciting to so-called conspiracy, and of Mr. W. K. Redmond, M.P., who has been sent to prison for three months, because he encouraged resistance to evictions which all fair men should condemn.

THE RECORD OF COERCION.

THE event of last month was the release of Mr. Dillon after one half the term of his sentence only had expired; and following close on it came the release of Mr. Blaine. Mr. Dillon has

But bad as is the case of Mr. Redmond, that of the twelve men who defended their homes at Coolroe, whose families have been cast out on the roadside, and who have since been sent to prison for periods varying from *ten to three months*—the case of these men, whom Mr. Redmond did well to applaud, is, in truth, much worse. These, and men like these, are fighting the battle of the poor against eviction in Ireland. On them the hand of the coercionist falls, not less, but more heavily from month to month. The main object of coercion is to terrify the people into allowing themselves to be evicted quietly. In that object it fails continually; fear of personal consequences has not quelled any body of tenants yet. Eviction notices are scattered over the country. Evictions are to be carried out. It becomes, therefore, more and more important to change the present spirit of the Irish tenant on the doomed estates; and the coercionist believes in no other human motive than that of fear. So the punishments are piled on the more as they are seen to produce less effect. The sentences on the men of Coolroe are typical of what some Irish tenants have to expect this winter, unless either they, by abandoning the struggle, remove the one cause which saves hundreds of homes from the desolating hand of the evictor, or the English people find some way of affecting the Government conscience, or that less noble instinct of self-protection, which sometimes does duty for a moral sense, and thus put a stop to those scenes of grief and horror which still disgrace the name of English government.

We add the list of the Coolroe sentences, with the names of the men.

Arthurs-town, Sept. 6.	T. Somers ...	Resisting and obstructing the sheriff at the Coolroe evictions.	Six months' h.l for resisting sheriff, and four for assaulting the police.
	J. Somers ...	Do do ...	Six months' h.l
	B. Rochford ...	Do do ...	Four mths. h.l
	P. Fitzgerald ...	Do do ...	Six months' h.l
	J. Hall ...	Do do ...	Six months' h.l
	P. Finn ...	Do do ...	Four mths. h.l
	J. Rossiter ...	Do do ...	Three months
	W. Shields ...	Do do ...	Six months' h.l
	M. Morris ...	Do do ...	Six months' h.l
	M. Caul ...	Do do ...	Six months' h.l
	T. Power ...	Do do ...	Six months' h.l
	M. Turbet ...	Do do ...	Six months' h.l
	W. Redmond, M.P.	Encouraging the foregoing to resist, &c.	Adj. to 13th

DIARY OF THE MOVEMENT.

September 1.—Fierce resistance to evictions on the Clancarke estate. Eviction of "Doctor" Tully. The bailiff Whelan strikes Bridget Bowles in the mouth, breaking her teeth.

September 2.—Nationalist demonstration at Ballygarret—proclaimed by the Government, yet held—addressed by Michael Davitt and William Redmond, M.P. Michael Davitt exhorts the Liberal Party to greater efforts.

September 3.—Meetings at Belfast, Newry, Naas, Thurles, Carlow, and Liverpool, in aid of the Parnell Defence Fund.—Confession of inaccuracy by Mr. Balfour in the *Times*.—Meeting to aid Parnell Defence Fund proclaimed at Sligo.—Demonstration in Kilrush to welcome released Balfourian criminals. Bonfires lit in their honour put out by the police.

September 4.—Mr. Gladstone in Wrexham, powerful attack by him on Mr. Balfour's administration in Ireland, compares him to Bomba.—Fierce attack by Mr. Balfour in the papers on Patrick Murray, formerly driver of the Home Rule Union Van.—John Fahy, of Douras, died at Woodford from injuries received while being evicted on the Clancarke estate, on August 31st. He was lying ill at the time. His parents begged the agent to postpone the eviction on the ground of his ill-health, but the agent refused.

September 5.—Evictions commenced at Abbeyfeale. Three families evicted.—James Halpin, a Balfourian prisoner, was released from Limerick Gaol, owing to ill-health.—John Redmond, M.P., and Edward Walsh, tried at Ferns; sentence postponed.

September 6.—Town's meeting at Limerick in aid of the Parnell Defence Fund.—Prosecution of the men who defended "Somers Fort," at Coolroe.—Attack by the police upon the people who cheered the prisoners.—Commencement of evictions on the Curass estate.—Three families evicted at Vinegar, co. Wicklow.

September 7.—The authorities refuse to hold an inquest into the death of Fahy.—Meeting at Dundalk in support of Parnell Defence Fund.—Banquet to Mr. McLinchy by the Irish Protestant Home Rule Association; letter read from Mr. Gladstone.

September 9.—Anniversary of the Mitchelstown massacre. Brutal conduct by the police.—Great Nationalist demonstration at Waterford. Speech by William O'Brien, M.P.—Demonstration at Knockaroo. Speech by Mr. Michael Davitt, criticising apathy of English Liberals.

September 10.—Freedom of the City of Waterford conferred on Messrs. William O'Brien and T. D. Sullivan.—Town's meeting held in Sligo in aid of the National Indemnity Fund.

September 11.—Daniel Whelan evicted on the Lansdown Estate.

September 12.—Sentences of six months' hard labour and three months' imprisonment inflicted under the Coercion Act in the Coolroe prosecutions.—Sentences of two months' and six weeks'

imprisonment inflicted under the Coercion Act, for resistance to the Currahs evictions.

September 13.—Prosecution of Mr. William Redmond commenced at Wexford.

September 14.—Mr. William Redmond sentenced to three months' imprisonment for inciting to resist the sheriff at the Coolroe evictions.

September 15.—Publication of preface by Mr. Chamberlain to a pamphlet intitled "A Sketch of the Unionist Policy."

September 16.—Great demonstration in Phoenix Park, Dublin, against the imprisonment of Tom Moroney.

September 17.—Opening of the Forgeries' Commission. The Council for the *Times* will not undertake to substantiate any charges against Members of Parliament.

September 18.—Unconditional release of John Dillon from jail.

September 19.—Great meeting of Vandeleur tenants at Tullycrina, addressed by Mr. William O'Brien.—Meeting in Manchester in aid of the Parnell Indemnity Fund.—Liberal Unionist Conference at Bradford.—Two sentences of six months' hard labour inflicted at Letterkenny, in Donegal, for boycotting.

September 20.—Six rents on Duke of Devonshire's estates at Bandon reduced by consent at the Land Sessions from £600 to £425.—Unionists at breakfast at Bradford.

September 21.—Letter in the *Times* by Lord Selbourne, denying that Mr. Gladstone's cabinet was convinced of Mr. Parnell's freedom from crime in 1882.—Sentence of twelve months' hard labour for boycotting, inflicted at Dungloe, co. Donegal.

September 23.—Great meeting at Maryboro' of tenants on the Luggacurren Estate. Speech by Mr. William O'Brien.—Meetings at Bandon, Kingstown, Elphin, Tallow, Buttevant.

September 24.—Meeting at Lochee in support of Parnell Indemnity Fund.—Father Farrelly and Father Clarke sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment for boycotting.—Forcible suppression by the police of a meeting at Glenbeigh, at which Mr. Kilbride was addressing his constituents.—Eviction at Millvale, near Fermoy.

September 25.—Speech by Mr. Dillon at the National League. No bitterness against England.

September 26.—Release of Mr. Blaine, M.P., from Derry Gaol.—John Redmond sentenced at Wexford to five weeks' imprisonment for opposing evictions.—Speech by Michael Davitt at Accrington.—Unionist meeting at Nottingham.—Two evictions carried out near Ballylanders.

September 29.—Liberal demonstration at Ipswich. Speech by Mr. John Morley.—Annual Convention of the Irish National League of Great Britain at Birmingham.—Sentence of three

months' hard labour inflicted at Templemore for incitement to boycotting.

September 30.—Speech of Mr. William O'Brien at Ballyneale.

LITERATURE.

Dunmore; or, The Days of the Land League.

By LOUISIANA MURPHY. (Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.)

We have received and read with interest this novelty in political literature. "Dunmore" is the libretto of an opera intended to present in a graphic and realistic form the evils of landlordism and the iniquities of coercion. All the typical characters are here—the wicked landlord, Lord Absentee (who is eventually ousted by the rightful heir); Mr. Cassidy, the local solicitor, and Mr. Morris, the agent (but, in truth, the real landlord, who "lies low" till the third act); Miss Kathleen Blunt, the President of the Ladies' Land League; Kavanagh, the tenant, and his beautiful daughter, Sheelah. After many exciting scenes, the author brings her plot to a happy ending. We gather from the preface that she has not yet succeeded in finding a musical collaborateur, but we trust that some patriotic Irish composer will come to her rescue, and enable her to give full effect to her very original idea. Meanwhile her entertaining drama, full of sound political sense, ought to have a large circulation.

A Unionist Policy for Ireland. With a Preface by the Rt. Hon. J. CHAMBERLAIN, M.P. (Swan, Sonnenschein, & Co.)

THE National Radical Union has here reprinted from the *Birmingham Daily Post* certain articles on Ireland which are understood to express the latest views of Mr. Chamberlain, and to which, on several occasions, he has endeavoured, somewhat unsuccessfully, to attract attention. We fear that their republication will not stimulate interest. Indeed, it is enough to ruin any book to be weighted with a preface so dull, dreary, and disingenuous as that with which Mr. Chamberlain commends the Radical Unionist bubble to the public. Perhaps, however, it would be well that every one should read what he says. His references to the Irish party, repeated with additional offensiveness and coarseness at Nottingham, deserve a special consideration, revealing, as they do, in Mr. Chamberlain a depth of ungenerosity for which his worst enemies have not yet given him sufficient credit. The articles themselves, in spite of a great many misrepresentations, are not without interest, but, as we have said before, they are

quite beside the mark. When an Irish Parliament is constituted, it will be time to consider such suggestions as they contain for the development of Irish resources. As for the notion of extending local government with the national aspiration unsatisfied, it comes with a bad grace from those who lose no opportunity of proclaiming their belief in Irish incapacity for government. It is not a proposal worth serious argument, and Mr. Chamberlain and his friends know well that they may make it without any risk that they will ever be compelled seriously to support it. Their fellow Unionists will have none of it, and the Irish people will have none of it. The Radical Unionists have stripped themselves of every rag of Liberalism. We cannot wonder, therefore, that they set great store by this fig-leaf.

John Mandeville, Martyr. The Story of his Prosecution, Imprisonment, and Death; with Extracts from his Correspondence on Irish Affairs. By SYDNEY HALLIFAX.

This pamphlet, published jointly by the Home Rule Union and the National Reform Union, gives in full detail the tragic story of Mr. Mandeville. It contains by anticipation a complete answer to the misrepresentations of Mr. Balfour's flippant and unworthy speech at Glasgow; and good service will be done by our readers in assisting to distribute it widely.

HOME RULE UNION.

VACATION COMMITTEE.—A meeting of the Vacation Committee was held at Palace Chambers, on September 20th, when there were present Dr. B. O'Connor (in the chair) Mrs. Bryant, D.Sc., Messrs. T. Lough, G. P. Macdonell, W. S. Robson, E. Wallford, and the Secretary. Mr. S. D. Waddy, Q.C., M.P., was kind enough to attend and advise the Committee on questions of law on which they desired information. It was announced by the Secretary that sufficient application had been made for the van by constituencies in Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk to render it advisable for the van to continue working in the Eastern counties for the next twelve months. At the same time, urgent requests for it had been received from the Devon County Liberal Federation as well as from a large number of individual constituencies in the Midlands and the South of England. It was accordingly decided that renewed efforts should be made to raise the necessary funds to purchase two new vans. A vote of hearty congratulation to Mr. Dillon, M.P., on his unconditional release was passed unanimously. Formal sanction was given to the affiliation of the Alderley Edge and Wilmslow Women's Home Rule Union.

THE WEST KENSINGTON BRANCH.—The West Kensington branch of the Home Rule Union is making satisfactory progress, a number of friends to the cause having joined and expressed their willingness to help in the work. Two drawing-room meetings have been held, the first addressed by Miss Jane Cobden and Miss Amy Mander; the second by J. P. Gill, Esq., M.P. Political maps and literature have been distributed, and arrangements made for holding further meetings in the autumn and winter. Those wishing to become members or give help of any kind to this branch should apply to Mrs. Rae, 4 Addison Gardens Kensington, W. Members' subscriptions to this branch are five shillings or two-and-sixpence. Subscribers of five shillings receive the HOME RULE UNION JOURNAL free.

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Subscriptions to the Home Rule Union should be sent to the Secretary, 17 & 18, Palace Chambers, Westminster. Annual Subscribers of Five Shillings and upwards to the Home Rule Union will receive the Monthly Journal free.

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* * * Communications, &c., relating to the supply of the JOURNAL should be addressed to the Hon. Treasurer; other communications to the Editor of the JOURNAL, 17 & 18, Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, Westminster.

OUR VANS.

THE Home Rule Union has now three vans in the field, and negotiations are proceeding for the acquisition of a fourth. The success which has attended this novel method of political agitation has far exceeded anything we dared to hope for when we began our "rural rides." For several months past meetings have been held almost every night. Sequestered villages, whose names had hitherto been unknown to us, and whose political ignorance we have learned to be truly appalling (in one place they had never heard the name of Mandeville) have been roused into a state of intense excitement by our travelling "mission halls." A varied mass of literature, light and grave, emotional and argumentative, has been

distributed in profusion; some of it, indeed, as we are credibly informed, has been purchased. Wherever the vans have gone, their route may (so to speak) be traced on the map by the broad, bright line of political conviction which they have left behind them. From every district which they have visited pressing invitations have come for a return visit. Not a day passes without appeals to the Secretary from new districts claiming a fortnight of a van. And sad to say, the Secretary, with only three vans (what are they among so many?), pledged, moreover, weeks ahead, has to turn a deaf ear to their entreaties.

The fact is we want more vans. We should have a dozen at least. The village that never heard of Mandeville can be truthfully described by a great many names. It is not unique. Wherever it is, without any delay a van should be in the midst of it to wake it up. As things are at present, we must proceed with painful slowness, groping our way with our three candles through the dense fog of ignorance which hangs over the rural constituencies of England. Our friends can help us, and we appeal to them. Some can give money; many have done so already, and have earned our deep gratitude. Some, it may be, may have such a thing as a van about them which they can spare. We can even imagine an enthusiast presenting us with a Home Rule horse capable of pulling a load of unexceptionable literature ten miles a day. In whatever way assistance can be

rendered we ask for it, and shall be grateful for it. For we are assured that the method of agitation on which we are engaged can be usefully carried out to the very furthest limits which our means allow.

THE WHIGS AND HOME RULE.

BY J. A. SPALDING.

LORD HARTINGTON has recently told us that he upholds and maintains the old Whig principles. We are also informed that the party of which he is the ostensible leader holds, untainted, the pure doctrines of Liberalism from which Mr. Gladstone and his followers have wantonly seceded. The only conclusion to be drawn from these two statements is that the maintenance of the union between England and Ireland is an article of faith common both to the earlier Whigs and the more modern Liberals. If this be so, it is remarkable that the Whigs should have persistently opposed the union of the two parliaments from the moment when it was mooted to that when it finally passed into law. Tierney, Sheridan, Grey, all inveighed against it; and Fox, although he was sulking at the time and did not oppose the measure in the House of Commons, wrote concerning it that it was "one of the most unequivocal attempts at establishing the principles as well as the practice of despotism." England is waking up to the fact, after the lapse of nearly a century, that Fox was no false prophet. But in the face of this evidence, what becomes of the assertion that the Liberal Unionists hold the faith of their Whig forefathers pure and undefiled?

But it may be argued that the Whigs of that day were not honest in their opposition to the Act of Union: that they opposed it merely because it was advocated by their political foes. It may be pointed out that Fox showed a marvellous alacrity in swallowing his cherished convictions; was willing, not many years later, to take office in Pitt's second government, and was only prevented from so doing by the veto of his stiff-necked Majesty, King George the Third. Perhaps so. Politics in those days were an ignominious scramble for office—a disgraceful state of things from which we, in these happier times, have quite emancipated ourselves. But, granting the assertion, it hardly behoves a politician of Lord Hartington's transparent honesty to be forward in claiming apostolic succession to men who were so lacking in the very virtue for which he is so conspicuous.

But the argument leaves us exactly where we

stood before; for it must be manifest that even if the Whig leaders opposed the Union out of mere partisanship, or bartered their principles in exchange for office, that fact gives no indication whatever of the doctrines actually held and preached by the Whig party. To discover these it is necessary to turn to the language held by the Whigs when they were unbiased by considerations of ambition and of greed. One of them, Edmund Burke, was quietly at rest in Beaconsfield churchyard before union with Ireland became a question of practical politics. But he was foremost in his opposition to the policy of the government of his day in regard to a somewhat similar question—the quarrel with the American Colonies.

Although Burke was a disappointed man, it has never been charged against him that he was a dishonest one. His convictions dictated his policy, and in advocating them he was earnest, strenuous, fearless. His opposition to the coercion of the Colonies was manifestly sincere, for at the time it brought him nothing but opprobrium. The newspapers, then, as now, were fierce in their invectives against the opposition. Burke was, for the time, a disgraced man. Speaking against the Boston Port Bill on April 25th, 1774, he said, "Persons who oppose this bill are immediately put to the same kind of punishment in the public papers which offenders in America are. Look, sir, into the public papers. You will see 'Cinna,' and a thousand other Roman names, throwing out their invectives and tarring and feathering all those who dare oppose the bill. I suppose I shall reap my share for this opposition." The cause for which the American Colonists fought and which Burke defended was, in essence, Home Rule. England, by her disastrous policy of coercion, compelled them to turn the struggle into one for independence. The original cause of dispute was the contention that the Colonies ought not to be taxed for revenue purposes by the Imperial Parliament, but by their own local legislatures. England replied by abrogating the charters under which those legislatures existed and by passing Coercion Acts. These Acts aimed chiefly at destroying the Colonial trade, that being the most valuable point at which America could be attacked. But there are other features in this coercive policy which have a more modern appearance. The Colonists were forbidden to carry arms. The nomination of magistrates who were to try offenders without juries was placed in the hands of the Crown. These magistrates were removable at pleasure, and thus of necessity became the tools of the Government. Some offenders were even to be brought to England for trial. And this policy of coercion was supported by military force.

All this Burke opposed with heart and soul.

He pleaded frequently, eloquently, but in vain, for conciliation rather than coercion. "For my part," he said, "I should choose that the proposition for the repeal (of the duty on tea) should go to America without the attendance of the penal bills. Alone, I could almost answer for its success. I cannot be certain of its reception in the bad company it may keep. Though you should send out this angel of peace, yet you are sending out a destroying angel too; and what would be the effect of the conflict of these two adverse spirits, or which would predominate in the end, is what I dare not say." In the same speech, Burke also said, very finely, "You are obeyed solely from respect to the bayonet; and this house, the ground and pillar of freedom, is itself held up only by the treacherous underpinning and clumsy buttresses of arbitrary power."

It is a remarkable fact that Burke anticipated the doctrine, which is certainly not Lord Hartington's, that there is no mean between Home Rule and Coercion. "There are but two ways to govern America," he said, "either to make it subservient to all our laws, or to let it govern itself by its own *internal policy*." And he afterwards added: "Sense and reason absolutely prescribe, whenever we are involved in difficulties from the measure we have pursued, that we should take a strict review of those measures, in order to correct our errors should they be corrigible; or at least to avoid a *dull uniformity in mischief, and the unpitied calamity of being repeatedly caught in the same snare*." Is it Lord Hartington and his friends who are attempting to avoid the calamities to which Burke here so sarcastically refers? And Burke also advocated a doctrine which has been preached rather than practised by another prominent statesman of our day; namely, that "force is no remedy." "I confess," he said "my opinion is much more in favour of prudent management than of force; considering force, not as an odious but a feeble instrument. . . . The use of force alone is but temporary. It may subdue for a moment, but it does not remove the necessity for subduing again, and a nation is not governed which is perpetually to be conquered. My next objection is *uncertainty*. Terror is not always the effect of force, and an armament is not victory. If you do not succeed, you are without resource; for, conciliation failing, force remains; but force failing, no further hope of reconciliation is left. Power and authority are sometimes bought by kindness; but they can never be begged as alms by an impoverished and defeated violence."

There can be no doubt that Burke stated accurately the views of the Whigs of his day upon the subject of coercion; and in spite of Lord Hartington's high authority upon the subject of his own conduct, it is impossible to admit that he is the modern advocate of those principles. But

Burke is no less emphatic upon the subject of Home Rule. He lays down in clear and unmistakable terms the relations which he deems should exist between the imperial and local parliaments. He said: "I look on the imperial rights of Great Britain, and the privileges which the Colonists ought to enjoy under these rights, to be *just the most reconcilable things in the world*. The parliament of Great Britain sits at the head of her extensive empire in two capacities; one as the *local legislature of this island*, immediately, and by no other instrument than the executive power. The other, and I think her nobler capacity, is what I call her *imperial character*, in which, as from the throne of heaven, she superintends all the inferior legislatures, and guides and controls them all *without annihilating any*. As all these provincial legislatures are only co-ordinate to each other, they ought all to be subordinate to her; else they can neither preserve mutual peace nor hope for mutual justice, nor effectually afford mutual assistance. . . . Such, sir, is my idea of the constitution of the *British Empire*, as distinguished from the constitution of *Britain*; and on these grounds I think that *subordination and liberty* may be sufficiently reconciled through the whole."

These were Burke's opinions upon the proper relations between the imperial and subordinate parliaments. Fortunately for the purpose in hand, he illustrated his meaning by the case of Ireland. Although the historical statements that he makes with regard to Ireland in the following passage are open to doubt, if not to dispute, this in no wise affects the principles which he is endeavouring to apply. "We have all the reason in the world," said he, "to be assured that a form of parliament such as England enjoyed she instantly communicated to Ireland, and we are equally sure that almost every successive improvement in constitutional liberty, as fast as it was made, was transmitted thither. . . . This has made Ireland the great and flourishing kingdom that it is, and from a disgrace and an intolerable burden to this kingdom, has rendered her a principal part of our strength and ornament." And again, in a very remarkable passage, which our friends the Unionists would do well to lay to heart, he said:—"Truly, Mr. Speaker, I do not know what this *unity* means, nor has it ever been heard of, that I know, in the constitutional policy of this country. The very idea of subordination of parts excludes the notion of simple and undivided unity. England is the head, but not the head and members too. Ireland has ever had, from the beginning, a separate, but not an independent legislature, which, far from distracting, promoted the union of the whole. Everything was sweetly and harmoniously disposed through both islands for the conservation of English

dominion, and the communication of English liberties. I do not see why the same principles might not be carried into twenty islands, and with the same good effect. . . . *I know no other unity of this Empire.*"

In accordance with these principles, which Burke considered to operate so well in practice when applied to Ireland, he, on November 16th, 1775, brought in a Conciliation Bill, which proposed to repeal the obnoxious taxes, and all the Coercion Acts; to grant indemnity to persons who had been guilty of offences under the Coercion laws, and to create the Assembly into a general Home Rule Parliament for all the American Colonies. The Bill was rejected by 210 to 105.

In the face of these facts, what becomes of Lord Hartington's claim to be the upholder of Whig principles? Is he not rather their proved and determined foe? Has he even reflected, as Burke besought the House of Commons to reflect, "how you ought to govern a people who think that they ought to be free, and think that they are not"? Is he not to be found amongst those, the antagonists of the Whigs, who "never had any kind of system, right or wrong; but only invented some miserable tale for the day, in order meanly to sneak out of a difficulty into which they had proudly strutted"?

THE EASTERN COUNTIES' VAN.

THE van commenced its six weeks' tour in Essex with a meeting on the village green at Belchamp St. Paul, which was successfully held in spite of unpleasant atmospheric conditions, and the absence of local support. The following night, September 25th, the Schoolroom at Wickham St. Paul was well filled with an appreciative audience, who unanimously passed a Home Rule resolution as well as a vote of thanks to the Conservative vicar, Rev. J. Deeds. His ready courtesy in granting the free use of the room deserves more than formal acknowledgment. During the remainder of the week our meetings suffered materially from the fine harvest weather prevailing, the best being that held at Finchfield, on Thursday. The literature, however, was everywhere freely distributed, and we had reason to think that a good effect was produced. Everywhere we found the sympathies of the working class in the right quarter, whilst here as in the neighbouring districts of Suffolk, the centre of hostility was amongst the farmers, from some of whom the driver met with anything but a cordial reception. One frankly assured him that he "ought to be shot," while another (a magistrate, by-the-by) recommended the sound old argument of "tar and feathers," and the nearest duckpond.

In some quarters, curious speculations arose upon the rumoured approach of the van, which it is to be hoped a nearer acquaintance sufficed to dispel. In one instance we were set down as emissaries of the Government, sent round to spy out the land with an object which was not very clear to the rustic mind, but was taken as certain to end finally in an increase of rates.

On Monday, October 1st, we entered the Maldon division and had a decidedly better week, holding good meetings at Halstead, Coggeshall, and Kelvedon, and concluding with a small gathering in a country barn at Stisted, which perhaps served our object—the manufacture of Home Rule votes—as efficiently as some more pretentious demonstrations. The experience of the week strongly confirmed the local opinion that the Maldon division is decidedly Liberal, and needs only a tolerably good candidate to ensure a decisive victory at the next election.

On Monday, the 8th, at Bocking; Tuesday, the 9th, at Felstead; Wednesday, the 10th, at Hatfield-Peverel, excellent meetings were held, all of them addressed by Mr. Fitzgerald, who reports that the quality and the quantity of the Liberalism of the neighbourhood is excellent. On Thursday a good meeting, addressed by Mr. Laurence Biale, was held at Tiptree Heath, and the tour in the Maldon division was brought to a close on Saturday, the 13th, by a splendid meeting held in the Board School at Heybridge, at which Mr. Sadd, the ex-Mayor of Maldon, presided, and which was addressed by Mr. Hanmer. On Monday, October 15th, the van entered the South-east division of Essex, and a good meeting was held on the village green at Woodham Walter, also addressed by Mr. Hanmer. On Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, most encouraging meetings were held at Purleigh, Steeple, and Bradwell, all of them addressed with great effect by Mr. Sydney Morris. On Friday, Mr. Hanmer again took up the running with the van at Latchingdon, where a capital meeting was held by the road-side; and on Saturday, October 20th, the van visited the village of Rawreth. A meeting was held on some waste land adjoining the road leading to the parish church. There was a good attendance of agricultural labourers, some of whom had walked between six and seven miles in order to be present. Mr. W. F. Scott presided. Mr. R. Hanmer addressed the meeting on the subject of Ireland's wrongs and her demand for Home Rule. Immediately Mr. Hanmer ascended the platform, he was interrupted by the violent ringing of a bell close by. It was then discovered that an official of one of the local habitations of the Primrose League was the delinquent, and he expressed his determination not to allow the meeting to proceed. He was accompanied by a lady and the rector of the parish. The speaker

invited the primrose bell-ringer to address the meeting, and promised him a fair hearing; but this was not accepted. Mr. Hanmer then told his audience that he was determined to hold the meeting and to give them the information which the local Tories seemed so desirous to prevent them from hearing, and, as reason had failed, perhaps a little physical force would be more successful. This threat silenced the "muffin man," but the rector despatched his groom post-haste for a police constable. The meeting continued for an hour and a half and was brought to a close with the unanimous passing of a resolution pledging the electors to vote at the next election for Mr. Brookes, the Gladstonian candidate for the division.

WHAT CAN WE DO?

BY MRS. HAWKINS (BEDFORD).

WE must all feel that it is useless for our hearts to burn with indignation and shame at the thought of Ireland's sorrows, and of her bitter wrongs, if we stand by with folded hands and are unwilling to show our sympathy in some practical way.

No doubt there are many ladies who would be glad to know of some quiet unobtrusive work in which they could engage without attaching themselves to any society, or calling themselves by any particular name; and for these, the sketch of a plan for the distribution of Liberal literature (already working successfully) may perhaps be useful.

An alphabetical list is made of the streets where the distribution is thought to be most desirable, space being left on the same line for the name of the distributor.

The average number of houses in each district is thirty-six. Thirty-seven tracts are stitched into brown paper covers, the number written in the corner, and the following words printed in the centre:—"This pamphlet will be called for in a fortnight, and another left in its place."

The tracts are left at the houses in rotation, one being kept for commencing the change at the next fortnightly visit. A bundle of leaflets is supplied for promiscuous distribution, and also a memorandum book for the entry of removals, &c.

For fifty districts fifty copies each of the thirty-seven pamphlets are required; and if some single leaflets are used, it is better to stitch a couple of them into the covers.

Suitable pamphlets on the Home Rule question can be obtained from the office of the Home Rule Union, and from the National Press Agency, 13, Whitefriars Street.

The people are more likely to value a neatly-

covered tract, and during the fortnight several, probably, will take it up to read.

Distributors are not difficult to find amongst ladies or gentlemen, working men or working women; and when the work is once started it can go on for a year without a fresh supply of literature, as it takes rather over that time for the fortnightly distribution to bring the tract left at the first house down to the last.

Any lady who knows the working of a religious tract society will readily understand the plan. True knowledge comes from receiving right information; and if the English people can only be led to see the injustice of our conduct towards Ireland, it will not be long before we shall have a better state of things.

Union, true and lasting; loyalty, heartfelt and genuine, are what we most earnestly desire to promote. We know that coercion with all its degradations and humiliations never did, and never will succeed. Let us try what justice, fairplay, and equal rights and laws can do.

"God bless our sister-land,
On whom oppression's hand
Still rests to-day:
We see our fault at last,
O God! forgive the past,
And help us now to cast
The shame away."

NOTES FROM IRELAND.

IN the following notes are recorded some impressions of an English visitor to Ireland, whose careful and impressive account of the tenants' position on the Vandeleur estate some of our readers only have seen. It appeared in the *Bradford Observer*, and has since been reprinted:—

An Irish Land-Court—We spent an afternoon in a Land-Court during our visit to the South coast of Ireland in September. No decisions were given while we were present, but inquiries were made of the tenants as to their claims for reductions. The manner of these inquiries left scant room for hope that the decisions would be in any real sense "judicial." Three Commissioners sat upon the bench arrayed in all the majesty of law. The court was infested with policemen, one of whom regulated the rapid succession of poor homely tenants who were subjected to an impudent, sometimes a contemptuous, cross-examination by the Commissioners. Two solicitors were present, one for the landlord and one for the tenants, and I distinctly assert that the latter had not a fair, adequate chance of stating their cases. They were treated like criminals. It was obvious

at every point that the Commissioners belonged to the landlord-class, and though I am willing to concede that their intentions were fair, I maintain that fairness was impossible in such a tribunal. In no case would they consider improvements made before the lease was granted, and as some of the leases were quite recent the valuation had frequently been made at the top of the market. The pressure on the tenants must be indeed enormous to induce them to go into such a court at all.

Lease-holders in Irish Towns.—Attention is concentrated so strongly on the woes of the agricultural lease-holders that the baneful operation of united leases on the growth and mercantile development of towns is apt to be overlooked. Here is a case where a town is being slowly strangled by a landlord. New Ross has natural advantages which few towns can boast. It is situated in one of the most fertile, well-farmed districts in Ireland, and stands with striking picturesqueness on a hill overlooking a broad, noble river, capable of bearing ships of large tonnage up to its wharves, which flows without bar or break into Waterford Harbour. But, unluckily for New Ross, Colonel Tottenham owns the soil upon which it is built, and he only grants thirty-one years' building-leases to the people who dwell on it. The natural consequence is that none but the most necessary repairs are made, and no new buildings of any importance are reared. The place has a decayed, melancholy look, and the people are poverty-stricken, listless, and apathetic. Not long ago an Englishman opened negotiations with Colonel Tottenham in regard to the building of a leather factory, for which the town is admirably suited. He was generously offered a sixty-one years' lease, on payment of a heavy fine for the extra grace of thirty years. "Friend," said he, "my buildings would not be finished by that time and would not be ready to hand over to you." We may marvel at such a suicidal, short-sighted policy, but we may also fairly apply to Colonel Tottenham the verdict on Captain Vandeleur, made by Mr. W. O'Brien, M.P., at Tullyerine, when he was rebutting Colonel Turner's charges against the priests of Kilrush:—"The receiver of stolen goods in such a case is the absentee landlord. . . . Nature has not provided him with as much brains as malice." Wherever one goes, throughout the length and breadth of Ireland, one is reminded of the truth of the old saying,—"A seven-years'lease will turn a garden into a desert; a seven-years' ownership will turn a desert into a garden."

They can't live in their own land.—While in Ireland recently, I visited the Convent

Schools in Kilrush. A class of about a hundred bright, intelligent girls of sixteen years of age, or thereabouts, went through their exercises. Speculating on the future career of these lasses, I asked the Reverend Mother, what for the most part they would do when they left school. The answer, given in the most matter-of-fact way, was to me like the stab of a knife. She said, "the majority of them will emigrate." A few days later, at Listowel, in county Kerry, I wandered one morning into a large school-house, the door of which stood open. The head-master was most civil in answering my inquiries. Anxious to check my Kilrush experience, and hopeful that it might be proved exceptional, I asked him before leaving what would become of his boys when they grew up, but gave him no hint of what I had learnt at the Convent. He said, "fully three-fourths of them will go to America." I passed out with a heavy heart. I had got the strongest proof of bad government, and oppressive laws in Ireland. The first right of honest, industrious men and women is to live in their own land, and the first duty of government is to make it possible for them to live. "To the owners of rent," said John Stuart Mill, "it may be very convenient, that the bulk of the inhabitants, despairing of justice in the country where they and their ancestors have lived and suffered, should seek on another continent that property in land which is denied them at home. But the legislature of the empire ought to regard with other eyes the forced expatriation of millions of people. When the inhabitants of a country quit the country *en masse*, because the Government will not make it a place for them to live in, the Government is judged and condemned." Our Irish policy still remains substantially the same as it was when Mill wrote these true words. We are still governing Ireland, not in the interests of the people of Ireland, but of "the owners of rent."

HOME RULE UNION.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.—A meeting of the Executive Committee was held at Palace-Chambers, on Tuesday, October 2nd, when there were present Mr. E. H. Pickersgill, M.P., (in the chair), Mr. J. A. Picton, M.P., Dr. Bernard O'Connor, Messrs. Hugh Boyd, T. Eccleston Gibb, Thomas Lough, W. S. Robson, and the Secretary. The report of the Vacation Committee was read by the Secretary, and their proceedings were approved by the Executive. It was agreed that the original van should remain in the Eastern Counties, and that a new van should be purchased at a cost of £65. It was decided that Cartoons should be prepared to be exhibited on the sides of the new van.

MR. BALFOUR AND LORD SPENCER—A CONTRAST.

Mr. Balfour at Glasgow, October 1st, 1888.

"I WILL go back to Mr. Gladstone's administration, and though I could quote example after example I will give only two. . . . The second is a case of a gentleman, a high official of the Land League, now an M.P. and devoted follower of Mr. Gladstone, namely Mr. Harrington. Towards the end of 1882 Mr. Harrington made a speech, and I will read the extract for which he was condemned by these upholders of free speech. He said: 'I would ask the tenant farmers to come forward generously and give the labourers a fair day's work for a fair day's wage. If not the agitation that has been carried on in their behalf will be turned against them.' For making this speech Mr. Harrington was condemned to two months' imprisonment. (I have no doubt the magistrate who sent him to prison was perfectly right.) During these two months he had to do everything, and more than everything the so-called political prisoners *last year* (*sic*) had to do: plank bed, prison fare, the exercise, and the whole business had to be got through by him, and this was done under Mr. Gladstone's government by Lord Spencer and Mr. Trevelyan. Perhaps they will say that this case escaped the attention of Parliament. They would say it if they could! But luckily they cannot, for Mr. Parnell in the House made a speech of which Mr. Gladstone might be proud, in which he said that a political prisoner should be treated differently from other prisoners, and dilated on what he called the degrading incidents of prison discipline, and asked if it was not monstrous that a man like Mr. Harrington should be subjected to it. Very well; who do you think replied to him? Sir W. Harcourt! who altogether declined to make any concession to Mr. Parnell. . . . Now, many morals might be drawn from the incident: but I confess that what strikes me more than anything else, is the astounding impudence of the whole transaction. That this man (Mr. Gladstone) should come and address an English audience, and talk about Bomba, and his experiences in eighteen-fifty-something, after he had himself been doing precisely and exactly the same thing, if possibly in a more aggravated form, only five years ago, really beggars all the humble efforts of description which I have at my command. It is an electioneering device." &c., &c.—*Times, October 2nd.*

Lord Spencer at Glasgow, October 26th, 1888.

"I DISLIKE especially referring to these *tu quoque* arguments. Firstly, I do not think the condition of affairs in Ireland is the same now as from 1882 to 1885. Next, I do not admit that our administration was exactly the same as the present administration. But further, even if we have done exactly what the Tories are doing now, we have found out our mistake. . . . There were not many cases during my Viceroyalty of prosecutions for speeches; and I will say this, that, perhaps with one exception, they were connected with violent crime or a fear of crime. Among them was the case of Mr. T. Harrington, who is now in Parliament. Well, now, I must candidly admit, that long before I left Ireland I came to the conclusion that the conviction of Mr. Harrington (which probably was perfectly right according to law) did more harm than good. Mr. Harrington however was sent to prison, and so were other men who had made speeches; and at prison we allowed the ordinary law to take its course. My special attention had not been called to these cases; but when Mr. Harrington was in prison he complained of the treatment to which he had been subjected; and the attention of Government was called to it by Mr. Parnell in the House. I may be blamed for not having dealt with it before, but the moment my serious attention was called to it I ascertained from Sir W. Harcourt what he had done in the case of Mr. Davitt at Portland, and of certain other men who were in English prisons; and I immediately gave orders that the same relaxation of rules should be extended to men of the same kind in Ireland. I directed that Mr. Harrington should be removed from Mullingar to Galway, which was a more comfortable prison. He was removed to Galway in his own clothes. In Galway he made no objection to prison clothes, and he wore them. He was not then put with criminals. He took exercise alone, and mark this, for it is important, he had good diet and good food, though not ill or in the infirmary. He had a good bed and mattress. He was allowed books and writing materials.

"I find, moreover, that in regard to other men who were convicted in consequence of speeches and writings, the same relaxation was extended to them. I think Mr. Balfour has been misled in this matter. Mr. Harrington and those other men were treated very differently from Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Mandeville, and Mr. Hooper."—*Scottish Leader, October 27.*

MR. O'KELLY'S CASE.

THE reputation of the resident magistrates has received another bad blow. Mr. Chamberlain challenged any one to produce a case where the Crimes Act had resulted in injustice—Mr. O'Kelly's case is a very clear one, though it is by no means the first.

Mr. O'Kelly, M.P. for Roscommon, was sentenced by Messrs. Henn and Smith to four months' imprisonment for have taken part in an unlawful assembly. The ground of the charge was a speech delivered to his constituents, in which he denounced the Star Chamber inquiries as unconstitutional, and advised his hearers to have nothing to do with them. Mr. O'Kelly appealed, and on the hearing of the appeal, on October 27, the sentence was reduced from four months to two months, Mr. O'Kelly being ordered to be treated as a first-class misdemeanant. The county court judge who thus revised the sentence was Mr. O'Connor Morris, who, on more than one occasion, has done his best to secure a fair administration of the Crimes Act.

Not only did he reduce the sentence, but it is evident that if he had not felt himself bound by the authority of the Court of Exchequer he would have let Mr. O'Kelly go free. He was compelled to hold, however, that a conspiracy had been proved, and that the meeting being connected therewith was an unlawful assembly. But the most important part of his judgment was as follows :—

"On that occasion (when he addressed his constituents) Mr. O'Kelly pronounced the speech in question, which he, a manly gentleman, which he was sure he was, openly justified in the court. Now he was one of those who would give the greatest latitude, from a constitutional point of view to the speech made by Mr. O'Kelly to his constituents. As representative of this large and populous district the greatest latitude was to be given to his expressions of opinion on that occasion; but, on the other hand, there was very little in that speech that really could be condemned. He had read speeches in England that denounced that Act of Parliament and denounced those courts, and so far he agreed with Mr. O'Kelly that if a law of this kind were enforced in England the English people would look at it with the greatest possible suspicion."

Reading this, we ask ourselves the question whether most of those in prison for offences under the Crimes Act would not now be free if the Act had been administered in the spirit of that passage.

THE RECORD OF COERCION.

LAST month we had occasion to notice the smallness of the number of convictions in the September issue. Apparently, this was an accident, for the October number more than doubles it. The average for September was only $6\frac{1}{2}$ per week, while the average for the four weeks ending October 23rd is $16\frac{1}{4}$. The worst feature in both months is the same for both. In September, twelve men from Coolroe were sentenced to imprisonment for periods varying from ten to three months because they resisted evictions from their homes. In October, thirty men of Woodford have been sent to prison for periods varying from *twelve months to one month*, they having committed the same offence of "obstructing the sheriff in the discharge of his duty" on the well-known and infamous Clanricarde estate. That these men, and men like them, are saving whole countrysides from eviction we cannot doubt, and the rewards they reap are a happy conscience and a prison cell.

The record for each week is as follows :—

Week ending—	Adjourned.	Withdrawn or dismissed.
Oct. 2 ... 44	0	9
Oct. 9 ... 19	6	1
Oct. 16 ... 36	25	0
Oct. 23 ... 9	1	0
<hr/>		
	108	42

Seven appeals were heard in the four weeks, of which five were confirmed and two reduced.

As regards the nature of the cases, our analysis is as follows :—

Class	I.—Agrarian cases	Adjourned.	Withdrawn or dismissed.
"	II.—Public meeting cases, &c. ... 22	17	0
"	IV.—Boycotting and Intimidation 37	7	7
"	VI.—Star Chamber cases 2	0	0
"	VII.—Miscellaneous, one for having arms on debarkation from A m e r i c a n steamer and another for aiding and abetting ... 2	0	2
<hr/>			
	108	32	10

Some of the cases of intimidation appear to be curious. One man has three months' imprison-

ment, mainly, as it seems, for calling a policeman, who was on duty in Mitchelstown on September 9th, 1887, "a Mitchelstown murderer." Another, whose sentence was confirmed on appeal, had his offence particularised as requesting a member of the National League who had infringed the rules to attend a meeting of the branch. Mr. J. E. Redmond, M.P., the best known of the October criminals, was also an "intimidator."

All the twenty-two cases that come under the second heading are of one kind. On October 12th, at Kilkee, seventeen persons were accused of creating a disturbance by rejoicing over the release of Mr. John Dillon, M.P. These cases were adjourned, and the result still remains to be seen; but at Knock, on October 23rd, five men were charged with unlawful assembly for the same offence of rejoicing over the release of coercion prisoners, and one of these was condemned to four, while the others were condemned to three months' imprisonment.

Meanwhile, Irish patriots may well be proud of a country that in such a time of stress and difficulty can yet be so free—probably the freest in the world—from real crime.

DIARY OF THE MOVEMENT.

October 1.—Speech of Mr. A. J. Balfour, at Glasgow, largely made up of jokes at the expense of the late John Mandeville. The Dissident Liberals also present Balfour with an address.—Sir Charles Russell speaks at Lowestoft.—Mr. J. E. Redmond taken to Tullamore Gaol.—Convention of National League branches at Carrick-on-Suir; at the same time a new bridge opened at Carrick called the "John Dillon Bridge."—Twenty-five police assist three emergency men with crowbars to break open the house of a widow.

October 2.—Dr. Tully and thirty-one other tenants on Clanricarde estate prosecuted for resisting bailiffs and obstructing the police. Tully and two others sentenced to six months' imprisonment, and the others to terms varying from one to four months.—Patrick O'Brien, M.P., released from Kilkenny gaol after seven months' imprisonment, and met outside by an enthusiastic concourse.

October 3.—Lord Hartington addresses a Dissident Liberal audience at Inverness, pledging himself to support the Tory Government, and to keep out of power the party which was pledged to the principles of the Gladstone bill of 1886. All other political questions must be subordinated to that.—Mr. Brown, of Kilmihil, succumbs to the Plan of Campaign.

October 4.—Freedom of city of Dublin conferred on Cardinal Moran, of Australia.—The Plan of

Campaign adopted on the O'Hara property near Mitchelstown.

October 5.—Mr. J. Albert Bright (son of Mr. John Bright) addresses, along with the Solicitor-General, a "Primrose League Habitation" at Rochdale, approving the Irish policy of the Government.

October 7.—A demonstration at Tipperary attended by 10,000 persons; a letter read from Mr. Dillon.—Action of Lord Lansdowne and Townshend Trench denounced at a large Nationalist meeting at Athy.—Monument in memory of John Kinsella, murdered by emergency men, unveiled at Kilninor churchyard.

October 8.—Mr. John Morley addresses a great meeting at Newtown, Montgomeryshire, at which resolutions supporting the Irish national cause are passed.

October 9.—At Blaenau, Wales, Mr. William O'Brien replies to Mr. Balfour, denouncing strongly his cruelty and indecent levity in joking about Mandeville's death.—Lord Rosebery speaks at Leeds, and Sir George Trevelyan at Hull; resolutions pledging the meetings to Home Rule policy in both cases.

October 10.—At a large demonstration at Oldham, Sir William Harcourt administers severe chastisement to the coercionists, particularly Mr. Chamberlain.—Two "criminals" released from Cork gaol, where they had been imprisoned two months for attending a meeting of a suppressed branch of the National League.

October 11.—At Nottingham, a great meeting held in connection with the Congregational Union passes a resolution, with only six dissentients, protesting against the Balfourian policy in Ireland as a crime against righteousness.

October 12.—James Dunne, aged 80, evicted on Captain Singleton's estate, put on the roadside amid his broken furniture, was removed to a barn, and died soon after.—Further evictions on the Massereene estate.

October 13.—Letter in the *Daily News* from Mr. H. J. Wilson, showing that the statements made by Mr. Balfour in the House of Commons respecting the Mitchelstown massacre were absolutely false.—Lord Londonderry, at Belfast, claims that his administration will secure lasting peace and prosperity to Ireland.

October 16.—Mr. Balfour entertained by Dissident Liberals at Haddington. He entertains them by talking about himself.—Numbers of poor people evicted on the estate of the "Rev." Jasper Smyth, Rosscarbery, co. Cork, their furniture thrown out, and men, women, and children left on the roadside.—The case of the Vandeleur tenants, charged with obstructing the sheriff, adjourned, in spite of the vigorous opposition of the Crown prosecutor.—Father McFadden

released from Derry gaol, and received by the people with the wildest enthusiasm.—Two children, son and daughter of John Griffin, aged respectively sixteen and fourteen, sentenced to fourteen days' imprisonment for forcibly taking possession.—The West Birmingham Liberals call on the executive of their association to select a Liberal candidate in opposition to Chamberlain.

October 17.—Sir M. Hicks-Beach defends coercion at Plymouth.—Evidence given at the inquest of James Dunne, evicted at the age of eighty, showing that his death was due to exposure.—Prisoners released at Miltown Malbay and Limerick, where they had been imprisoned for refusing to supply the police and a boycotted landowner.—More than 1,000 voters disfranchised in West Donegal for non-payment of rates.

October 18.—Lord Hartington assails the Liberal leaders before the orangemen at Belfast.—Mr. Labouchere and William O'Brien address a great Home Rule meeting at Bradford.—Mr. Balfour sneers at the "literary refinement" of Mr. Gladstone's allies at Manchester.

October 19.—Mr. John Morley speaks on the Irish question at Dumfries.—Lord Hartington, at Belfast, told the Orangemen that "he would be the last to deny that either Mr. Gladstone or Mr. Parnell possessed vast powers of mischief."—Mr. Mark Oldroyd adopted as Home Rule candidate for Dewsbury, in place of Sir J. Simon, resigned.—Daniel Goulding, ex-warder at Tullamore, brought before the Mitchelstown Magistrates on a charge of perjury, arising out of the Mandeville inquiry, and sent for trial to the Cork Assizes.—Father McFadden addresses 3,000 people at Letterkenny.

October 20.—Lord Granville speaks on Irish affairs at Liverpool, and Mr. Shaw-Lefevre at Llangollen.—Count Moore announces that he will "put Mooresfoot in desolation" by evicting his tenants.

October 22.—Opening of the Parnell Commission before Judges Hannen, Day, and Smith. Long speech of the Attorney-General on behalf of the *Times*. Mr. Parnell applauded by the crowd outside.—Mr. John Morley speaks at Perth on the Irish question.

October 23.—Letter in the *Daily News* from Mr. William O'Brien respecting Mr. Balfour's misstatements.—The Parnell Commission. The Attorney-General continues his speech, consisting of a stale rehash of incidents narrated a thousand times before.

October 24.—The Parnell Commission: the Attorney-General still speaking. Mr Michael Davitt informed that he has a *locus standi* in the court.

October 25.—The Parnell Commission: the stream of the Attorney-General's talk still flows on.

National League convention at Thurles; speech of Mr. Dillon.—Preliminary meeting in London to start a branch of the Parnell Defence Fund.

October 26.—Parnell Commission: the Attorney-General at length finishes.—Mr. Pritchard Morgan, independent Home Ruler, elected at Merthyr over Mr. Griffiths, the "caucus" candidate. No Anti-Home Ruler took the field.—Protestant Home Rule meeting in Dublin.—Lord Spencer speaks at Glasgow, and Sir Henry James addresses the Tories of York.

October 27.—County Court Judge O'Connor Morris reduces sentence on Mr. O'Kelly, M.P., from four to two months' imprisonment, and orders him to be treated as a first-class misdemeanant.—Mr. Sheehan, M.P., arrested; the meeting at which he was to address his constituents dispersed by the police.

October 29.—Protestant Diocesan Synod of Dublin dismiss Prof. Galbraith from office of secretary, because he is a Home Ruler.

October 30.—Parnell Commission: Examination of witnesses begins. The *Times* gets copies of speeches from the Irish Office.

October 31.—Parnell Commission: Examination of Capt. O'Shea.

THE FAILURE OF COERCION.

THE following extracts are from one of the interesting series of articles which Mr. Clancy has contributed to the *Freeman's Journal*, under the title "A Year of Unionist Coercion," and to which we called attention in a previous number. He deals with the failure of coercion by applying six tests:—(1) Has the National League been suppressed? (2) Has Mr. Balfour put an end to the Plan of Campaign? (3) Is there increased respect for the law in Ireland? (4) Is there any support for the "intimidation" theory of the Coercionists? (5) What has been the effect of Mr. Balfour's prosecutions on his victims, and on the public feeling in their regard? (6) Has Mr. Balfour made converts to "Unionism"? In each case the answer is absolute failure. We give the greater part of Mr. Clancy's answers to the first two questions:

"1. Has the National League been suppressed? According to the Coercionist theory, the moment it was proclaimed 'a dangerous association,' from the tyranny of which most of its members were only too anxious to have a decent opportunity of escaping, it ought to have passed out of existence. But, instead of the National League ceasing to exist by the desertion of its members, it has grown stronger in every part of Ireland in which it had been established before its procla-

mation, and new and flourishing branches of the organisation have been founded in districts in which it had not before existed at all. One excellent test of the vitality of any organisation is the amount of money contributed to its funds. How does the League stand this test? At the first meeting of the Central Branch of the League in February last—that is, six months after the Coercion Act had been in full operation—the chairman for the day, Dr. J. E. Kenny, M.P., was able to give the following figures regarding the receipts for the previous fortnight, and for the corresponding period in each of the three preceding years—

"	"	"	1885, £242
"	"	"	1886, 385
"	"	"	1887, 480
"	"	"	1888, 520

"In other words, under the fostering stimulus of the Coercion régime, the receipts of the Central Branch—from Ireland alone, of course—were in the first half of February, 1888, actually double what they were in the first half of 1885, when there was no talk whatever of declaring the League an illegal association or of suppressing it as such in any part of Ireland; and if a similar comparison, with similar results, cannot be made for every fortnightly period of the first twelve months of the 'Unionist' Coercion régime, the reason is generally to be sought in the fact that the branches of the League have been subscribing at those exceptional periods to other funds for national or local purposes of a patriotic character. But what about the 'suppressed' branches of the 'dangerous' association? Surely these at least have disappeared? The very reverse is the fact. They have been and are the liveliest and most thriving of all the branches. Every one of them has increased in numbers and influence since Mr. Balfour made it a crime to belong to them. The truth is that 'suppressing' the League has shown the absolute impotence of the Castle more clearly than anything else it has done. Every week the work subjects it to an amount of ridicule which would be enough to kill the Government, if only the British people were informed of the facts. It might, indeed, have been easily anticipated that 'suppressing' a branch would only make it more popular. It is a point of honour to belong to a 'suppressed' branch, while there is no similar obligation in regard to a branch which is not 'suppressed,' and which is on that very account regarded as having hardly done its duty. Of course, Mr. Balfour has not admitted his failure to put down the League in the 'suppressed' districts. On the contrary, he declared in April last that in those districts the League had become 'a thing of the past,' and that the reports in the newspapers of meetings of 'suppressed' branches were pure inventions. This declaration, it may be

observed in the first place, does not harmonise with other statements on the subject which have come from the Coercionist camp. A few days after Mr. Balfour had made his famous boast in the House of Commons, Mr. Townsend Trench, the agent of Lord Lansdowne, warned a convention of landlords in Dublin that 'anyone who imagined the League to be dead had a very curious idea of what was going on' in Ireland; fully two months afterwards Mr. Goschen, Mr. Balfour's own colleague, spoke—somewhat tautologically—of 'the ubiquitous power of the League in every quarter of Ireland;' and later still—in August last—one of Mr. Balfour's 'Removables,' Mr. Townsend, in an affidavit in a libel action, made *on oath* the following remarkable statement regarding the League in one of the 'suppressed' counties :—

"The National League has branches all over the county Galway, and has enormous influence in the county. Practically all the farmers in the county are members of the National League; and as the qualification for special jurors in the county of Galway is £100, it would be simply impossible to obtain a jury without having members of the League or their sympathisers on it."

"2. Has Mr. Balfour put down the Plan of Campaign? Even he himself will not venture to answer this question in the affirmative. The direct and indirect victories of the Plan of Campaign have during the last twelve months been both numerous and signal. Amongst the more notable instances of surrender to the Plan, or a mere threat of the Plan, are those of Captain Hill, Mr. Valentine Ryan, and the Rev. John Hamilton, in Donegal; the Marquis of Ely and Mr. Bush, in Wexford; Lord Dillon, in Mayo; Sir Henry Burke, Lord Dun-sandle, and Mr. John Fallon, in Galway; Colonel O'Callaghan, in Clare; the Hayes Minors and Major Plummer, in Limerick; the Countess of Kingston and Mr. Gollock, in Cork; Lord de Freyne, in Roscommon; Mr. Langley, in Waterford; Mr. Lalor, in Tipperary; Mr. Greville Nugent, in Westmeath; and Mr. Joy, in Antrim. It might have been supposed that the conviction and imprisonment of Mr. John Dillon for having preached the Plan of Campaign, and the ruthless evictions on the Vandeleur and other estates which followed, would have rolled back the tide of tenant victory; but the very reverse of this was the case. No less than ten victorious settlements were effected during the three months of Mr. Dillon's imprisonment, and four of the ten took place while the Vandeleur evictions were in full swing. Some of the triumphs have been very striking. Thus, on the Bodyke property of Colonel O'Callaghan an offer by fifty-seven tenants of £907 for one and a half year's rent was at first refused by the landlord,

and then, having tried eviction, and seen what Mr. Balfour could do, or was likely to be able to do for him, Colonel O'Callaghan accepted £1,000 from seventy-two tenants in respect to two years' rent ! Again, Sir Henry Burke, after having held out for months, after having evicted five families, and after having seen one man at least sent to jail for advice given to his tenants, agreed to give a reduction of twenty-five per cent.—ten per cent. more than he had at first offered ; to pay all the law costs incurred in the course of the struggle ; to restore the evicted tenants to their homes ; and to pay the cost of their maintenance during their enforced absence from their holdings. Clearly, for landlords like Sir Henry Burke the Plan of Campaign must have had infinitely greater terror than the Coercion Act had for their tenants. As for the settlements brought about indirectly through the effects of the Plan of Campaign on the few estates on which that potent instrument for bringing unreasonable landlords to their senses has been in actual operation, 'their name is legion.'

AN IRISH EVICTION.

FEW more tragic incidents have taken place in the course of the landlords' campaign than that of the eviction and death of James Dunne, a tenant of Mr. H. S. Singleton, near Drogheda. Mr. Handel Cossham, M.P., who was present, thus describes the scene :—

"In the chimney corner sat the tenant who was to be evicted—an old man over eighty years of age—bent and tottering. A bit of peat was burning on the hearth, most of the smoke from which came into the room where I could dimly see several young men, whom I understood to be sons of the old man, and one or two women, whom I presume were daughters or daughters-in-law. I had never looked upon such a sight and such a home before. £130 was the amount demanded, and I could well believe the declarations of the old man and his sons that they were really ' destitute,' but they said there was about £65 worth of crops on the land, and they could and would sell all they had and pay not less than £65 by December 1, and more if the crops yielded more. But the agent explained that his orders were definite, and he could take no less than £130. So the evictions began. The emergency-men brought out the few bits of furniture, which certainly were not worth more than £2 or £3. 'I have lived here,' cried the old man, 'all my life. I have lived here under four generations of Singletons, and this is how I am served at last. I have always paid the rent in the past, when I could,' he passionately added, 'and they know it ;'

but they are going to turn me out to die.' The loud cry of the women, mingled with the wail of the old man, was more than I could stand, and I had to leave before the occupants were actually turned out."

Within a few hours after being evicted Dunne died. When he was being carried out of his home he cried, "If you remove me I have not a half hour to live." He was removed to what is described as "the only place of shelter in the neighbourhood—a cold, comfortless stable—" and died at eight o'clock in the evening.

It is a tragic incident. But to Irishmen, who know the history of their country, it has no novelty. They can recall many parallels to such a "sentence of death" as his landlord passed upon James Dunne. As we think on these things, does not our wonder grow how little crime there is in Ireland ?

ARCHBISHOP WALSH ON THE IRISH LAND QUESTION.

A VERY remarkable article from the pen of Dr. Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin, appears in the November number of the *Contemporary Review*. His exceptional claims to speak on the subject are well known. He has studied it with a minute care such as few, even among professional politicians, have exhibited ; and he has formed his opinions, and expressed them, without fear and without prejudice. His sympathies are with the tenants simply because he has looked with open eyes into their condition. Comparing the view which he takes of the duties of a spiritual leader with those of the dignitaries of the Protestant Church in Ireland, one cannot wonder at the loyalty of the Irish people to the Catholic Church. They are reminded every day that what was once the State Church has ever been, and is now, the Church of the landlords. Sympathy and assistance they seek from the priest, because they know they will not seek in vain.

We give a few extracts from Dr. Walsh's long article, which we trust may be reprinted. In any case we recommend everyone who has the opportunity to study it carefully.

His text is a quotation from a speech of Sir W. Harcourt in one of the debates of 1887 :—

"The present rent payable by law to the tenants of Ireland is not a fair rent. It is an unfair rent. Every eviction in Ireland is therefore *prima facie* an eviction for an unfair rent. . . .

"In my opinion, the first thing to do is not to coerce these poor people into the payment of impossible rents. Your first object ought not to be to make it easier for the landlords to exact

those rents; your first object ought to be to make those rents fair."

Are Irish rents fair? This, in substance, is the question which he seeks to answer. Dealing with the preliminary objection that the establishment of a tribunal with jurisdiction to fix rents is an unwarrantable interference with the landlord's right to "do as he likes with his own" he says:—

"The Legislature, in the establishment of the Irish Land Commission with jurisdiction to fix 'fair rents' of agricultural holdings, has simply recognised an existing fact, namely, that, as a rule, the property in an agricultural holding in Ireland is not by any means exclusively the property of the landlord, the tenant also having an ownership in it, inasmuch as there is a portion of that property—a portion, in many instances, by no means inconsiderable—which has been brought into existence solely by his toil and by the toil of his predecessors in title.

"This 'dual ownership' of Irish agricultural land is one of the fundamental facts of the Irish land question. It is impossible, in the discussion of the question, to find a common ground of argument between those who start from a recognition of this fact; and those who disregard it or are ignorant of it. Persons who have not some personal knowledge of the peculiarity of the relation of the landlord and tenant in Ireland in this respect usually take it for granted that no such peculiarity exists. Or, rather, they do not advert to this matter at all. They have before their minds, as they have frequently before their eyes, in England and elsewhere, a totally different system of land tenure, a system in which, as between landlord and tenant, the land is the exclusive property of the 'landlord,' the 'tenant' being merely the hirer of it. Assuming then, as they do, that the same is the case in Ireland, they not unnaturally form their judgments and their reasonings about the letting of an Irish farm, as they would judge and reason about the hiring of a piano or about the letting of a house."

The Land Act of 1881 was a necessary measure for the protection on the tenants' side of a property of enormous value. This object, however, it has not attained. This he shows by a careful comparison of the earlier with the later reductions. His summary of the case is as follows:—

"For the first few years of the working of the Land Act, the judicial standard of 'fair rent' was somewhat above the valuation. On a previous page (Table VIII.) I have shown that if the valuation be taken as the standard at 100, the aggregate 'fair rents' fixed in the cases decided by the Sub-Commissions in the four years 1881-5 stood, for each year respectively, at 111·8,

109·5, 109·1, and 107·2. Thus for the first period of the working of the Act there was maintained a standard of 'fair rent,' practically uniform, with, however, a slight but clearly manifested tendency to fall.

"In the year 1885-6, of which I have spoken as the year of transition, the notable change that then had begun to set in is made no less manifest by the application of this standard of comparison than by the test already applied, the rate of reduction from the former rents. The report for 1885-6 shows that the 'fair rents' fixed by the Sub-Commissions in that year stood very nearly at the level of the valuation.

"In 1886-7, the change which had begun to operate in the preceding year was unmistakably confirmed. The standard of the fair rents fell decidedly below the valuation, so that if the valuation be taken as the standard at 100, the 'fair rents' would stand at 85·2.

"The report of the Land Commission containing the corresponding figures for the year 1887-8 has not yet been issued. But an examination of the monthly returns, which now come down to June, 1888, shows that the general result of the operations of the Courts of the Land Commission and of the County Courts during the official year 1887-8 has been practically identical with that of the preceding year.

"The tenement valuation of the holdings so far dealt with this year amounts to £123,487. The aggregate amount of the 'fair rents' judicially fixed for those holdings amounts to £104,591. If, then, the valuation be taken, as the standard, at 100, the 'fair rents' stand this year at 84·7.

"From these figures it may be seen how few rents in Ireland, putting out of the question those that have been judicially reduced from 1885, can be considered as 'fair rents' according to the present standard of the courts. The rents, then, at present payable by law in Ireland being manifestly excessive, why should not a statutory remedy be applied? The remedy suggested by the official figures seems unquestionably an equitable one. The main principle of such a readjustment of rent would, of course, be to take as a starting point the tenement valuation of the holdings in a given district—a province, a county, or, where feasible, a barony or other smaller district. The ratio of the tenement valuation to the aggregate fair rents of the holdings already adjudicated upon throughout the district in question, since 1885, would give the data for indicating the *prima facie* fair rent of the other holdings in the district. The rent thus indicated should be judicially recognised as the fair rent, in each individual case, if neither landlord nor tenant objected to it, and succeeding in establishing, to the satisfaction of the court, the existence of some exceptional reason requiring the rent to be fixed, in the case or cases in question, at a

higher or at a lower figure than that at which it should stand throughout the district generally.

"It is manifest that the general effect of the enactment of such a provision would be a notable lowering of rents in almost every district in Ireland. Landlords, as a rule, would, no doubt, regard this as at least in one sense an inconvenience. But it must be remembered that the reduction suggested is one *strictly in accordance with the judicial decisions* of the courts established by law for the purpose of fixing rents throughout all Ireland. It is the boast of the landlord party that they are the main upholders of law in Ireland. It is not to be presumed, then, that they would offer a serious opposition to the enactment of a measure having for its object the *more effective application of the principle of judicial decision* for the determination of the irritating questions that have so long been at issue between them and their tenants.

"Besides, it is to be remembered that the adoption of a presumably fair standard of rent for the correction of the manifest unfairness of the rents at present payable by law in so many cases, would leave altogether untouched the present right of either landlord or tenant to have a fair rent fixed by the court in any individual case on its own merits. The great gain, however, effected by the adoption of the proposal here roughly indicated would undoubtedly be the substitution of a non-litigious for a litigious method of procedure, in all events the great majority of cases. For it might safely be anticipated that in nine cases out of ten both landlord and tenant would regard it as their interest to accept as substantially satisfactory, without appealing to the courts, the settlement *prima facie* effected by the operation of the general rule."

The article concludes with a comparison between the reductions made directly by the Sub-Commissioners and those agreed to between landlords and tenants, the agreements being lodged with the Land Commission. Having exhibited the results in tabular form, he adds:—

"I have quoted those figures merely as showing how far removed from the standard of 'fair rent' as fixed by the courts is that of those so-called 'agreements,' to which so many thousands of practically helpless tenants have been induced by the landlords or by their agents to submit. It surely cannot be suggested that the results of operations conducted under such exceedingly suspicious circumstances should be allowed to mar the equity of a statutory readjustment of rents on the basis of the judicial decisions.

"But having quoted the figures I feel bound, in conclusion, to suggest the question whether the Land Commission might not well be called upon to withhold its sanction from further proceedings for the fixing of rent by any process of 'agree-

ment' between landlord and tenant when the rents 'agreed to' are not at least *prima facie* fair towards the tenant in view of the results obtained by proceedings in open court."

THE IRISH IN ENGLAND.

The Dublin Evening Telegraph has recently commenced a series of articles on "Ireland in London." In one of these an account is given of the growth of the Irish in England and Wales. We extract an interesting passage. Everyone remembers how, during the election of 1886, the Unionists warned us that Home Rule would be followed by a flood of Irish labour into the English market. Let us look to see how the existing system operates:—

"From the beginning of the eighteenth century there has been a continual, yet thin, stream of Irish emigration into England, but previous to 1841 no official return of their numbers had been made. In that year, however, and in every succeeding decade, an official record has been taken of Irish-born in this country, and in the following table the results are shown, their proportion to the populations of England and of Ireland, and indicating also the approximate number of the Scotch. Only those born in Ireland are given as Irish in the returns—their children, if born in England, being considered as English natives.

"TABLE OF IRISH AND SCOTCH-BORN PERSONS IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

Year.	Numbers.	Proportion to population of England.	Proportion to population of Ireland.	Approximate No of Scotch.
1841	290,891	1 in 54	1 in 28	103,000
1851	519,959	1 in 34	1 in 13	130,000
1861	601,634	1 in 33	1 in 9	140,000
1871	566,540	1 in 40	1 in 8	169,000
1881	562,734	1 in 46	1 in 8	213,000

"In the last-named year (1881), of every 1,000 Scotchmen in England and Wales 195 were in London, while only 144 out of every 1,000 Irishmen were in the capital.

"The increase in the number of Irish-born people in England and Wales between 1841 and 1851 is an eloquent though sad indication of the ravages committed in Ireland during the famine years; but a few details will still more clearly show the terrible sufferings of our countrymen during that

fateful period. Thus, in one year alone (1848), no fewer than 296,231 Irish people landed at Liverpool. Nearly half of this enormous number proceeded direct to the United States; about 50,000 others had come to England on ordinary business, unconnected with the famine; while, saddest fact of all, over 100,000 men, women, and children, more than a third of the entire number, were absolute paupers, in a terrible condition, who were destined to drag out what was, in most cases, a miserable existence in the slums of the great English towns. A great many of them perished from want of food and the effects of fever, in spite of all efforts to save them; and in those efforts, ten Catholic priests, one Protestant clergyman, and many parochial officers and medical men paid the price of their devotion by death. During those years great numbers of Irish people came to England, via Newport, having been brought from Ireland in coal-vessels 'as return cargo,' the highest fare amounting to only 2s. 6d. Few were brought direct to London, most of those who reached that city having gradually made their way up from the country ports. In one year alone, 8,794 poor persons were admitted into one of the London Asylums for the Houseless Poor, and of that number 2,455 were Irish-born. The same asylum admitted within its doors during the fourteen years succeeding the famine 130,000 destitute people, and of these 34,000 were Irish. It is almost certain that most of these Irish emigrants were natives of Cork, for the relieving officer of Cardiff at the time stated, of his certain knowledge, that of every 100 who came to England via Newport, 99 were Corkmen. Meanwhile, those of our countrymen who could manage it proceeded to London in one continuous stream for some years, and, as the following table shows, formed a large proportion of the total population of that city: -

TABLE OF IRISH-BORN IN LONDON.

Yr.	Total No.	Prop. to Pop. of Lond.	Proportion to Pop. of Ireland.
1841	40,000*	1 in 41	5 in London to every 1000 in Ireland
1851	108,548	1 in 22	18 " " 1000 "
1861	106,879	1 in 26	18 " " 1000 "
1871	91,171	1 in 35	17 " " 1000 "
1881	80,778	1 in 47	16 " " 1000 "

* Approximately.

"The above figures do not include, of course, the children of Irish parents born in London. The number of Irish-born and their immediate descendants in London must at least amount to *a quarter of a million*, which would be about one in twenty of the present total population—nearly five millions."

"The several tables given above show a decrease of Irish-born persons in this country, a fact that can be easily explained. In the famine years, the people came over in enormous quantities, and the emigration would have to keep to its then level in order to show an increase. Irish men generally have largely increased in numbers, but as the tide of emigration gradually subsided, and the number of those who came over during the famine period was slowly diminished by death, the number of Irish-born consequently decreased."

LITERATURE.

An Irish Murder; or, Is it a System. By M. A. MANNING. (*Freeman's Journal, Limited.*)

MR. MANNING, the Secretary of the Waterford City Branch of the National League, was asked by an English correspondent to explain from the standpoint of an Irish Nationalist, the nature of agrarian crime in Ireland, and the position of the National League with respect to outrages. How is it that we find indications of public, or at least local, sympathy with the criminal? The inquirer had the Fitzmaurice case in his mind; and Mr. Manning takes that case as the text of the pamphlet in which he replies to the question. His explanation is clear, effective, and true. In one respect, indeed, we fear that he may be misunderstood, for a careless reader might well turn away from his pages with an exaggerated idea of the amount of sympathy which even agrarian crime excites in Ireland. Apart from this, there is no doubt that Mr. Manning puts the matter in the true light; and his explanation agrees with that of every serious student of the subject. Once let the law get out of touch with the sentiments of the people, and the people will take the law into their own hands. To judge, therefore, whether the state of crime in a country implies great moral degradation, or great social disorganisation, we must make ourselves acquainted with the atmosphere in which the people live. No doubt, for heedless minds this is a dangerous inquiry. But it is one which we cannot shrink from making, and the distinction which it involves is one which all of us are accustomed to draw. "We hear of Polish plots and Russian bombs," says Mr. Manning, "and the memory of the Carbonari is not yet laid; but the horror of a great continental Crime is lessened by the knowledge we have of the system against which the criminals rebel. Could we not apply a little of this tempered justice to the men who lie in the quicklime of Tralee gaol?" The whole subject is of profound interest and importance. Mr. Manning would do

good service if he would undertake a wider survey of Irish sympathy with crime, and present the result in a detailed examination of actual cases.

Nationality not Separation. By LIEUT.-GENERAL C. LIONEL SHOWERS. (Ridgway.)

THIS is a reprint of an article which appeared in the *Westminster Review*, of March, 1888, and in which Lieut.-General Showers, the late candidate for Devonport, states the national case with great cogency. "The keynote," he says, "of our successful system of administration in India is the recognition of nationalities throughout the vast variety of diverse races with which we have been brought into contact in our onward march to Empire;" and we can succeed in governing Ireland only by recognising there, as elsewhere, the paramount importance of the sentiment of nationality.

Among books on Ireland, either published or announced, we notice the following:—

Two Centuries of Irish History, 1691-1870.
Edited by JAMES BRYCE, M.P.

Incidents of Coercion. By G. SHAW-LEFEVRE, M.P.

Life and Letters of Thomas Drummond. By R. BARRY O'BRIEN

THIS work will be of great interest. Mr. Barry O'Brien is already well-known for many valuable contributions to Irish history; and in preparing this life of Drummond, he has had at his disposal a great number of letters and papers which were not accessible when McLennan wrote.

MOST of our readers are in possession of the *Diary of Coercion* drawn up by Mr. T. HARRINGTON, the secretary of the National League. Public speakers and others have found it one of the most useful of publications. We are glad to see, therefore, that he has continued to record. Part II. brings the story down to the beginning of October. Mr. Harrington gives the date of each prosecution, the names of the magistrates, the nature of the charge, and the result, with explanatory notes. In the important Killeagh case the text of the judgments is set out. The Diary is published at the *Nation* office, Dublin, and costs threepence.

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THE RE-LETTING OF EVICTED FARMS.

BY PROFESSOR STUART, M.P.

I MADE a statement, when I returned from Ireland some weeks ago, that farms from which tenants had been evicted for non-payment of rent remained practically unoccupied by bonâ fide paying tenants. A statement was made soon after by the Lord Lieutenant which seemed to indicate that this was not the case. Now this is a very important point, for the Coercion Act will have failed in its principal object if it fails in getting evicted farms re-let, and it will have succeeded if it succeeds in getting them re-let. It may interest your readers, therefore, if I lay before you certain facts with respect to this matter.

I have made two separate inquiries. In the first place I have investigated the circumstances of 268 evicted farms situated in sixteen counties of Ireland in the first half of the alphabet. These 268 cases are a fair sample, for they have been selected by circumstances independent of the point at issue. They are, in fact, cases of applications made during the past six months to the National League. I have the whole particulars respecting each of these farms. The name of landlord, tenant, and new tenant (if any); the amount of rent, and of arrears; the date of evictions and other particulars; and I find that of these 268 farms only twelve have been re-let to bonâ fide tenants; besides that, there are five which are said to be partially re-occupied, in most cases, apparently, the grazing portions. These 268 farms are of all sizes, varying from a rental of £4 to £400 per annum. Their average rental is £44 per annum. Forty of them have had judicial rents fixed at some time or other. The average amount due at the date of eviction was just under two years' rent. The years in which the evictions took place were as follows:—

In the year 1888 ..	46 evictions.
", 1887 ..	62 "
", 1886 ..	40 "
", 1885 ..	13 "
Previous to 1885 ..	<u>107</u> "
	Total <u>268</u>

The distribution of these farms among the various counties is as follows :—

Kerry	..	..	75 farms.
Cork	..	..	50 "
Limerick	..	..	45 "
Galway	..	..	19 "
Kilkenny	..	..	14 "
Cavan	..	..	12 "
Donegal	..	..	10 "
Clare	..	..	10 "
King's county	..	..	9 "
Other seven counties	..	..	24 "

Total 268

In the second place I have obtained particulars from 166 districts in Ireland, situated in thirty different counties, and covering about an eighth part of the surface of the country. I find that the total number of evicted farms in these districts is 687, and that of these only thirty-two are re-let to bona fide tenants, and besides that there are five more which are said to be partially re-let. It will be observed that the proportion of farms re-let in the two cases, that of the 268 farms and that of the 687 farms, fairly corresponds, and as the statistics have been obtained by wholly independent means, the agreement of these proportions affords a certain amount of corroboration of both. It is always well, however, in conducting a statistical inquiry to test, if it be possible, the figures by some test independent of the main point at issue. Fortunately such a test exists in the case under consideration. In both sets of returns it is stated whether the farm is occupied by emergency men, landlord's representatives, or police; and I find that of the 268 farms, the number thus occupied is ninety, whereas of the 687 the number stated to be thus occupied is 230. These figures being again in practically the same proportion, form a strong corroboration of the accuracy of both sets of statistics. These figures form, I believe, the first

careful endeavour to arrive at the exact facts in respect of this question. They may safely, I believe, be accepted as a fair specimen of the present condition of the country, and they must, I think, convince any man that any statement that derelict farms are being re-let to any considerable extent, is utterly and absurdly mistaken.

The following gives the distribution of the 687 farms among the various counties :—

Cork	..	..	100 farms.
Galway	..	..	59 "
Tipperary	..	..	55 "
Kerry	..	..	47 "
Mayo	..	..	46 "
Donegal	..	..	43 "
Limerick	..	..	40 "
Kilkenny	..	..	34 "
Leitrim	..	..	31 "
Cavan	..	..	27 "
Wexford	..	..	26 "
Clare	..	..	22 "
Waterford	..	..	21 "
Louth	..	..	19 "
Sixteen other coun- ties	..	..	117 "

Total 687

IRISH NONCONFORMIST MINISTERS.

BY MR. C. H. OLDHAM.*

THE address presented to Lord Salisbury and Lord Hartington at the banquet of the Nonconformist Unionist Association, on Wednesday, November 14th, is stated to have received 864 signatures out of a possible total of 990 non-Episcopalian ministers in Ireland. Up to the time of writing I have not seen the list of names. It is a list that will receive an extremely close scrutiny in Ireland. The document is presumably a public document, and,

* Secretary to the Irish Protestant Home Rule Association.

after the public use which has been made of it, nothing short of the publication of the list ought to satisfy public opinion.

In Ireland, the presentation of the address has naturally excited a keener interest than elsewhere. For it is felt that the signature of a minister will be taken to signify the opinion of the congregation over which he presides. Up to the present, our Nonconformist ministers have held a rigidly neutral attitude, so as to maintain an equally friendly footing with all the members of their flocks. Of course, the immediate result of the present address is to annihilate this neutrality once for all.

What Englishmen want to know about this address is a very simple matter. Do the opinions of the minister represent the opinions of their flocks? Out of every 990 Irish non-Episcopalian Protestants, are there 864 opposed to Home Rule, and prepared to maintain a perpetual Balfourism in Ireland? To Irishmen, especially if acquainted with the feelings of the Presbyterian laity in the county districts of Ulster, the question is absurd.

It is notorious that the Nonconformist clergy are far behind the majority of the laity in the liberality of their opinions. In congregations formed mainly by tenant farmers, it is the accepted belief that not only the minister does not represent the congregation, but that his interests are directly opposed to theirs. To throw some light on this distinction between the Irish Nonconformist clergy and their laity, to explain the circumstances which have made the Irish Nonconformist clergy, as a whole, so very different from the English Nonconformist clergy as a whole, is perhaps all that can be done at this stage to enable English Liberals to gauge for themselves what amount of value is to be placed by them on this address as an exposition of Irish Protestant opinion on the question of Home Rule.

In the first place, what do the signa-

tures represent? It must be recollected that this address did not originate from the ministers themselves. The address was, in fact, written in London. The language on which Mr. Gladstone poured such scathing ridicule in his Bingley Hall speech embodies the views and arguments of an English Unionist organization, and obviously was not written by anybody in touch with Irish currents of thought. The address was sent down from London, with a request that the ministers would put their names to it. Is it necessary to explain the dilemma in which each minister then found himself? As the motions of bodies in mechanics are a necessary result of the forces acting, so are the assents of the signatories to this address to the opinions of the more wealthy subscribers of their congregations on whom they depend for support. If a congregation number 100, there will be about twenty large subscribers, who practically pay the expenses of the congregation. The minister had to act so as not to offend these twenty members. And the signatures to the address simply represent the prevailing views of these twenty wealthy and influential elders in the different parishes. This is not a fancy sketch. I am personally aware, from ministers in Dublin who have refused to sign because they were themselves Home-Rulers, of the pressure and the very thinly veiled threats brought to bear upon them by more than one of their important parishioners. In fact, it is quite clear, in these cases at all events, that the Unionist organization in London put itself into communication with the "squeezers" in the congregation, in order to have this pressure brought to bear upon the ministers. And, if the list of names is published, this will explain why it contains the names of some ministers who have hitherto been known to sympathize with Home Rule.

But, on the other hand, the great majority of the ministers are undoubtedly

against the National movement. Englishmen, perhaps, are not aware that the clergy of the Nonconformist churches in Ireland are as different as possible from the Nonconformist clergy of England. The only similarity is in the name. The Irish Nonconformist ministers have been in direct connection with the State from the earliest date, 1610, when, under James I., a body of the Scotch Presbyterians settled in Ulster. In these earliest times the Ulster Presbyterian clergy were actually in receipt of the tithes of their parishes, under the sanction of the Bishops of the Establishment. After the Restoration they were deprived of these emoluments. But being thrown thus on the voluntary support of their congregations, their distressed condition claimed the consideration of Charles II., who made them an allowance of £600 a year. William III. raised this sum to £1,200 a year. In 1785 this sum was increased to £2,700 a year. In 1792, upon an address from the Irish Parliament to His Majesty, the sum so payable out of the Irish Treasury was further increased to £7,700. In addition to this charge on the Establishment George I. granted them a subsidy out of the privy purse. This State endowment of the Presbyterian clergy in Ireland, well-known as the *Regium Donum* or King's Bounty, became a much more significant instrument in the able hands of Lord Castlereagh, who used it with a singular statecraft to secure and consolidate the Act of Union. And seeing that the *Regium Donum*, as modified by him, has been the most potent instrument in moulding the politics of the Irish Nonconformist clergy since that time, it is desirable to explain in some detail how he used it.

Hitherto the *Regium Donum* had been paid by the Government to the Synod, and the Synod distributed it to the ministers, through the Presbyteries. Lord Castlereagh was astute enough to change this system; in fact,

"French principles," i.e., the democratic and republican principles of the French Revolution, were ripe among the Presbyterian body in Ireland. They formed the backbone of the volunteers, and subsequently of the United Irishmen. The clergy were not behind:—

"Many of the Presbyterian clergy in Belfast ardently promoted these schemes, and some were rash enough to display their hostility to England by praying in their pulpits for the success of the republican armies."—CORNWALLIS: "Correspondence," Vol. ii., p. 338.

But at this time the distribution of the *Regium Donum* left them free from Governmental control. In 1799 Lord Castlereagh took steps to alter the system, and his scheme was finally carried into effect in 1803. It involved a great increase of the bounty and a State control. The latter was the main point in his opinion: "The distribution and government of the fund," he writes, "is a natural engine of authority. It has hitherto been exclusively in the synod." Under his new scheme, disclosed in his letter to Mr. Addington, July 21st, 1802, there was to be an annual grant "from the State to the individuals by name." The Presbytery, having appointed a minister to a vacant parish, were to forward certificates of his character to the Lord-Lieutenant, "praying that his Majesty's accustomed bounty may be granted to him." The whole design is well summed up in his own words, as follows:—

"After a Presbyterian congregation has chosen a minister, he should not be entitled, *as of right*, to derive a provision from the State without furnishing the Government with satisfactory testimonials from his own body of his being a loyal subject. Now, though many bad men might find their way into the body, notwithstanding such precautions, yet, beyond a doubt, the impression that character was requisite to advancement, and that Government, in its discretion, *might* withhold the provision, though the certificate should be attained, would, in time, have a material influence on their conduct. This, together with the income itself, making them less dependent on their congregations for subsistence, are the only

means which suggest themselves to my mind for making this important class of Dissenters better subjects than they have of late years proved themselves." — CASTLEREAGH: "Correspondence," Vol. iv., p. 224.

Under this scheme the Presbyterian Church became the creature of the State. As a piece of statecraft the scheme has realised the expectations of its contrivers to a marvellous degree of completeness. Mr. Alexander Knose, who, with Dr. Robert Black, were the chief confidential agents of Lord Castlereagh in the business, wrote to his lordship on July 15th, 1803, when the new votes had passed the united Parliament, an exulting letter of congratulation, in which the following strangely significant and pertinent passage occurs:—

"I believe a happier policy has never been resorted to than this plan of your lordship's. Never before was Ulster under the dominion of the British Crown. It had a distinct moral existence before, and moved and acted on principles, of which all we could certainly know was that they were not with the State, therefore, when any tempting occasion occurred, ready to act against it. Now the distinct existence will merge into the general well-being, the *Presbyterian ministers being henceforth a subordinate ecclesiastical aristocracy, whose feeling must be that of zealous loyalty, and whose influence upon their people will be as surely sedative when it should be so, and exciting when it should be so, as it was the direct reverse before.*" — CASTLEREAGH: "Correspondence," Vol. iv., p. 287.

It is well that English Nonconformists should know these facts. The *Regium Donum*, as increased by Lord Castlereagh's scheme, now amounted to between £15,000 and £16,000 yearly. It is impossible, with my present space, to trace in detail the other causes which contributed to the same result. But enough has been said to show that the seed which Lord Castlereagh sowed at the time of the Union has born fruit a thousandfold, and among its fruits is this pretentious address in support of a perpetual Balfourism in Ireland. The Irish Nonconformist clergy differ from their English namesakes just exactly in this,

that they are, and always during the Union times have been, "a subordinate ecclesiastical aristocracy." That 864 out of 990 of them should vote in support of the powers that be in Ireland, is about as wonderful to Irish ears as if a like proportion of the English Established clergy should vote Mr. Gladstone a danger to the British Empire.

One point more is all I have space for. At the disestablishment of the Irish Church, both the *Regium Donum* and the Maynooth grant were discontinued. The compensation for the *Regium Donum*, paid by the Church Temporalities Commissioners to the Nonconformists was £769,599. And the whole of this amount was then invested by trustees for the General Synod in *Irish land securities*. This has made the interests of the Presbyterian clergy in the national movement identical with that of the landlord class. Formerly the movement for tenant-right in Ulster was led and maintained by the reforming zeal of eloquent Presbyterian ministers, working in harmony with their flock. Now the tenants understand perfectly well that the partnership is dissolved; and this is largely the reason why the Ulster tenants are no longer heard of in the social struggle in Ireland. Their old leaders having gone over to the enemy, they themselves, while glutonously profiting by every concession, have for the most part meanly hung back while these concessions were being struggled for and won. Nevertheless the Ulster tenant understands perfectly well what the triumph of Balfourism means. It is not at all improbable that the publication of the signatures to this address of their clergy, by showing them how impossible it is to hark back for the old leadership, may have the direct effect of throwing the non-Episcopalian democracy of the Ulster counties unreservedly into the ranks of the great movement of which the Irish Parliamentary Party is at once guide and representative.

THE LAND PURCHASE BILL.

IT was natural that one or two sincere Liberals should have lost their way over the Land Purchase Bill. The Bill purported to take a further step in the direction of establishing a peasant proprietary in Ireland, and thus to continue the policy which English Liberals and Irish Nationalists had over and over again declared to contain the solution of the land question. The first step was taken in the "Bright Clauses" of the Land Act of 1870, whose failure was due to the defective machinery by which purchases were effected. More successful were the purchases made by means of advances to tenants out of the Irish Church surplus, though the operation was still on a small scale. Still more liberal provisions were contained in the Land Act of 1881, under which three-fourths of the purchase-money might be advanced to the tenant; but only 731 tenants availed themselves of the offer. The practical result had not been great, but the Liberal party, seeing how on the Continent peasant proprietorship had led to pacification and prosperity, felt that they were on the right line. Irish Nationalists were of the same mind. One of the objects of the Land League was the establishment of a peasant proprietary in Ireland, and Mr. Parnell believed, and still believes, that no other solution of the question can be satisfactory.

Late in the day the Tory Government became converts to the principle. Just before Mr. Gladstone quitted office he announced the intention of the Government to introduce a Land Purchase Bill. The incoming Tory Government seized upon this idea, as they seized upon a good many ideas at that time which they thought would go down with the Irish electors. Lord Ashbourne's Act was passed, under which a sum of £5,000,000 was devoted to enabling Irish tenants to purchase their holdings. It provided for advancing the whole purchase-money, one-fifth of it being retained on deposit by way of guarantee. Down to October in the present year 14,338 applications had been made, and 8,632 purchases had been effected. There were 7,711 applications in Ulster, 2,730 in Munster, 2,330 in Leinster, and 1,561 in Connaught. Of the total sum due from the tenants in repayment, amounting to about £90,000, less than £2,000 is uncollected. It is an extension of this Act by devoting a further sum of £5,000,000 to the same purpose which the Government have rushed through the House of Commons, and against which Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell have protested.

The more we look into the matter the more we must feel that their protest was right. This is no measure for the establishment of a peasant proprietary, but a device for enabling wealthy landowners to escape from the responsibility of their estates with good round sums in their pockets.

They see plainly the coming of Home Rule, and they wish to make hay while their sun shines. "Never was there such egregious humbug in the world," said Sir George Trevelyan, "as the complaint of the Irish Land Commission. The Commission had only done in Ireland what economic causes had done in England. Irish rents had been cut down, taking Ireland as a whole, by twenty per cent., but on the average in England they had been cut down by thirty-five per cent., and that not only on the gross rental but on little more than the net rental. It was for the sake of the Irish landlords, the most fortunate landlords in the United Kingdom, that the British people were now asked to pour out money in floods and torrents in the hope that during the next half century, if they were very lucky, they might get part of it back in dribs and drabs into the British Treasury." The money will thus go into the pockets of the wrong people. The measure will not, however, touch the real agrarian question. We have seen that it is the Ulster tenant whom the Act favours, but it is the condition of the peasant in Galway and Kerry that is the urgent consideration. They will receive the advantage of but a slight part of the £5,000,000, and when we have spent every penny of it we shall still be no nearer to a settlement. Lastly, the security is bad, and there is no reason in the world why the British taxpayer should be taxed in order to give the likes of the Duke of Abercorn a bigger price than his property is worth. "Looking at the value of the land he holds," said Mr. Gladstone, in the course of the debate, "I will say that the Irishman—I do not speak of times of exceptional excitement—is the best rent-payer in the world. I believe that if there is danger in this measure it is not at all because the Irishman is less to be trusted than other people in regard to the discharge of his pecuniary engagement. But would you pass a measure of this kind on a large scale for England and Scotland? Would you deem it wise to put the State in the position of a landlord with no remedy but eviction in the case of England and Scotland? Nobody answers yes. Is there any gentleman on the look out for investments that would like to enter on a large scale into transactions of this kind? To what extent is this operation to go? The Exchequer is to be the landlord, and security is to be found of 20 per cent. of the money. This is the first transaction of the kind I ever heard of in which security is to be found by the person who advances. It is usual that the security should come from collateral sources. We are to stand as the landlord of the Irish tenant with no intermediate security or source to which to repair for the purpose of doing justice to the English taxpayer, and perhaps we shall have to take the Emergency men into our service

with their crowbars, backed by our rifles, for the purpose of enforcing in the name of the State these claims."

We do not like the prospect, and, therefore, we protest against being led into a false position. These are but a few of the arguments against the measure. What we want is a vigorous effort to deal with arrears. For the establishment of a peasant proprietary, an essential condition is that there should be an Irish government to bear the responsibility of carrying out the transaction.

SIXTEEN MONTHS' COERCION.

BY MRS. BRYANT, D.Sc.

MR. CLANCY's pamphlet (published by the Irish Press Agency) on "A Year of Unionist Coercion" should be read by everyone desirous to know the truth as to the Government policy in Ireland. In the first chapter, Mr. Clancy disposes briefly and conclusively of the Government case for coercion in the summer of last year, and shows how, from the outset, Mr. Balfour and his colleagues used their powers with a total disregard of the civil rights and liberties of the Irish people as a whole. "We hope," said the Chief Secretary, on the 27th June, 1887, "that the area of Ireland, over which it will ever be necessary to use it (the Crimes Act) will be but a small part of the country"; and the Act itself says that the Lord Lieutenant may proclaim a *district*, when he is satisfied that it is necessary to do so, for the prevention of crime and outrage in that particular *district*. Here was a distinct pledge that only the disturbed portions of counties should be proclaimed—only those portions in which crime and outrage prevailed at the time. But, afterwards, Mr. Balfour, to use his own words, found that a county was "the most convenient unit for administrative purposes," and so, to save the trouble of a careful selection, whole counties, and all the counties, were more or less proclaimed under the Act. On the 17th July the Coercion Act became law, and on the 23rd no less than eighteen Irish counties were proclaimed in the full sense which deprived them of most of the rights of citizenship in a free country, while fourteen other counties and ten cities were by the same proclamation deprived of their right to trial by jury in special cases. On the 25th of the same month, the remaining two counties of Ireland were added to the list. To illustrate "the gross and even absurd injustice" of this careless and indolent application of the law, Mr. Clancy instances the case of Donegal:—

"That county has a population of 200,000; only one barony in it, according to Mr. Balfour himself, was in an unsatisfactory condition—how

unsatisfactory may be guessed from the fact that the *crime for the whole county*, for the June quarter of 1887, consisted of *one incendiary fire*, *one threatening letter*, and *one injury to property*; yet not the one barony, but the whole county was proclaimed under all the first four sections."

Mr. Balfour's second step was the proclamation of the National League; and Mr. Clancy notes the very important fact that the charge on which the League was suppressed, as stated in the proclamation, was not on any one of the five grounds mentioned in the Act.

By the sixth clause of the Coercion Act, the League might have been proclaimed on any one of five grounds, the first three of which are that it was "formed for the commission of crime," that it "carried on its operations for or by the commission of crime," and that it "encouraged or aided persons to commit crime." The Government did not venture to allege any of these excuses. It passed them all by, and based its decree against the life of the League on the vague charge that it "promoted and incited to acts of violence and intimidation, and interfered with the administration of the law."

After a delay of two months, this blow was followed up by the suppression, so called, of 200 out of the 1,800 branches of the National League. Henceforth, it has been an offence at law—a new offence, created by the Act—to attend meetings of these suppressed branches. But the branches flourish none the less (*vide* the evidence of landlord witnesses before the Parnell Commission), and latterly it appears that they have been left very much alone by the Crown Prosecutors.

In his second chapter Mr. Clancy, after giving Mr. Balfour's own summary of his work from the 19th July, 1887, to Whitsuntide of the present year, proceeds to supplement it with an analysis of the first six months' working of the Coercion Act—taken month by month. The importance of this particular historical survey is great, as bearing on the uses made initially of the Act, and in two points especially it invites attention.

i. The Summary Jurisdiction clauses have not from first to last been used to put down grave crime.

"Those horrible deeds to which the House of Commons professed its desire by passing the measure to put an end, the denunciation of which by 'Unionist' orators has so frequently 'brought down the house' at Primrose League gatherings and other 'Unionist' demonstrations . . . have been left almost untouched by the working of the great device of 'Unionist invention' for 'restricting Moonlighters,' 'restoring order,' 'maintaining the law,' and 'preserving the Union.' Except in the case of an attack on a house in a southern county, and in the case of the Orange assault on Nationalists at or near Portrush,

not a single person has been hit by this new instrument of Government in the last twelve months, in consequence of the perpetration of crime of a serious character."

2. Notwithstanding the "urgency" which had been claimed for the Bill throughout the session of 1887, and Mr. Balfour's haste to take the preliminary steps for putting it into operation, *six weeks were allowed to elapse before use was made of it on any extensive scale.*

"The inference is irresistible, either that there was no crime worth talking of till September, in which case no justification existed for the Act at all, or Mr. Balfour was afraid while Parliament was sitting to let the world see that, though there might be a small amount of crime in Ireland, it was not after all against serious crime that he had determined to wage war. . . . It is specially remarkable that *not till November*—that is not till three months after the passing of the Act—*was there a single prosecution for boycotting*, and that even in November there were only four prosecutions for that offence, although, as we have seen, *the official returns for boycotting were made one of the main grounds of the new repressive measure*, when the Government could no longer rely on the ordinary statistics of crime as a sufficient reason for coercion."

How little they could rely on these ordinary statistics may be inferred from the fact that "of all the eighteen counties subjected, on July 23rd, to the heavier proclamation, the grand juries of all but two or three were congratulated by the judges of the Summer Assizes on the absolute tranquillity which prevailed in their respective localities, and even in the two or three exceptional cases the announcement of the judges was that serious crime had vastly diminished, and had almost disappeared." And the Government returns for the quarter ending June, 1887, disclosed the same state of things. In four counties there was no crime; in nine counties there was one for each; in three counties there were two crimes for each; and in four counties three crimes for each; while the number of agrarian offences in all Ireland was 131.

With respect to boycotting, we are enabled by our monthly analysis of the coercion record since February last to throw some further light on the effects of the Act as illustrated in its own administration. We have classed together the cases of conspiracy, which means generally boycotting proper, and the so-called cases of intimidation, because these appear to consist almost always of social pressure in one form or another, not very different in kind from boycotting, and often much less serious than it. Using Mr. Clancy's figures, which are taken like our own from newspaper reports, we find the number of

convictions for the successive months of coercion administration to be as follows:—

		Intimidation.	Boycotting.	Total.
1887—	August	0	0	0
	September	9	0	9
	October ...	2	0	2
	November	9	4	13
	December	4	9	13
1888—	January ...	22	39	61
	February ...	...	...	125
	March	...	...	35
	April	...	...	23
	May	...	...	15
	June	...	...	11
	July	...	...	7
	August	...	...	7
	September	...	...	2
	October ...	...	...	23
	November	...	...	7

During the first two months of this year the Government speakers boasted loudly of their success in putting down boycotting. These figures supply a curious commentary to the boast. In February, when Parliament met, and the boast was loudest, no less than 125 cases of this class appeared in the courts, while January supplied sixty-one, the next highest number, and there had been no cases of boycotting proper at all before the four that occurred in November. It is a fair inference that the decrease in boycotting, of which we are so often assured, is due to some other causes than the consistent administration of the Coercion Act. Mr. Clancy suggests a much more probable explanation in the decrease of land grabbing which is evidenced by the large number of farms now lying derelict from which tenants have been evicted. If this decrease be due to the Plan of Campaign, as is probable, then it is the Plan, and not the Coercion Act, that has diminished boycotting.

The official returns of the administration of the Act takes us down to Whitsuntide, and, supplementing this by the monthly records made in this journal for the six months from Whitsuntide to November 26th, we are able to submit in the table on the page opposite some particulars of Coercion Government for the sixteen months since August, 1887.

On the 17th May, 1887, in committee on the Coercion Bill, Mr. Balfour distinctly pledged himself on the subject of appeal, in the following words:—

"There will be an appeal in every case to a County Court Judge, and if, on legal technicalities, the County Court Judge is objected to, the Government will be prepared to consider a plan for giving an appeal, in cases where a legal difficulty may be involved, to a still higher tribunal."

RECORD OF COERCION FOR SIXTEEN MONTHS.

	From July 1887 to Whitsuntide, 1886.	From Whitsuntide to June 18th.	From June 15th to July 24th.	From July 24th to August 21st.	From Aug. 21st to Sept. 25th.	From Sept. 25th to Oct. 23rd.	From Oct. 23rd to Nov. 20th.	TOTAL.
	Prosecutions.	Convictions.	Prosecutions.	Convictions.	Prosecutions.	Convictions.	Prosecutions.	Convictions.
Agrarian cases ...	... 501	330	9	5	22	11	30	23
Political cases ...	... 644	425	45	4	86	55	13	13
Boycotting, and so-called intimidation ...	... 339	206	2	...	21	7	13	5
Incitements—agrarian and political ...	... 56	37	30	11	6	5	7	4
Publication and sale of newspapers ...	... 18	16	1	1	...	...	...	...
Refusals to give evidence before new Coercion ...	... 2	...	...	...	42	37	13	18
Courts ...	... 1558	1014	181	59	151	94	78	56
Miscellaneous ...	Total ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

The appeal to the County Court Judge was, in fact, only given in cases where the sentence exceeded one month, and there were several ways in which, by sub-dividing an offence and giving cumulative sentences, it was found possible to deny the advantages of the appeal to persons condemned actually for longer terms. The accompanying table shows how the appeal clause has worked:—

Appeals.	To Whit sain-tide, 1887.	To June 15th.	To July 24th.	To Aug. 21st.	To Sep. 14th.	To Oct. 23rd.	To Nov. 20th.	Total.
Increased	8	5	2	3	3	5	2	8
Confirmed	130	5	2	3	3	5	4	146
Reduced	45	14	3	3	3	3	3	49
Reversed .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14
Withdrawn .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5
	197	5	7	7	7	7	6	222

As regards "a plan for giving an appeal to a still higher tribunal," it was left for Mr. Timothy Healy to discover a method for bringing the decisions of the magistrates before the judgment of the Exchequer Court, and in the well-known cases of Mr. William O'Brien, Mr. Latchford, the Killeagh prisoners, and several others, this method has been used with excellent effect for the persons convicted in the lower courts. But so far as Mr. Balfour and the Act are concerned, all means of appeal to the higher tribunals were carefully shut out.

The valuable particulars of cases recorded by Mr. Clancy, and forming the main portion of his pamphlet, should be read by everyone, and carefully remembered as an important part of that armour of truth needed to protect the mind of the country from the attacks of the insidious spirit of untruth which is abroad.

In conclusion, Mr. Clancy clinches his case against the Government by a demonstration of the failure of coercion to secure the ends intended. Extracts from this portion of his work were given in the last number of this journal. The National League has not been suppressed, the Plan of Campaign has not failed of its victories, and the Nationalist cause has steadily gained adherents in Ireland.

SCOTCH CROFTERS AND IRISH TENANTS.

WHY should the arrears of the Scotch crofters be wiped out so liberally, while those of the Irish tenant are regarded as something sacred? In the case of the former, as Mr. Gladstone said, "while the rents were reduced about 30 per cent., the arrears were reduced by nearly double that amount all over." Why have we not done likewise.

in Ireland, where the need is even greater? It is a grave question for those who talk about equality of laws.

But the Prime Minister can see nothing in it. "I can conceive no mistake greater," said Lord Salisbury, at Edinburgh, "than to confuse the question of Irish land with the question of the Scotch crofters. I do not profess to admire the Crofters' Bill in all respects, but at any rate it was not a disturbance of old, long-established rights. The ground on which they interfered with the position of Scotch crofters was that up to a comparatively recent period they had held upon tenure, not the general tenure of these islands, and that tenure had by carelessness been converted into a condition of things wholly and unjustly disadvantageous to themselves. It was said that the old clannish tenure had slipped into the law of landlord and tenant entirely to the advantage of the landlord, without any consideration of the valuable interests which the clansman formerly had on the land on which he formerly lived. That was a very fair argument, but the case of the Irish tenant was very different. There Parliament, in its wisdom, set aside the rights of landlords which had existed for many hundred years, with the full approval of the law, and, in many cases, by the direct provision of Acts of Parliament. What they did in the case of Ireland was to take away from the landlord that which the landlord always had a right to in Ireland for centuries, that which he had a right to in every country in the world—viz., of keeping, if he pleased, subject to all contracts and compensation for improvements, the land which he owned. They had taken that away from the landlord."

It would be hard to say whether Lord Salisbury has forgotten more about Scotch or about Irish history. His "comparatively recent period" is more than a century distant. So far as the law was concerned, the Crofters' Bill was a plain disturbance of old, long-established rights of the landlord. In the days of the Highland clearances the landlords had the sanction of the law for all they did. True it is that tradition and usage proved stronger than the law, and that the memory of the times when the clansmen had an interest in the land as clear as that of their chief never passed from the minds of the people. But, says Lord Salisbury, "the case of the Irish tenant was very different." The case of the Irish tenant was the same. The traces of the tribal system are as clear in Ireland as in the highlands of Scotland, and there, too, tradition and usage proved stronger than the law. Judges persisted in treating tenant-right as a fiction; landlords were compelled to treat it as a fact. The Land Act of 1860 enacted that the relations of landlord and tenant should be based on contract, and not on tenure, and nobody in Ireland

paid the faintest attention to the enactment. Parliament might as well have declared that thenceforth the harvest in Ireland should take place in the month of February. In short, the attempt to impose the English law of landlord and tenant on the Irish people has been a colossal failure, and in our recent legislation we have had to recognise the fact that Irish tenants have an actual and definite interest in the land. We have seen, moreover, that to allow the landlord to fix what rent he pleases would give him the power of destroying the tenants' interest, and we have restrained him from doing so. But so long as arrears are not dealt with, we still leave him the power of confiscation—a power which, as we know, he will use without scruple. This we have acknowledged in dealing with the necessities of the Scotch crofters, and this, if we cared a straw about equality of laws, we should acknowledge in the case of the Irish tenants. Lord Salisbury spoke very rashly. But his words should be remembered. They are a plain admission that the law being out of harmony with the usages of the highlands of Scotland, Parliament had to acknowledge that the law must give way. It is a large admission. It is a statement of the principle on which is based the whole Irish policy of the Liberal Party.

"THE VOICE OF BINGLEY HALL."

We had intended to call special attention to the great political significance of the meeting of the Liberal Federation in Birmingham. Not so much on account of any fresh light that was thrown upon political questions; for to call such a meeting a conference is absurd. There was neither time nor patience for interchange of opinion. The striking feature of the gathering was the fervour which every man and woman present displayed whenever the speakers touched on the claims of Ireland. We have always believed that the battle for Home Rule would not be won till we quickened the moral feelings of the people, and the great demonstration of fervour at Birmingham has shown that the living force is there ready to our call. There would be much more to say on this matter, had it not been already said elsewhere, and said well. In the *Christian World*, of November 15th, appeared a very remarkable article, entitled "The Voice of Bingley Hall." The *Christian World*, a journal which weekly addresses a great army of men and women inclined to respond readily when an appeal is made to them on the ground of truth and justice, has not hitherto seen eye to eye with us on the question of Home Rule. But it has been roused by the flagrant disregard of their pledges shown by the Government, by the debasing methods now employed in administering the law in Ireland, and by the glow of those

who, thinking on these things, gave to Mr. Gladstone, at Bingley Hall, such a reception as statesman never had before. And this is what the *Christian-World* says, after describing the great meeting :-

" Such scenes as this are not evanescent. The emotion they express is too profound and too widespread to be without its after effects. They concentrate in a few brief moments the individual feelings and convictions that have previously been too scattered to be conscious of their own strength. But that consciousness, once given, is not easily lost. Every member of that vast audience, wherever he may now be—in England, Scotland, Wales, or Ireland—knows himself to belong to a conquering army whose final triumph is absolutely assured. In vain do Mr. Balfour's admirers sneer at popular impulse. Let them search the records of public progress, and they will find no single instance of any demonstration comparable to that of Bingley Hall ever associated with anything but a victorious cause. If any of our readers should be surprised by such a decisive tone from us, it must be because they have in some respects misunderstood our position on this question. We have, indeed, always deprecated any such revision of our Constitution as could imperil the intimate and integral union of the three kingdoms. We have insisted on the unchallenged supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. We have expressed our fears of any settlement of the Irish land question which should make the Imperial Government the creditor of starving peasants, or render the British treasury liable for debts to the Irish landlords. We have hoped against hope that reasonable Irish opinion might be allowed to have its way in regard to Irish affairs without necessitating such drastic measures as those proposed by Mr. Gladstone. But we have never contemplated, and have never been able to tolerate, the notion of a permanent reign of coercion in the sister island. Such has been our position, and such is our position still. But political circumstances are very different now from what they were two years ago. In the first place, as Mr. Gladstone clearly showed, the Tories and the Dissident Liberals have shamelessly broken their pledges in regard to equality of government in Great Britain and Ireland. They have forbidden in the sister country the combination of the weak against the strong. They have taken away at their pleasure the right of public meeting. They have made law and order a matter of class interest. They have set law at defiance when it pleased them, as seen in the case of the Mitchelstown inquest. They have moralised with admirable propriety upon the wickedness of murder, when the victim was of the middle or upper class, but they have considered killing to be no murder when the victim was a poor man shot

by the police for exercising his indisputable rights, or a miserable peasant like James Dunne, killed by exposure to the winter air, because he could not pay his rent. They have made abnormal powers and arbitrary procedure in Ireland not a temporary expedient but a permanent stain on the statute book! It is vain to attempt to reconcile all this with the professions they made when entering into power. But if by the quibbles, too rife in politics, they can delude the simple into acquitting them on this score, with what face can they pretend that the ostentatious denial of improved local government to Ireland, when they are giving it to England, is consistent with their promise of 'identity and simultaneity' in the reforms to be granted to both countries? Or how can they, without a blush, contrast their objections to Mr. Gladstone's Land Purchase Scheme with their applause of Lord Ashbourne's Act, which is infinitely more dangerous? Mr. Gladstone's plan at least interposed a responsible local authority between the Imperial Government and the peasant, and farther provided that this local authority should have no money for carrying on its own business until the Imperial Government was satisfied. But Lord Ashbourne's scheme does nothing of the kind. It brings the imperial Government directly face to face with the half-starved peasant, forced by threats to purchase his holding at a price that his leaders repudiate.

" Meantime, while Coercionists have thus shamelessly broken their pledges, the temper of the Irish people has been manifestly changing for the better. Mr. Gladstone, in his peroration, gave a touching illustration of this. When a Kerry crowd begins to cry 'God save England,' commonsense teaches us that the union is safer than it was. In Dublin the other day Mr. Pierce Mahony, expounding the situation to a great audience of local patriots, declared himself resolutely opposed to anything that could interfere with the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. Strange to say, his sentiment was applauded to the echo. Mr. Gladstone also has reiterated his determination to adopt any hitherto neglected expedient which might confirm and guarantee this supremacy; and his Land Purchase Bill can never be revived. Under these circumstances, we think the position has changed; and it is the mad obstinacy of Coercionists that has changed it. We will be no supporters of an un-English and un-Christian tyranny. We decline to back up a cynical doubter like Mr. Balfour, whose only idea of infallibility is his own self-will. We are satisfied that the permanence of the union between Great Britain and Ireland, and also the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, are in far more danger from the present Government than they could be even from Mr. Gladstone's proposals. But Mr. Gladstone has expressed his

willingness to modify those proposals; and the Irish have given fresh and credible assurances of their wish to maintain the union. We have no hesitation, therefore, in confronting with cheerful hope the great constitutional change which the demonstration in Birmingham has brought definitely nearer."

NOTES BY THE WAY.

Mr. Frederic Harrison on the Liberal Unionists.—The *Contemporary Review* for December contains a most vigorous political article by Mr. Frederic Harrison, entitled "An Appeal to Liberal Unionists." The real truth about unionism has never been stated in so plain and outspoken terms. We quote some of the concluding passages:—"By the Act of 1887, law is practically and permanently abolished in one of the three kingdoms. What is really martial law is from henceforth virtually the common law of Ireland. Magistrates, who are virtually nothing but police officials, carry out the orders of the Castle Government with as little regard for anything that can be called law as a Turkish cadi. What the Act of last year practically accomplished was this. It threw the whole power of England, armed with the arbitrary machinery, which on the Continent is called 'the state of siege,' into the hands of one party in an economical struggle. It armed the rich and Protestant Englishmen, already equipped with all the legal machinery which chicanery could invent, with what is practically martial law, to enable him to crush the wretched Catholic peasantry, and wring from them the last sixpence which organized force can screw out of abject weakness. And this is the gigantic, permanent, systematic wickedness which you cover with the name of morality, justice, an honour! To you the money interests of Englishmen, or rather of a few rich Englishmen, are paramount. For the sake of this, you and they fight as the West India slaveholders fought for the accursed system of slavery, vilifying all who condemned it, and filling the air with outcries about the crimes and indolence of the negro. And now again they are filling the air with outcries about the crimes and the follies of Irish tenants. One smiles at the crocodile tears over the wrongs of poor boycotted peasants; peasants whom they and their forefathers unto the third and fourth generation—nay, unto the tenth and twentieth generation—have persecuted, starved, and plundered. It is a bitter mockery to hear them dilate upon the atrocity of this and that outrage, when the history of the English in Ireland is one weary story of organised outrage. For every life that has been cruelly taken by a few brutalised peasants in their despair, the English land laws,

and the system of extortion they maintain, have as cruelly taken a thousand lives. To us it is as cruel in the name of law to thrust dying men and helpless women and children out of their homes on to the frozen hillside, as it is to shoot a rival in the legs. Our eyes are fixed, not on the scattered instances of wild revenge which you parade as if you really cared for them, and mouth over with professional iteration, but on the three million souls who are lost to their country, on the life-long misery of at least a million souls who remain—misery which you and your friends are now bent on making permanent. Our eyes are strained to watch the tens of thousands of wanton, savage, cowardly evictions, the thousands of brave men whom you persist in treating as felons, and the Russian terrorism which you having permanently substituted for the common law of a kingdom... .

"The whole contest between us is not really a political question, nor even a social question; in essence it is a question of money. For centuries rich men in England have found in Ireland an unlimited field where the strong might wring wealth out of the weak. There for centuries they have built up a scheme of peculation which they please to call law, maintained by a system of terrorism which they nicknamed Government, and consecrated by a system of religious injustice which they pretended to be a Church. But the end of it all was pecuniary, not political. Boycotting, the Plan of Campaign, and the whole of the resources of the weaker class are precisely what we have known in our own industrial struggles. As in them, the stress of the conflict has often resulted in melancholy acts of outrage and crime. As in them, boycotting, the Plan of Campaign, and other expedients are right or wrong, justifiable or culpable, according to circumstances, in the measure of the wrong they are to prevent, or the spirit in which they are used. *Per se*, I know no reason why boycotting, or Plan of Campaign are necessarily evil. They may vary in their character from wanton oppression to the noblest acts of public devotion. It is easy to conceive cases where boycotting (which we all of us practise in turn) and Plan of Campaign might become the first and most sacred duty of a patriot. But in this, as in every other economic struggle, the blind and spasmodic crimes of the weak and the poor are not to be weighed by the same measures as the systematic and legalised crimes of the strong and the rich.

"In the long struggle of trade unionism against the infamous laws that repressed combinations of workmen, we have had the same outcry about rattening and oppression, outrage and crime. This is at bottom the same struggle for trade unionism again, but it is the trade unionism of an entire nation which you seek to crush by an apparatus of class legislation, for which Europe can

show few parallels. Talk to us no more of your superior morality and your wounded feelings. If ever there was a sordid cause it is yours; if ever a struggle was a mere affair of pocket it is this; if ever the wolf railed at the lamb it is when Irish landlordism calls heaven to witness the tyranny of the Irish peasantry. Ireland is, politically, one of the most peaceful countries in Europe, where for forty years there has been no show of attack on the forces of Government as such. And yet it is the only country in Western Europe that is permanently governed by martial law.

"If you have chosen to go over to the side of the oppressor, it must be so. If you choose to reverse the labours of a lifetime, you must do so. If you must revile the leader, under whom your whole political life has been passed, now that that leader has taken up the most glorious task of his noble life, in a spirit of moral grandeur and self-sacrifice to which even he never equally reached till now, we cannot hinder you. But you shall not persuade us that we have abandoned the old belief in morality and justice between nations and classes. Whilst you are receiving the compliments and caresses of the rich and the great, whose wealth you are struggling to protect, we will think on the millions of the evicted and the exiled, the roofless cabins, and the deserted farms from which it is your glory to have driven whole families of workers. And whilst you are still resolute to rivet on a noble nation the most prolonged and most cruel system of oppression in the history of Western Europe, we will stand beside your victims and bid them not to despair."

The Holborn Election:—The result of Lord Compton's effort to win the Holborn seat is highly satisfactory. To bring down the Tory majority by nearly 800, gives us confidence that we shall regain in London the position which we held in 1885; and London is the last straw to which drowning Unionism is clinging. There are many metropolitan constituencies more favourable than Holborn, where shopkeepers and lawyers abound in dangerous numbers. For instance, there are about 450 electors among the lawyers of Lincoln's Inn, and it would probably be going over the mark to say that Lord Compton had 50 of their votes. Mr. Naoroji is said to have received only 18 at the election of 1886. What has been done in Holborn at a few days' notice will be done more thoroughly elsewhere. To assure the final victory, we need only hope, and courage, and work.

Government Reporting.—A blue-book has been published containing the official report of the Mandeville inquest; but it is well that our readers should be warned against placing faith in its accuracy. It contains some extraordinary

distortions of the evidence, and all of them, so far as we know, in favour of the Government case. For instance, in Mrs. Mandeville's evidence: "Was this the time the doctor certified that he was fit for punishment? Yes." The report in the *Freemin's Journal* was as follows: "Was that the time when Dr. Moorhead certified that he was unfit to bear punishment? I am certain that he said that Dr. Moorhead certified that he was not fit for punishment." And again, to take an example from Mr. O'Brien's evidence, which has suffered strange changes and condensations since he uttered it:—

"FREEMAN" REPORT.

When Mr. O'Brien's depositions were being read over, he said:—The first time I heard of a suggestion of Mr. Mandeville's want of sobriety was when I heard some three days ago of the threat thrown out by District Inspector Seymour, as a threat to intimidate his family from proceeding with this inquest—a threat that I regarded even as baser than his treatment in Tullamore. Regarding the officers of the Tullamore jail, all I say with regard to them is confined to their treatment of myself, but from what I learned subsequently of the treatment of other prisoners, it would lead me very considerably to modify that opinion.

To Mr. Murphy—My authority for saying that the district inspector made threats if this inquest was proceeded with is Mr. Frank Mandeville, whom he threatened with ugly disclosures if the inquest was proceeded with.

Such discrepancies run through the whole report. If this is a fair specimen of Irish police reporting, we need not wonder at the number of men who are in Irish prisons for making political speeches.

POLICE REPORT.

Witness:—With reference to this threat of Mr. Seymour's, I mean it was a threat to his family not to take these proceedings; a threat which I consider worse than the prison treatment.

214. Mr. Murphy:—You said that the District Inspector used threats; were you present? No; my authority is Mr. Mandeville's brother, whom he threatened with ugly disclosures.

"None but Protestants need apply."—The following advertisement, which was quoted by Mr. Healy in the debate on the Land Purchase Bill, deserves to be remembered:—

VACANT FARMS.

IMPORTANT TO PROTESTANT TENANT-FARMERS AND THEIR SONS. THERE ARE SEVERAL VACANT FARMS TO LET in the Counties of Louth and Meath, in close proximity to the important Seaport and Market Town of Drogheda.

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Offices, Antrim.

"None but Protestants need apply": it is seldom that the truth is stated so frankly. People think that the days of intolerance and bigotry are past. Nothing of the kind. Messrs. Dudgeon and Emerson know better. They have already distinguished themselves in the eviction of James Dunne, and they now give a fresh indication of the desire of the Irish "loyalists" to put an end to religious strife.

DIARY OF THE MOVEMENT.

November 1.—The Parnell Commission: Evidence as to the relations between police and people, and as to the causes of outrages.

November 2.—One of the *Times'* witnesses before the Commission charged with shooting in the Strand.—Large Home Rule gains declared at the municipal elections.—Lord Granville speaks on the Irish question at Manchester, and Mr. Balfour at Wolverhampton.

November 5.—Mr. Gladstone journeys to Birmingham and meets with an enthusiastic reception on the way. He speaks on the Irish question at the Birmingham Town Hall.

November 6.—The Parnell Commission: Evidence respecting outrages.—Letter from Mr. William O'Brien in the *Daily News*, to prove that Colonel Turner is putting extra legal pressure on landlord and tenant on the Kenmare estate.—National Liberal Federation at Birmingham: Mr. Gladstone on the Unionists. Speech by Mr. John Morley, and a resolution passed condemning the Coercion Act.

November 7.—Mr. Gladstone addresses about 17,000 people at Bingley Hall, Birmingham, on the Irish question.—The Duke of Abercorn informs a landlord meeting at Dublin, that the landlords were in a very depressed condition, and some of the "oldest families" almost starving.—At New Ross Quarter Sessions appeals were heard

against sentences passed on tenants who resisted eviction at Coolroe. All appeals withdrawn, except those of Somers, who received ten months' and Ryan three months' imprisonment. The police charged the people outside the court-house and dispersed a band.

November 8.—Mr. Gladstone speaks on Irish history at Birmingham, and drives through the Black Country.—Eleven of the Coolroe prisoners removed under a strong escort of 100 police to Wexford gaol.

November 9.—The Parnell Commission: Story of the Lougheera murder, and miscellaneous evidence as to outrage.

November 10.—Mr. Gladstone speaks briefly at Wolverhampton, and receives ovations there, and at the towns along the road to Oxford.—Appeal of Mr. McHugh, of the *Sligo Champion*, heard before County Court Judge Morris, who confirmed the sentence in every particular. The offence was intimidating people from taking an evicted farm.—At the inquest on James Dunne, aged eighty, who died after being evicted, the jury found Emerson and Dudgeon guilty of having caused the death of Mr. Dunne.

November 12.—Mr. W. Redmond unconditionally released from Wexford gaol on account of the state of his health.—Applications for abatement of rent from tenants on the Longford estate refused by Judge Boyd.—Father McFadden warmly welcomed in Dublin.—Mr. Sheehan, M.P., arrested at Killarney for alleged complicity in the Plan of Campaign.—Mr. W. H. Smith says in the House of Commons that no sum has been expended from the Secret Service Vote to aid the *Times* in procuring witnesses before the Commission.

November 13.—Parnell Commission: Order for disclosure as to the spurious letters, evidence of informers.—Mr. Sheehan committed to prison under a statute of Edward III.—The Waterford grand jury order the removal of certain tablets from the Carrick Bridge naming it the "Dillon Bridge." The Carrick Commissioners unanimously resolve to resist the order.

November 14.—Further examination of informers before the Parnell Commission.—So-called Irish "Nonconformists" entertain Lords Salisbury and Hartington at dinner.

November 15.—Rumour of another Papal Rescript reaches Ireland, but the leading Irish journals know nothing of it.—Determined resistance to eviction at Lisatotan, co. Limerick.—Settlement of the rent question effected on Lord Dillon's estates.—Mr. W. H. Smith announces in the House of Commons a Bill granting a further £5,000,000 to Irish landlords.

November 16.—Parnell Commission: Evidence of Lady Mountmorres and others.—The *Daily News* print letters repudiating the claim of those who entertained Salisbury and Hartington to

represent Nonconformists.—Father McDadden speaks in London.—Mr. Balfour promises to look into the case of Irish leaseholders.—Election at Dewsbury: Return of the Home Rule candidate by a majority of 2,102.—In Parliament Mr. Gladstone introduces an amendment to the Land Purchase Bill.—Mr. Balfour speaks at Leeds, and abuses Mr. Gladstone for holding up Dublin Castledom “to the odium of their fellow-countrymen.”

November 17.—The Irish Registrar-General's returns show an estimated decrease in population.

November 19.—Painful eviction scenes on the estates of Hon. R. T. O'Neill, near Draperstown.—Irish Land Purchase Bill in the House of Commons: Speeches by the Irish Solicitor-General, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Haldane, Mr. William O'Brien, &c.—Writ of *Habeas Corpus* refused in the Exchequer Division at Dublin in the case of Mr. J. D. Sheehan who was sentenced under a statute of Edward III. for shouting “Boo for Balfour!”

November 20.—Discussion renewed in House of Commons on Land Purchase Bill. Speeches by Sir E. Grey, Mr. Dillon, Lord Hartington, Col. Saunderson, Mr. J. Morley, &c. Mr. Gladstone's amendment rejected by 330 to 246 votes.—The Parnell Commission: Story of the Curtin murder and evidence as to Kerry outrages.—In the Dublin Exchequer Division the conviction of Father Kennedy for taking part in a meeting at Meelin, co. Cork, upheld. Also the case of Inspector Brown *v.* Curtin *et al.* (who had taken part in an unlawful meeting) sent back to the magistrates.

November 21.—The Parnell Commission: Mr. E. Harrington fined £500 for contempt of Court.—In Parliament, second reading of Irish Land Bill, opposed by Mr. Labouchere, who was supported by Messrs. Bradlaugh, and Robertson, and Sir G. Trevelyan. Lord Spencer on the Irish Question at Tynemouth.—At Mitchelstown an emergency bailiff committed for trial for stabbing a young man named O'Grady.—A league hut demolished on the estate of Miss Butler, county Clare.

November 22.—Parnell Commission: evidence as to Lord Kenmare's tenantry.—Adjourned debate in House of Commons on the second reading of the Land Purchase Bill. Speeches from Lord R. Churchill, (who condemned the Bill, but voted for it on the ground that it was “a little one”) Mr. Goschen, Sir W. Harcourt, &c. Second reading carried by 299 to 224 votes.

November 24.—Summons issued against J. Finucane, M.P., D. Sheehy, M.P., and J. M'Inerney, for speeches delivered at Castleconnell.—Speech by Lord Hartington to his constituents.

November 25.—Celebrations to the memory of the “Manchester Martyrs” held to be seditious at Tralee, Clonmel, Cahir, Limerick, and Kilkenny, but lawful in Dublin and Dungannon.

Similar celebrations at York, Bradford, and other places in England of course were not interfered with.

November 26.—Jeremiah Sullivan, R.I.C., attempts to serve summons on D. Sheehy, M.P., in lobby of House of Commons. Committee appointed to consider the matter.—Parnell Commission again.

November 28.—Mr. D. O'Connor, of Killarney, sentenced to six months' imprisonment by Roche, R.M., for inducing tenants on Lord Kenmare's estate to adopt Plan of Campaign.

November 29.—Tory majority in Holborn reduced from 1574 in 1885, and 1701 in 1886 to 965.—Third reading of Land Purchase Bill carried by majority of 61.

November 30.—Examination of Mr. Hussey before Parnell Commission.—Lord Salisbury at Edinburgh.

THE VANS.

THE original Van, which is working the eastern counties, spent the first three days of November in finishing a very successful tour in the Epping division of Essex. On Tuesday, November 6th, it commenced a tour in South Huntingdonshire, where it remained until November 27th. The route of the Van covered the whole of the division, and all the principal villages were visited. The speakers sent down by the Union were Messrs. Hanmer, Fitzgerald, Dr. Aubrey, Mrs. Wise, Captain Luttrell, the Rev. F. Hastings, and Mr. Pierce Mahony, M.P. Mr. F. Coote, the Liberal Candidate for the division, addressed most of the meetings. Great satisfaction has been expressed by prominent local Liberals at the success of the tour. On November 29th, the Van entered East Herts, where it will remain until Christmas, visiting the various constituencies.

The second Van was, at the beginning of the month, in the neighbourhood of Birmingham, and it will continue through the various neighbouring county constituencies for sometime. On November 12th, it commenced a tour through the Stratford-on-Avon division, the speakers were the Rev. J. Hurst Hollowell and Mr. Hanmer. The last week of the month it was employed in driving through the Rugby division to the Nuneaton division, where it commenced on December 3rd, a tour which will last until Christmas.

On November 13th the third Van commenced operations in the Tavistock division of Devonshire. It will continue for five months in the county of Devon, thoroughly working the eight divisions of the county which are at present represented by three Conservatives, four Dissentients, and one Liberal. The county is well worth working, as at the General Election of 1885 there were returned six Liberals and one Conservative. The meetings are addressed by local speakers, and the Van is

creating a good deal of apprehension in the minds of the Coercionists, who have organised a series of meetings to be held in the various places which the Van visit. On November 28th they held a meeting at Beckleigh, where the chairman (Mr. Lopas) declared that "he felt it a moral duty to stand up and denounce the lies of the Home Rule Van." And Mr. Hewetson of the I.L.P.U., made the satisfactory confession that "wherever he went in the division he was everlastingly being confronted with that Van."

HOME RULE UNION.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.—A meeting of the Executive Committee, was held at Palace Chambers, on Tuesday, October 30th, when there were present : Mr. T. Eccleston Gibb, in the chair, Mrs. Bryant, Miss Monck, Messrs. H. F. Boyd, G. P. Macdonell, and the secretary. It was arranged to organise a series of meetings in London, to be addressed by Father MacFadden, during his approaching visit to this country. It was decided to purchase a third van from Messrs. Parkyn & Sons, at a cost of £38, 10s. and lend it to the Devon Liberal Federation, for a period of five months.

The Executive Committee again met at Palace Chambers, on Tuesday, November 20th, when there were present : Dr. Bernard O'Connor, in the chair, Mrs. Beesly, Mrs. Bryant, Miss Monck, the Rev. J. S. Jones, Messrs. T. Eccleston Gibb, W. Phillips, and the secretary. The resignations of Mr. P. W. Clayden and Mr. C. J. Heald, on the ground of inability to attend the meetings of the committee, owing to press of other engagements, were accepted with regret. Mr. S. D. Waddy, Q.C., M.P., was unanimously elected a member of the committee.

LITERATURE.

Among the books relating to Ireland which have been published during the last month are the following :—

Daniel O'Connell: His Letters and Correspondence.
Edited W. J. FITZPATRICK (Murray).

A WORK which everyone should read in order to realize not only the extraordinary influence exercised by O'Connell, but also the moderation of the demands in respect of which he was denounced by the *Times* through all the moods and tenses of abuse.

Two Centuries of Irish History, 1691-1870.
Edited by J. Bryce, M.P. (Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co.)

THIS is not a controversial work, but a plain and uncoloured narrative, and it is all the more valuable on that account. Plain and uncoloured as it is, we have in this terrible story, now told for the first time in calm and measured words, the most

convincing condemnation of the English government of Ireland that it is possible to conceive. The writers do not draw the moral, but no reader can miss it.

Incidents of Coercion. By the RT. HON. G. SHAW LEFEVRE, M.P. (Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co.)

THIS is a journal of visits to Ireland, made by Mr. Shaw Lefevre in 1882 and 1888. It contains a careful account of the Clanricarde iniquities, of Mr. Dillon's trial, of the Miltown-Malbay prosecutions, and of the Vandeleur evictions. Local associations should make the work widely known. Every page is a convincing lesson in our favour.

A Year of Unionist Coercion. By J. J. CLANCY, M.P. (Irish Press Agency.)

MRS. BRYANT, in her article which we print elsewhere, speaks in terms of high and deserved praise of Mr. Clancy's work. It is, without exception, the best among the many good pamphlets which the Irish Press Agency has issued.

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ARREARS IN IRELAND.

BY PROF. STUART, M.P.

WHEN I returned last from Ireland, after many inquiries in different parts of the country as to the arrears question, I made a statement to the effect that evictions, and threats of evictions for arrears, were being used by landlords in Ireland to prevent tenants getting a fair rent fixed, and to prevent them enjoying that fair rent when fixed. I gave some striking instances of this in a letter published in the *Star* newspaper, on the 16th of October last. Mr. Gladstone quoted in the House of Commons the following case, which speaks for itself:—

"I, Mary Colleton, live with my husband, Michael Colleton, in the townland

of Faraghey, in the county Monaghan. The old rent of our farm was £3 12s., and it was reduced in the land court, in January last, to £1 18s. It was one of the cases appealed by the landlord; and, in July, when the appeal was called in court here, the landlord's solicitor stopped the case by saying an eviction notice was served. On 1st November, instant, I and my husband, after selling out everything we had rather than be evicted, went to the rent-office and offered the full amount of the decree with costs, and it was refused unless my husband would sign a form which would raise the rent to £2 7s. I offered the full amount and costs this day also, and was asked by the agent if the paper was signed. I said not; and he ordered me out, and said the police would be soon with me.

"Signed, Mary Colleton (her mark).

"Witness, Thomas Phelan, J.P., Carrickmacross.

"The above was truly read, and fully understood before it was signed.

"Thomas Phelan, November 9, 1888."

Mr. Goschen, Lord Hartington, and others in the House of Commons went so far as to express their doubt as to the accuracy of this case. It would receive, said they, the most searching inquiry; and, I presume, exposure. The telegraph was put in motion; Dublin Castle, I am informed, was on the alert; but from that day to this not one single point has been disproved.

I have in my hands the draft-sketch

payment for £2 7s. rental, and the eviction notice for £7 4s., two years of the old rent up to November, 1887, with £1 4s. 6d. costs, in all £8 8s. 6d.

Colonel Saunderson, in the House of Commons, made a statement which unintentionally corroborated every detail, and, in fact, strengthened the case. He admitted that the offer of £8 8s. 6d. had been made, but said that that was not the whole that was due, but that £12 1s. was due. But that is got by including the hanging gale, adding it to the amount of the decree, and making the tenant pay up to November, 1888—and that at the old rent—whereas, if the landlord had not interfered to prevent the hearing of the appeal, because of the tenant being under eviction notice for arrears, the rent for 1888 would have been at the reduced rate. Colonel Saunderson further endeavoured to give a ground of excuse for the landlord's proposal, to fix the rent at £2 7s.; namely, that, subsequent to the decision of £1 18s. by the Court, the land valuers sent down by the Chief Commissioners, on the landlord's appeal, had recommended £2 7s. But there is a great difference between their making that proposition and the Court (after hearing the tenant's counter-statement) adopting it, which it never did, and in fact, owing to the landlord's action in appeal, never had the opportunity of doing. But similar agreements to that proposed to the man Colleton are being proposed without even the shadow of such an excuse.

Here is another case in which no such recommendation had been made:—

"I, Luke Corrigan, live in the townland of Greelane, county Monaghan. The old rent of my farm was £11 7s. per annum; it was reduced in the Land Court in the town of Carrickmacross in January last to £5 10s. I was decreed for two years of the old rent in December last, and was served with eviction notice

under the Land Act of 1887 in April last. In the end of last October I got from my children in America £9. I then got a neighbour to come with me as security, and I borrowed £5 from the National Bank. I had a small bullock, which I sold for £6; and I got from my son who was hired near me £4, making in all £24. Early in October, when I had only part of the money, I sent my wife to the rent-office to offer one year's old rent and costs on account of what was due; but she came back stating that it was refused. In the end of October, when I had got all the money as above described, I went to the rent-office myself, and there saw the agent and another official. I then offered the full amount of the decree—all old rent and costs; but it was refused, unless I would agree to a new rent higher than the Land Court put on me. The agent said he would not stand such a reduction as 10s. in the pound. I said I thought the settlement of the Land Court should stand. The agent then went into an adjoining office, and came back in a few minutes, and, addressing the other, he asked if I was going to settle—meaning to a rise of the new rent. He said I was not; whereupon the agent said I might go to —. The other then said he would put me out—meaning he would evict me. I am now expecting every day that the sheriff will come to evict me.

"(Signed) LUKE CORRIGAN."

"The above statement was made to me this day by Luke Corrigan, and, after being carefully read over, was duly signed by him in my presence.

"(Signed) THOMAS PHELAN, J.P.

"Carrickmacross, December 8th, 1888."

An endeavour has been made in some quarters to treat these cases as isolated and exceptional, but if your space permitted I would quote a number of others, the details of which are before me as I write this. There can be no doubt that

many more will arise, for—and this is what constitutes the real gravity of the matter—the landlord is entirely within his legal rights in so acting. The eviction-made-easy notice under the Act of 1887 deprives the tenant of his status, turns him into a caretaker, and enables the landlord to rule him out of court in proceeding for a fair rent, unless, during the first six months, he pays up all the arrears at the old rate, and the costs. When the six months have gone by he loses everything, even his right then to redeem. It will be seen that in both the cases I have quoted the tenant's offer to pay the full sum was made after the expiry of that six months, and in consequence the landlord was free to deal with him as with a new tenant, and to propose any condition he pleased. But it will be obvious to all your readers that the power of the landlord to do this clearly arises initially from the fact that Parliament has refused to touch the arrears. It has been said that these and other tenants can obtain relief under the clause of the Act of 1887, which permits the county court judge to extend the time for their payment; but on the best inquiry I can make this clause has been practically inoperative; first, because the county court judges are very chary about putting it into action at all, and secondly, because, when they have done so, they have, I understand, considered themselves legally bound to grant no extension of time beyond the limits of the current year, which, if it be so, clearly leaves the cases of real importance practically untouched.

One word more and I have done. The estate on which both the cases quoted above occurred is one on which there is no Plan of Campaign. I have heard it repeated *ad nauseam* that the Plan of Campaign is responsible for any harsh dealing of landlords with their tenants. But if the cases I have quoted above be harsh, it is clear they cannot be attributed to the Plan of Campaign. The

fact is, the Plan of Campaign has endeavoured to deal with this question of arrears simply because the Government have refused to deal with it; and yet the Government deals with it in Scotland among the crofters. I see in a paragraph in the *Times*, of the 20th December, that the last report of the Crofters' Commission states that while reducing the rent of 150 crofters in the island of Lewis by forty-two per cent., they reduced the arrears of these same crofters by no less than eighty-four per cent. Why has the Government persistently opposed a similar measure for Ireland, under which, if it had existed, Michael Colletton and Luke Corrigan would both be now in lawful possession of their holdings.

HOME RULE AND FEDERATION.

BY MR. G. HUTCHINSON (Member of the New Zealand House of Representatives).

THE naval partnership proposed between Great Britain and the Australasian Colonies remains unsettled. The scheme was considered as likely to mark some advance towards Federation, but its failure is not unlikely to raise the question in a manner better calculated to ensure a satisfactory conclusion. The proposal itself was partial and tentative. Of all the British Colonies scattered over the world, the Australasian group was singular in being treated as nearer independence than any other. Nothing seems to have been attempted in the direction of making terms with the other Colonies which had no reason to complain as to their naval defence. The Australias, of all others the richest and most exposed, were left the least protected. These facts, however, were not unmarked by the possible enemies of the Mother Country. It is now definitely known that a well-matured plan of attack by a couple of Russian cruisers combining the

most recent scientific improvements was ready for execution in the event of the war expected a few years ago. Our weak and obsolete fleet on the Australian station must have only added to the calamity which would have broken the prestige of Great Britain in the South. The Colonies quickly fortified their principal sea-ports; but the weakness at sea, being an admiralty concern, received little attention. An invitation to the Colonies to assist in reinforcing the fleet, met with a hearty response; but difficulties began when details were discussed. Correspondence soon threatened to be critical as to the principles involved in the proposal to contribute to what was practically Imperial defence without the slightest control being conceded in the councils of the Empire. The suggestion of the Colonial Office for a Conference in London was calculated to move more pleasantly to a conclusion.

The Conference met in the summer of the Jubilee year, and although it was due to the importance of their deliberations that they should be conducted in secret, they were understood to be free from any serious difference of opinion. A form of agreement was drawn up by which Great Britain and the Australasian Colonies were to unite in building and maintaining for ten years an auxiliary squadron. It was expressly stipulated by the Admiralty that the fleet was not for the defence of the coasts, but to keep the seas for the protection of floating trade. The Colonies were warned to defend themselves against enemies not their own, and to provide suitable harbours of refuge for vessels of the fleet if pursued or requiring to refit. The project was then referred to the seven Parliaments for ratification. Victoria—envious of the march stolen by her rival and neighbour in the expedition to the Soudan—passed the Bill with the utmost enthusiasm. New South Wales—not without some sharp financial recollections

of the Soudan campaign—jubilated less enthusiastically. The other Colonies on the continent of Australia, with one exception, decorously followed. In New Zealand the ministry reserved the second reading of the Bill till two days before Christmas, when nearly half the members had left, and, in the closing hours of an exhausted session, forced the measure through all its stages. Queensland, however, was obstinate, and after a general election the Opposition returned stronger than before and displaced the Government which had approved the scheme. The draft Bill supplied for adoption to the various Parliaments, so as to preserve uniformity throughout, expressly provided that the ratification by each and all the Colonies of the group was a condition precedent to its binding force on any. The corresponding measure which, once the several Colonies had concurred, was to close the bargain by the Parliament at Westminster has not even been introduced. The notoriously inefficient state of the fleet on the Australasian station, however, could not be allowed to delay the construction of the Special Service Squadron. The seven vessels will be ready for commission within twelve months.

Will they be sent in the absence of contribution?

To argue that the flag shall remain less protected on the Australasian station than on any other is to concede what can scarcely admit of degree in the way of forcing separation. The auxiliary squadron will doubtless be sent to supply the admitted deficiency for which it has been designed.

Yet the question of terms will be felt in the Colonies to be more urgently raised than before if this fleet—although absolutely necessary for British supremacy, yet built under some expectation of partnership—is to be maintained solely at the charge of the Admiralty at Whitehall. Even if some of the Colonies

claimed to contribute on the lines laid down by the Conference, such a position would soon be felt to be an intolerable and unworthy one. What, in such an event, would become of Queensland or any other nonconforming colony of the group? Would her interests be less consulted or protected than the interests of such as chose to subscribe? Any partial treatment, or any scheme which does not rest on unanimity, would be almost certainly fatal to all that is best worth preserving.

The diplomats and courtiers have failed, and any attempt to patch up the failure will be a mistake.

What had almost been accomplished without the electors even remotely realising the vital principle involved, and all but surrendered, had better now be approached in a more open and patriotic spirit. The people must now be heard; and although they may feel themselves somewhat exceptionally treated in being called upon to bear, in addition to a heavy expense for local defence, a share of the cost of keeping the open seas, and of being subordinated in the past negotiations, yet the Colonists at large will doubtless be prepared to respond to any reasonable proposal which preserves the constitutional rights they have learned to prize. It may be fairly claimed, now that they are expected to contribute to imperial defence, that they should have representation in some federal council or congress dealing exclusively with the affairs of the Empire.

The subject of Imperial Federation has hitherto been treated as one remote from practical politics—as a theme around which sentiment was building up opinion. By the course of events arising out of the proposed partnership, the subject has suddenly become one demanding immediate consideration. On the mighty issues to which the century is moving in respect of the granting of legislative rights to portions of Great Britain,

this claim by the Colonies to representation in the councils of the Empire has a bearing which may show such interests to be identical in the establishment of a Federal Parliament.

THE CROFTERS' COMMISSION IN ORKNEY.

BY AN ORKNEY CORRESPONDENT.

NEARLY two years ago the Crofters' Commission decided, and the Secretary of State for Scotland ratified the decision, that Orkney and Shetland were to be included in the Crofters' Act. Great was the jubilation of the Crofters and the consternation of the lairds. The latter very naturally opposed the extension of the Act to Orkney; but the Crofters had the equally good sense and good fortune to secure an agent who had made their cause not merely a matter of pocket, but of heart and conscience, and he has fought their battle throughout with a courage and skill that have conducted largely to their remarkable success. The ground on which Mr. Thomson claimed the benefits of the Act for the Orkney Crofters, was that they had formerly, and within the time prescribed (eighty years), enjoyed the right of pasture on certain uncultivated lands and commons; a right of which they had been practically robbed by the gradual appropriation of the lands by adjacent proprietors, and the existence of which the present owners had, to a man, denied on oath. The fact was proved, however, in a way that shows how conveniently short the memory of landowners can be on occasion. Between thirty and forty years ago the proprietors in various parishes in Orkney were busily adding to their estates in the above free-and-easy fashion; but, in order to obtain legal sanction for their proceedings, they swore to a writ, in which they grounded their claim to the lands on the fact that *their tenants were in the habit of using them for grazing*. This writ was produced, the contention proved, and Orkney and Shetland recognized as a crofting county. Perhaps the technical description of a crofter may not be as familiar to those South as North of the Tweed. "A crofter is any person who, at the date of the passing of the Act (25th June, 1886), was tenant of a holding from year to year—i.e., under verbal lease—who resided on his holding, the annual rental of which did not exceed £30."

In the interval between the decision recorded above, and the arrival of the Commissioners in

Orkney, in August, 1888, about 800 crofters applied through Mr. Thomson for reduction of rent. The Commission sat for a week in Kirkwall, when about 120 cases came before them. The writer was privileged to be in Court one day, and will never forget the intense sympathy excited in her heart by the appearance of the crofters collected in the body of the Court. The proceedings that day were not of special interest, but one had only to look round on the furrowed, weather-beaten faces, the toil-worn hands, the poor, homely clothes, to feel one's imagination quickened into a vivid conception of the hard, dull life of these men, their ceaseless struggle to wrest some return out of the stony ground, and the necessity which had driven them, among the most loyal and long-suffering of their class, to seek redress at other than landlord hands. Some of the older men had faces of quite a noble simplicity; many wore that look of hopeless patience, so infinitely pathetic on the faces of the poor. All were attentive to a degree. They could hardly have spared the time to be thus in town, but that the harvest was late this year, and much of the crops still standing in November. It would make a South country farmer weep to see the fields here—oats and bere (a coarse kind of barley)—poor at the best to eyes accustomed to the rich wheatfields in the South of England, but frequently swept almost to the ground by the driving storms which often come on before the grain is ripe. Last year the people were harvesting with the snow lying on the hills and a bitter wind sweeping over the fields. It is good indeed to think that something at least has been done to mitigate the hard lot of those toilers to whom we literally owe our bread. Taken all round the Commissioners have effected a reduction of rent of nearly 30 per cent.; they have ensured fixity of tenure to the crofters and their heirs; they have provided for compensation for improvements; and they have struck off 60 per cent. of arrears. The lairds would be superhuman if they were not indignant. A letter of bitter complaint from General Burroughs, proprietor of the island of Rowsay, appeared in the *Scotsman* for December 1st. After showing that "a fine of £869 14s. had been levied" on him he piteously writes:

"I may be permitted to ask why am I thus fined? I am not a rebel or a malefactor to be thus treated. I and mine have done all in our power to improve this estate and the condition of all on it, and during the past forty years have laid out £40,000 on estate improvements."

This passage is a curious instance of how facts may misrepresent actual conditions. True it may be that £40,000 has been laid out in Rowsay during the past forty years. But has the expenditure in any way benefited the crofters there? This sum includes all the outlay on a "palatial

residence" General Burroughs has erected for himself, all his taxes and poor-rates, besides large sums spent on fencing in for his own purposes the hill-lands formerly used for grazing by the crofters themselves! During these forty years rents in Rowsay have been steadily rising, while produce prices all over Orkney have been as steadily declining. This latter fact was most unwillingly attested by a witness for the proprietors in Court here. He was forced to admit that prices were now so low that he would not take 100 acres without any rent at all if he had to reclaim the soil.

Now, how do these facts about the Orkney crofters bear upon the case of the Irish tenants? Two points of difference strike one at once—first, the comparative ease with which a Scotch crofter may make application for reduction of rent; second, the certainty of having his arrears proportionately lessened, if not altogether wiped out. It has already been pointed out in this Journal of last month that the injustice in refusing power to the Land Courts to deal with arrears renders the Irish Act all but useless; but it is an injustice which cannot be too often called to mind, for it is but one of the many instances of unequal law meted out to our sister island, for whom, nevertheless, we believe a brighter day is dawning.

WHY AND HOW I WAS CONVICTED.

BY PERCY HAROLD SNELLING.

I WENT to Ireland last February in the interests of Home Rule. In the course of my mission I addressed several meetings, one of which was at Sixmilebridge, co. Clare. At this meeting the Rev. R. H. Little, P.P., presided. By the light of the flaming turf the police ascertained where the meeting was being held, and hastened to the spot. The District Inspector immediately proceeded to take long-hand notes—he was unacquainted with shorthand. At that meeting I urged the people to adhere to the Irish National League and to adopt the Plan of Campaign wherever necessary. I strongly condemned outrage, and told the people that those who perpetrated deeds of violence were Ireland's greatest enemies. Constitutional and determined opposition to exorbitant rents and to government by coercion were the theme of my address.

The next day the District Inspector swore an information against me, and I was subsequently arrested. Bail was strongly opposed by the police, and, the magistrates saying they wanted time to consider, I was remanded in custody until next day. Father Little, who came to bail me, stated that he could not attend next day; but the pro-

secution said they would take Father Little's word, and get the bail signed elsewhere. The next day the police opposition to bail was renewed, but the magistrates decided to liberate me on bail. Then the prosecution asked who were my sureties. I replied that Father Little was prepared to be one, at the same time giving the name of the other. The District Inspector immediately objected that Father Little was not present. I retorted that I had expected such disreputable tactics to be resorted to, and therefore had already obtained two other gentlemen to be responsible for my appearance.

On leaving the Court that day I saw the prosecuting District Inspector and the magistrate walking off together to the club, presumably to lunch. This is not the only occasion upon which I have seen the police and magistrates hobnobbing together—cheek by jowl.

I was charged with (a) inciting *certain persons unknown* to join the Irish National League, and (b) with inciting them to adopt the Plan of Campaign. The District Inspector produced his notes of my speech, from which it appeared that he had taken down two or three words from different sentences, and supplemented them after he reached home—possibly the next day. Upon the uncorroborated testimony of one policeman I was convicted, and sentenced by Cecil Roche and Captain Welsh to six months with hard labour for the former and to one month with hard labour for the latter—seven months in all. While cross-examining this District Inspector I asked him if I condemned outrages, and he replied that I did. I asked him why he did not take it down in his note-book, and he replied that it was necessary for a conviction. I then asked him if he purposely omitted anything that would benefit me, and he said, "Yes; I only took down what would secure a conviction." Here, then, we have a policeman deliberately tearing a few words from the context for the purpose of securing a conviction. And why do policemen desire to secure convictions? Because it means promotion to them. Even the District Inspector who prosecuted me did his duty so well that he was shortly afterwards made a resident magistrate. But is it fair that about eighty words shall be taken from a speech of thirty-five minutes' duration, and used as a fair and accurate report of that speech? I had quoted a passage from one of Lord Salisbury's speeches, but the police reporter treated it as a phrase of my own.

Such, then, is the way in which prosecutions are conducted in Ireland. Such is the evidence that is sufficient to satisfy the notorious Cecil Roche and his colleague that I deserved seven months' hard labour. In passing sentence, Mr. Roche said they must stop itinerant agitators from disturbing the country, as it was quite bad enough

without Englishmen coming over and making it worse. How well such words sound from the lips of the ex-itinerant agitator of the I.L.P.U.!

Is it just that men do certain things in England without let or hindrance; but, as soon as they do those same things in Ireland, they should be thrust into gaol with common felons, clothed in felon's garb, fed on felon's food, have to sleep on felon's plank—in short, receive the same treatment as is meted out to the vilest scoundrels the country produces?

NOTES BY THE WAY.

The New Year.—We do not pretend to make-believe to ourselves that during 1888 we have witnessed so great a revulsion of feeling against the present misgovernment of Ireland as we could have wished, or as the more sanguine among us had hoped for. Nor do we seek to live in any fool's paradise of expectation that the end is very near. In fact, we are most firmly of opinion that the evil from which we suffer most is the feeling of satisfaction and complacency which prevails within our own ranks. Too many of us stand aside with self-righteous thoughts that we have purged ourselves from the taint of supporting a system of injustice, and with a placid faith that the solid-minded English people are gradually learning the truth. This is not the way in which victory is won. This is not the service which a true citizen owes to the state. We must leave our armchairs and go out into the highways and byways to spread the truth. To every one there is opportunity; round every one is a circle within which he or she can exercise great influence; for no one, however poor or busy, is there an excuse for inaction. If we really care about Ireland, we should show it in earnest and untiring work; and so doing, we shall not fail to be rewarded by greater progress in 1889 than we have witnessed in 1888. Progress we certainly have made. We have time on our side; and time will accomplish slowly what through our efforts might be accomplished quickly. If there is delay, with all the dangers and misery that delay involves, the fault is ours, and no mere frothy blackguarding of Mr. Balfour will alter the fact. He is doing his work energetically; let us not be behindhand. He has ended the year in a way to encourage us. The convictions of Mr. E. Harrington and Mr. Finucane should arouse the most sluggish. They will spend the next six months in prison for speaking to their countrymen words of counsel which we approve, and which in the security of our own land we coldly imitate. They are in prison because with all our fine moral sentiments half of us do not really care.

Mr. O'Brien on Outrages.—In the course of an address to the Kenmare tenants, who have adopted the Plan of Campaign, Mr. William O'Brien spoke as follows (December 20):—“I ask you to bear with me while I say one serious and solemn word. I know of only one potentate in Kerry who can defeat us, and that is not Colonel Turner—but Captain Moonlight. I know it is a villainous lie to tell us, as the Tory papers have been telling us, that there have been outrages committed upon the Kenmare estate in consequence of the Plan of Campaign. I say it is a lie that there was any outrage whatever in the district on this estate to which our organisation extends, and the arrest of a secretary of the National League upon this estate upon an infamous charge is part of the blackguardism and baseness with which we are being defamed and blackened through England at this moment. All the same, I tell you seriously, and I ask you to believe that I would not say it only for very grave reasons, these things are the one danger and the one terror that we have in this struggle; and, undoubtedly, if these sickening outrages upon poor, humble peasants' homes were to be continued, we would have to withdraw from this estate, and withdraw in disaster and in defeat. But I have too much confidence in the splendid, good-hearted, and goodnatured people of Kerry to think that they would do anything of the kind. I know, I believe you have suffered. I know what little reason you have to trust to constitutional means when seeking for redress. I know you have been persecuted, and I am sorry to say abandoned by those to whom you had a right to look for sympathy and guidance. I know all that, and one of the principal motives that I and my friends have in this struggle—if it is possible to do it, and I am a believer in the Irish people and in the Irish nature—is to deliver the people of Kerry from the nightmare of helplessness and crime that has been brooding so long over your people, and to infuse into Kerry the spirit of hope and sunshine that is overspreading the rest of Ireland by offering to you a policy which has all the attractions of manhood and none of the repulsiveness of crime.”

The Ownership of Land in Ireland and in France.—We extract the following passages from an interesting paper read by Mr. Murrough O'Brien before the Statistical Society of Ireland:—“In Ireland, with a population of nearly five million persons, it appears probable that there are less than 20,000 owners of land; half the entire area of the country belonging to 900 or 1,000 persons. This practical exclusion of the people from the ownership of the soil of their

country has led to the cry of ‘the land for the people,’ a principle which is embodied in the French Constitution, and maintained by their system of law. In France one person in $4\frac{1}{2}$ is a landowner; in Ireland the proportion seems to be about one in 250. At present, however, not only is the general well-being of the French immeasurably greater than that of the Irish peasant, but the annual emigration from the Irish population of five millions is close on 100,000, while from France with its thirty-seven millions, it seldom exceeds 5,000 in a year. The increase during the last fifty years of landowners in France is conclusively shown to be due, not to the pulverisation of small holdings, but to the breaking up of large estates and farms, which the owners find more profitable to sell in small lots than to cultivate or let to tenants. Agriculture in France has suffered even more than in the United Kingdom since 1880; for besides the depression in prices, disease has ravaged and destroyed vast tracts of valuable vineyard land. But the small French peasant proprietor working for himself, by increased exertion and economy, both lives and thrives. There is a great resemblance between France and Ireland in the distribution of the use of the land, and in the proportions of the populations engaged in agriculture; but an enormous difference in respect of the distribution of ownership. This difference has been insisted on for a century by persons who wished to lay the foundations of social happiness and civil order in Ireland. I don't want, however, to labour that well-worn aspect of the question; but to remark that these statistics of French economy supply an answer to the statement so often made nowadays, that the Irish land-laws are more favourable to the tenant than those of any other country. The statement is true, but a false inference is suggested. The answer to which is that there is not another civilised country in the world where agriculture is the chief industry in which so small a proportion of the peasantry are owners of their farms; that the Irish peasantry have occupied, cultivated, improved, built, and reclaimed, on a tenure more hazardous and uncertain, under conditions more paralysing and deterring to improvement than those in which any other peasantry in the world have lived and thriven; and that even the tenure created by the Act of 1881 is surrounded with so much uncertainty, with so many legal perplexities, and with such liability to lawsuits, and invested with such elements of insecurity, that no rational being could be expected, relying on the tenure alone, to embark capital in permanent improvement of a farm held under it. For this reason one of the most urgent political questions in Ireland at present is—what system of land tenure is to replace the old one now in process of dissolu-

tion? . . . The causes of Ireland's depopulation cannot properly be called economic or natural, but are distinctly due to that system of large estates and tenancy tenures in which Ireland so strikingly contrasts with France. The payment of an absentee rental, which with interest on charges raised in England, but not spent in increasing the productiveness of Irish soil, amounted to seven or eight millions a year, continued with but little interruption. There never has been a time when the population of Ireland was not considered excessive by some persons; and never a time when it has not been confidently and truly asserted that more labour and capital, wisely applied to the soil, would double and treble the produce. Population diminishes in Ireland in periods of agricultural prosperity as well as of adversity, and prosperity, with increased profits from the use of land, has often led to the depopulation of whole districts. I cannot see how the less remunerativeness of agriculture and potato culture can be the *causa causans* of the population of Meath having diminished 57 per cent. since 1841, while that of the parish of Achill, with a population more dependent on the potato, has increased 36 per cent. since 1851, and is still increasing, as is the whole county of Mayo. I attribute it to the existence of great estates, the owners of which had power to remove as many of the population as they pleased, or to make the conditions of existence such that the people fled. The more fertile the land, the more capital sunk in it by the occupiers, the greater was the inducement to exercise the full powers of the owner. A stationary or diminishing population is quite consistent with prosperity; but I cannot see that examination of the districts in which population is least and most dense, or that historical inquiry into the causes of the decrease, lead to the conclusions suggested by Irish official statistics. A tract of country containing 30,000 acres, in the occupation of one person, but all through which there are extensive traces of a former population and of evictions, may be statistically prosperous, but is not really so."

Variation in Judicial Rents.—On the 18th December the Land Commission issued an order under Section 29 of the Land Act of 1887, revising the judicial rents over Ireland. Like the corresponding order of last year, it is signed only by Mr. Litton and Mr. Wrench, Judge O'Hagan, no doubt, again dissenting in favour of a more liberal treatment of the tenants. The order has excited great dissatisfaction in Ireland, and there is good cause for the feeling. Last year the reductions averaged about 22 per cent.; this year the average is about 6 or 7 per cent. In some cases even an increase

is ordered on the judicial rents of 1885. The necessities of the case demanded something very different, and the tenants have received another sharp lesson that the rough remedy of the Plan of Campaign cannot be dispensed with. It must be remembered, however, that the wisdom of Parliament put it out of the power of the Commissioners to take account of all the facts of the tenant's position. Section 29 provided that "the rent fixed . . . shall differ by the difference in prices, as aforesaid, in the respective years"; but the difference in prices is only one among many circumstances which ought to be considered in making an equitable adjustment. The Government were warned of this. They framed the provision with their eyes open, for it was introduced by amendment, in response to a request of the Commissioners for precise guidance. Mr. Parnell told them that "it would diminish at least by one-half the value of the Bill"; and the order which has just been issued shows that he was perfectly right. He generally is right. But his warning had naturally no effect on a Government the chief plank in whose policy is to keep up rents in Ireland.

The Capacity of the Irish for Self-Government.—“They say that if Ireland has the government of her own affairs, the two sections of the country will go to civil war, and you will be obliged again to interfere with ruinous bloodshed and expense. That is absolutely contradicted by the history of the last century. You had in the last century a Parliamentary system in Ireland. You had that system in a form so imperfect that it could not be expected to produce all its good results; still, in the course of last century, down to about 1797, it did produce absolute union of sentiment as between the Protestants and Roman Catholics of Ireland. Nowhere were the Roman Catholic claims more popular in those days than in Belfast, and nowhere was there greater indignation than in Antrim against the attempts made by the British Government then, as they are made by Tories and dissentient Liberals now, to set Roman Catholics and Protestants by the ears. They were united in a strong feeling of National and Irish patriotism, a sentiment which ought to be connected by the warmest attachment to the British Crown. History contradicts and shatters to pieces the contention of the dissentient Liberals upon this point. But, then, we are threatened with a disloyal Ireland. Gentlemen, not only a more ungenerous, but a more absurd imputation never was made. Allow me to quote a few words from a letter of Mr. O'Connell's, written in 1827, before Roman Catholic Emancipation was granted, before he had obtained a seat in Parliament, upon the first

dawn of hope when the Liberal Ministry, under Canning, was formed, and when the gentleman who was afterwards Lord Melbourne became Secretary for Ireland. He then wrote a letter in which he said—'Yes, they will be loyal, for our disposition truly leans to loyalty.' I believe O'Connell spoke the strict and literal truth. Sometimes, when there has been even the most visionary hope of justice, they have shown that disposition to be loyal. In '82 they got an independent Parliament, and their very first act was to vote a most enthusiastic declaration of attachment to the Crown, and to take steps to raise a force of men for the navy of the country. In the reign of George IV. they clung to hope, and when he went to Ireland and showed himself among the people, and displayed that courtesy for which, with all his faults, he was as capable as any man alive, he won the hearts of the Irish people, and his reception was enthusiastic in the very highest degree. You have this ground of certainty that the Irish people will be a loyal people—it is that they are a truthful people. Look at the way in which they trust their leaders, and look at the way in which they choose their leaders. Three-fourths or four-fifths of the people are of the Roman Catholic religion and differ considerably from the people who live among them. What leaders have the Irish people chosen? They followed Mr. Flood, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Butt, Mr. Shaw, and Mr. Parnell, the last and not the least competent or least distinguished man, and every one of these men were Protestants. And men trusted every one of these Protestants and followed them as loyally and as trustfully as if they had been of their own religious persuasion. That is the stuff and the material that makes a man disposed to loyalty, and which justifies the words of O'Connell that 'Our disposition truly leans to loyalty.' True, O'Connell was their leader, and O'Connell was a Roman Catholic. But why was he their leader? Was it because he was a Roman Catholic? No, because I have shown you that other men that can be called their leaders have been of the Protestant religion. But he was their leader because he was a man incomparably elevated in talent, power, and devotion to his country over every contemporary, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, throughout the length and the breadth of Ireland."—MR. GLADSTONE at Limehouse.

The Address to Mr. Dillon.—One of the most interesting events in the month of December was the presentation to Mr. Dillon of an address by the Liberal members of Parliament. It was a natural and deserved tribute to a good and brave man. The charge is often and freely made that Irish members have entered into politics from

considerations of personal advantage. It is an absurd charge at the best. If Irish members consulted only their own advantage they would seek other fields than Parliament for the exercise of their ability and energy. As for Mr. Dillon, we do not envy the mind which is not impressed by the devotion and courage with which, through good report and ill report, he has fought for his countrymen. To him political strife in itself is wholly uncongenial. In quieter times his life would have been spent in study and meditation, far from the din of parties and platforms. He has sacrificed much for his country; and we rejoice that the best part of the representatives of Great Britain should have formally expressed what the best part of the people of Great Britain feel concerning him. From his speech on the occasion, we quote the concluding passage:—"I say here, and I am firmly convinced of its truth, that if in recent political agitation in Ireland there has been a marked falling off in the savagery and in the extent of the crime that has been committed, that is undoubtedly due to the fact that the people have been influenced, and to a great extent drawn into the paths of legality, patience, and morality by the sympathy that they have seen growing up for them and their sufferings in this country of yours. Universal history shows that where a struggling and a suffering people are found face to face with a tyrannical Government, there will also be found violent and savage crime. On the other hand, where sympathy and a kindly spirit have existed on the part of those in power, it has done more to bring the people within the limits of law and moderation than all the coercion codes that were ever invented. But there are a couple of considerations which appear to me to be so striking that I cannot resist the temptation of laying them before you. In one of those passages of Mr. Balfour's speech he said that he could not conceive the motives of men who for a single moment would obstruct or delay the settlement of this great agrarian question. I would like to ask what the Tory party have been doing for the last fifty years but systematically obstructing the settlement of this agrarian question in Ireland. I lay at their doors the hundreds of agrarian murders and all the miserable agrarian crimes that have desolated the country, because they always have obstinately obstructed and delayed the settlement of this question. Why is it that you have this acute agrarian question in Ireland and not in England? It is a puzzle to Englishmen and Scotchmen and Welshmen; it is a puzzle to all the world. I cannot avoid reading for you in this connection an answer given by one of the ablest and most thoughtful of the leaders of the United Irishmen in 1798—Thomas Addis Emmet. After the failure of the revolution of 1798 he, being one of the three executive directory, and one of the

most thoughtful and learned amongst them, was brought before a Secret Committee of the Irish House of Commons, and he states as one of the objects of that movement the reduction of the agricultural rents in Ireland. Mr. Speaker Foster said to him—

"You mention that a reform would diminish the rent of land. How do you think that would be done?"

"Mr. Emmet replied—

"I am convinced that rack-rents can only take place in a country otherwise essentially oppressed. If the value of the people was raised in the State their importance would influence the landlords to consult their interests, and, therefore, to better their condition. This, I think, would take place even without any special law bearing on the matter."

"There you have the entire essence of the agrarian trouble in Ireland. We have always stated to Parliament that the laws made here are simply expedients, most expensive and costly expedients, for dealing with the effect, while you leave the cause in full operation. That cause is that the people have no power in the country; and as long as you have landlords in the country and the people without power, so long will you have agrarian trouble. What has been the history of this matter? It began in 1848, when you took the constabulary off the local rates and put them on the Imperial Exchequer. The result of that has been that the cost of the constabulary force has more than quadrupled within the last thirty years. By that means, and by your system of government, you artificially increased the price of land in Ireland. Then in 1881 you appointed a commission to cut down the rents—a very artificial and a very unfortunate principle. That commission has cost £700,000 of the British taxpayers' money to cut down the rents, and now you are face to face with a landlord agitation for an extension of the Ashbourne Act, in order to raise again artificially the price of land in Ireland. I have only alluded to that in order to bring before the minds of the English people the fact that if the two questions are bound together it is not because we have selfish or evil motives, but because all the facts prove that you cannot settle the question satisfactorily, cheaply, or finally without settling the whole matter together. I will only say, in conclusion, that I feel thoroughly convinced that this meeting here to-day, which is unquestionably unique in the history of the two countries, that it will not only have—as I know it will—a good effect in Ireland, but a good effect in every country where the Irish race is scattered, and where, as a result, this great question has raised difficulties which no statesman can

overlook. I believe that notwithstanding the sneers and insults of Mr. Balfour and Lord Salisbury it will do more to stamp out agrarian crime and the miserable stain which it has left upon our country than all their Coercion Acts and all their tyranny, because it will bring to the minds of our people a curative influence infinitely more effective than any amount of coercion—namely, the influence which springs from the love of a great and generous people."

The Pope on Ireland.—Zealous Orangemen have, of late, been so very anxious to claim the Pope as an ally, that they must have been struck with dismay on reading Archbishop Walsh's address on New Year's Day:—"It was, as the Holy Father came to see, the evident purpose of those enemies of ours to weaken, if they could not hope to break, those bonds of love that have always kept our people so safe within the fold of Christ, by keeping them so closely united in bonds of sympathy, as well as of duty, with the Holy See. They had entered, as it would seem, into a conspiracy of falsehood to make our people believe, by persistently repeating it, that the Pope was hostile to that cause, of which I have never yet spoken in this holy place, but to which I may now make passing reference, in the words of the Pope's most gracious message to us, as the cause 'for which Ireland is now struggling.' His Holiness then saw that there were two things that it would be well for him to do: first, to give a practical refutation of the falsehood about the beads, in addition to the official contradiction that had already been given of it; and, secondly, to speak out, as he had not felt called upon to speak out publicly before giving expression to the feelings, feelings the very opposite of hostile, with which he regards the aspirations of the Irish people. Those feelings of his, his true feelings about our country and her cause, had indeed become well known before this to some amongst us. As for myself, I was privileged months ago to hear them from his own lips. But the time had not then come for making any formal public statement of them. The opportunity for doing so has now arisen, and it has arisen as the result of those things which were meant by their authors to work mischief to Ireland and to her cause, but which, in the good Providence of God, have now been turned to her advantage, and to the confusion and the shame of those who wished her evil. The Holy Father, then, has in His wisdom judged that the time has now come for him to make it known to all that, so far is he from having any desire to hinder, or from having any thought of hindering, the onward progress and the triumph of the cause of Ireland, that the recent action of his which has been so sadly misunder-

stood by many, was inspired in great measure by the thought that in that exercise of his authority he was helping that cause towards speedier success by endeavouring to keep it clear of any of those things that might prejudice it in the minds of many reasonable men. This, as I have said to you, was the Holy Father's view, and he has now given expression to it in a letter] of which a copy has been sent to each of the bishops of Ireland. In this most gracious and most touching letter he makes known to us, and through us to all the world, not only the depth and the sincerity of his affection for Ireland and her people, but his admiration, also, for the many virtues of that people, and his unshaken confidence in their undying and unwavering attachment to the Church and to the Holy See." So disappears one more fond delusion of the Unionists.

CORRESPONDENCE.

POLICE AND PEOPLE IN IRELAND.

To the Editor of the HOME RULE JOURNAL.

SIR,—The following brief narrative relates to a few incidents which came under my notice during a tour in Ireland in August last. Probably commonplace enough in themselves, they are, all the more valuable as evidence of the spirit in which the law is at present administered across the Channel.

The scene was Lord Clanricarde's estate, a few miles from Woodford. A strong force of police, with a detachment of Scotch Fusiliers, was enforcing law and order as against his lordship's poverty-stricken tenants with all the pomp and circumstance of war. It was towards noon when we came upon them, tramping in dusty procession along a road obstructed in places by the rough barriers of large stones thrown up by the peasantry. These were soon cleared away, and another quarter-of-an-hour brought us to the dwellings of the next victims, a family named Fahy, who, ten in number, occupied a poor little thatched home-stead and a few acres of barren soil at a rent of eight guineas. The usual formal negotiations were gone through, and the familiar scene enacted. "There goes the wall of 250 years!" I heard its owner exclaim, as the crowbars were plied against the quickly-yielding structure. A slight demonstration with hot water by one or two lads inside served merely to exhibit the conspicuous cowardice of the emergency-men, who, though amply protected by tarpaulins and sou'-westers, shrank from the threatening orifice as though the shower had

been molten lead. The scanty furniture thrown out, and possession formerly handed over to the agent, the march was resumed to the house of Fahy No. 2, where lived John Fahy, the invalid boy whose death, following close upon the eviction, attracted some attention at the time.

It was at this stage that we witnessed on two distinct occasions examples of the brutality with which some of the constabulary exercise their practically irresponsible authority. The first took place near the leading files, and was seen by my travelling companion, who writes of it: "I was marching with the column, and so can say that its progress was in nowise obstructed by the peasantry, who remained quite silent throughout. Quite suddenly, however, a small body of police separated themselves from the column and forcibly drove back, along a piece of grass between the road and the wall, a little knot of peasants, chiefly men, though some women and children were among them. Those of the police who had carbines, clubbed them, and freely used their butts on the fleeing and unresisting people; and I especially recollect one man being struck, while making off, on his back and shoulders some three or four times by a policeman who wore a black beard, and whose otherwise slovenly appearance has impressed itself on my memory. The blows were delivered with the butt of the carbine, and were heavy enough to produce a bumping sound, and, therefore, to bruise. The man nearly fell in trying to escape." Shortly afterwards I myself saw a similar occurrence at the rear—a small group of people being driven along the narrow space by two stalwart constables, one of whom was vigorously belabouring them with the butt of his carbine, while the other prodded with the muzzle.

A little later we were in the yard at Fahy's house. The dying boy was sitting huddled up on a chair in the open air, and the forces of the Crown were lounging about the yard while the formalities of eviction were completed, talking of the "sport" which was to be expected next day, when Tully's house should be attacked. No resistance whatever had been offered here, and the usual cordon had been somewhat relaxed, so that a small crowd of people were standing in the field just over the yard wall, looking on in perfect silence, suggestive of the sadness bordering on despair with which they watched this most unequal war. It was at this moment that Divisional Magistrate Byrne walked down the yard, sharply rebuked Inspector O'Brien for allowing the people to come so near, and ordered the field to be cleared. The police at once seized their rifles and sprang over the wall, the people scattering at the first alarm, whilst those who failed to move fast enough received the apparently customary attentions from the carbines. Perhaps not least note-

worthy is the fact that none of these incidents were, as far as I know, even mentioned in the newspaper reports of the evictions.—I am, Sir, &c.,

Oswald Earp.

Melbourne, Derby, Dec., 1888.

DIARY OF THE MOVEMENT.

December 1.—Speeches by Lord Spencer at Rochester. Unlike Lord Salisbury he had not the slightest fear of establishing in Ireland a Government of representative Irishmen.—Speech of Prof. Stuart at Oxford: The effect of the Irish question would be, and must be, to turn the Liberal Party into a Radical Party.—Formation of a University Unionist League at Oxford, under the presidency of the Warden of Merton, who suggested a comparison between the leaders of Irish Nationalism and the Whitechapel murderer.

December 3.—Debate on Supply in the House of Commons: Speech by Mr. Gladstone on treatment of Mr. T. Harrington in jail under Lord Spencer; the case of Kinsella; of John Mandeville; “Were the photographs taken by ricochet?” incompetency of resident magistrates; responsibility on the Government and not on Balfour individually. — Meetings addressed by Dr. Tanner and Mr. Carew in Kildare.

December 4.—Debate in House of Lords on the Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill.—Debate in House of Commons on Supply. Speeches by William O’Brien, A. J. Balfour, T. P. O’Connor, Sir William Harcourt, John Morley, and C. S. Parnell.—Judge Boyd refused to release Thomas Moroney.—24th day of the Parnell Commission.

December 5.—The Parnell Commission, 25th day.—Speech of Prof. Stuart in Committee of Supply on the failure to relet derelict farms.

December 6.—Speech of Sir William Harcourt in House of Commons exposing Balfour’s assertion that, in seven cases, Mr. Gladstone’s Government had neglected the verdicts of common juries.—Parnell Commission, 26th day.—Presentation to John Dillon, M.P., of an address by 155 members of Parliament.—Speech by Mr. Stansfeld at Whitehaven.

December 7.—Scene in House of Commons owing to Dr. Tanner taking his seat beside Mr. Chaplin.—Issue of Report of Select Committee on the attempt to serve summons on Mr. Sheehy in House of Commons.—Parnell Commission, 27th day.

December 8.—Debate in House of Commons on Education in Ireland.

December 10.—House of Commons: Mr. Balfour says he has no power to release Moroney.—Debate on the Irish Constabulary.

December 11.—Parnell Commission, 28th day.—Speeches by Lord Ripon at Haslingden and Mr. Stansfeld at Salford.

December 12.—Parnell Commission, 29th day.—Speech of Mr. John Morley in the Foresters’ Hall: “The same man who talks about black men is the man who compared the Irish to Hottentots.”—Speech of Mr. Goschen at Birmingham.

December 13.—Moroney released.—Parnell Commission, 30th day.

December 14.—Parnell Commission, 31st day.—Election for Maidstone. Tory returned by 185 majority.—Lord Hartington and other Unionists withdraw from National Liberal Club.

December 15.—Speech of Mr. Gladstone in Limehouse Town Hall.—The dissentient Liberals on the Opposition bench.—Attack on the extension of Lord Ashbourne’s Act.—Ireland blocks the way—her demands moderate—the present system wasteful—Ireland is not disloyal.

December 16.—Speech of Mr. William O’Brien at Mallow.

December 18.—Speech of Mr. Sexton in Committee of Supply on the management of prosecutions in Ireland.—Election for Colchester, Tory returned by a majority of 439.—Speech of Lord Hartington at Liverpool.

December 19.—Freedom of Waterford conferred on John Dillon.

December 20.—Freedom of Wexford conferred on John Dillon.—Speech of Lord Salisbury at Scarborough.—Election for Stockton, Home Ruler returned by majority of 395.

December 21.—*Dublin Gazette* publishes order of Irish Land Commissioners as to reductions on judicial rents. The abatements average 7 per cent.

December 22.—Debate on Appropriation Bill.—Inquiry claimed into certain grave allegations made against the character of Captain Seagrave, R.M. The Government decline to suspend him from his duties as magistrate till the charges were investigated.

December 24.—Prorogation of Parliament; no reference to Ireland in the Queen’s Speech.

December 30.—Meeting at Carrick-on-Shannon which was to be addressed by Mr. W. O’Brien, suppressed by military and police. The meeting was held at another place.

December 31.—Mr. E. Harrington, M.P., sentenced to six months' imprisonment with hard labour because a report of a meeting of a suppressed branch of the National League appeared in the *Kerry Sentinel*.

THE RECORD OF COERCION.

DURING the five weeks ending on Christmas Day, forty-two persons have been brought to trial under the Coercion Act in Ireland, and thirty-four have been sent to prison. Besides these cases there has been the extraordinary number of ninety-two adjournments to some time early in the coming year.

We may expect to find a heavy week or two, unless, indeed, the frequency of adjournments be taken as a sign of improving times. For greater clearness we have not counted the adjourned cases at all in the following record:—

Week ending—	Trial.	Imprisonment.
Nov. 27 ...	5	5
Dec. 4 ...	23	22
Dec. 11 ...	8	3
Dec. 18 ...	4	2
Dec. 25 ...	2	2
	42	34

As regards the nature of the offences charged our analysis yields the following particulars:—

Class	Trial.	Imprisonment.
I.—Agrarian cases...	14	11
II.—Public meeting cases, &c. ...	19	18
IV.—Boycotting and Intimidation ...	8	4
VII.—Miscellaneous...	1	1
	42	34

The case under the heading "miscellaneous" is one of the very old offences—keeping arms in a proclaimed district—and the punishment of three months' imprisonment for it seems a tolerably heavy one. The heaviest sentence during the period, however, is that of six months' hard labour awarded to D. J. O'Connor, T.C., at Tralee, on November 28, for inducing tenants to join the Plan of Campaign. Yet the Plan still flourishes, and keeps the hands of the evictors fairly well tied by the very effective bonds of self-interested considerations.

THE VANS.

ON leaving Birmingham (November 12th) Van No. 2 commenced a tour in the Stratford-on-Avon division, and on the 17th Mr. Hanmer joined it

as speaker. A most successful meeting was held at Bidford, under the presidency of Dr. Davison. On the 19th a well-attended meeting was held in the Liberal Club, Stratford-on-Avon, when the newly-appointed priest (Rev. Dr. McConnell) identified himself with the movement by occupying the chair. At Wellesbourne, on the 20th, a good audience was obtained, notwithstanding the hostility of the local publicans and Tories. Two of the former refused to provide accommodation for the horse and driver. The insufficiency of the arrangements made by the local organisation was felt here as well as at the meeting at Halford on the following evening. But a sturdy Liberal, in the person of the Rev. J. Mark, Congregational minister of Ettington, came to the rescue, and arranged meetings at Tysoe (Rugby division) for Thursday evening, which were held in a barn belonging to Mr. Butcher, and on Friday in the church schoolroom, Shipston-on-Stour (Worcestershire). The rector of Shipston (Rev. Dr. Caldicott) is an ardent Home Ruler, but was prevented by a prior engagement from taking the chair. His place, however, was ably filled by the Rev. J. Mark, to whose unceasing efforts the success of the Van mission in that part of the country is due. The local Tories evidently dread the advent of the Van, and in many places they have defaced the bills announcing the meetings. But the agricultural labourers regard a visit from the Van as an event to be appreciated. They attend the meetings and listen attentively, though it has been noted on more than one occasion that when they suspected that the eye of the squire, the parson, or even of a Tory farmer, was upon them they have been afraid to take the leaflets offered to them. At Shipston a public-house loafer was sent, in a half-drunk state, to disturb the meeting, but the temper of the audience soon satisfied him of the wisdom of maintaining strict silence. On the 24th November the Van commenced a week's tour in the Rugby division, which returns Mr. Cobb. An incident worth recording happened at Offchurch, near Leamington, where the announcement of the Van meeting had thrown a farmer into a state of feverish excitement. Immediately it arrived he visited the public-house at which the meeting was to take place, and because he could not be satisfied that the visit had been sanctioned by a Leamington club (which he appeared to regard as the only competent authority to authorise the meeting), he became abusive, and declared himself the Tory wirepuller for the district, and a Primrose League official. He then took to drinking, and by the time the meeting commenced was in a helpless state of intoxication; and men who had evidently been brought to disturb the meeting, being deprived of their leader's instructions, remained quiet, and to all appearance, interested spectators. The

Tories are very active in the Stratford division, most of the villages having a Conservative Working Men's Club, which is well supplied with Unionist literature.

A VERY successful meeting was held on the 15th December at Stanstead Abbot. The mill warehouse was utilised for the occasion, and presented a novel appearance. At one end was a raised platform, over which hung an excellent portrait of Mr. Gladstone, surrounded with evergreens tastefully arranged. The seats for the audience consisted of bags of grain placed lengthwise on the floor in parallel rows. Several ladies were in attendance, and stirring speeches were delivered by Messrs. Hanmer and Snelling. A local vocalist varied the proceedings by singing a capital political song.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

AN Executive Committee Meeting was held at Palace Chambers, on December 4th, when there were present Professor Stuart, M.P., in the chair. Mr. J. Allanson Picton, Mrs. Beesley, Mrs. Bryant, Messrs. T. Eccleston Gibb, Thomas Lough, G. P. Macdonell, and the Secretary.

It was decided to invite the Right Hon. Sir William Harcourt, M.P., to address the Annual Meeting of the Home Rule Union, to be held at such time as may suit his convenience. It was also decided to issue a circular to local Liberal associations of county divisions at present held by Tories or Unionists, offering them a van stocked with literature, free of charge, provided they would undertake to hold a complete series of meetings in connection with its tour. The affiliation to the Home Rule Union of the Knutsford Division Liberal Association and the Stoke-under-Ham Liberal Association was formally sanctioned.

The Executive Committee again met at Palace Chambers, on Tuesday, December 18th, when there were present Professor Stuart, M.P., in the chair. Dr. Bernard O'Connor, Messrs. W. Martin Edmunds, Richard Eve, T. Eccleston Gibb, T. Lough, and the Secretary.

The Secretary read a letter received from the Right Hon. Sir William Harcourt, M.P., agreeing to address the Annual Meeting of the Union, but deferring the decision of time and place.

LITERATURE.

Greater London and its Government. By GEORGE WHALE. (Fisher Unwin.) 1s.

WE have received this very useful publication, which not only will be of good service to London

citizens, but is full of interest in connection with the more general question of self-government. "Its object is," says the author, "to explain to the inhabitants of London, electors and elected, what may be their share in public work, and how they may enforce their rights, who can become members of the numerous local bodies, what are the powers and duties of these bodies, and what may be done to prevent any abuse or neglect of those powers." It is full of information clearly and accurately given.

Among the excellent Irish Press Agency pamphlets we may note the following, which have recently appeared (price 1d.) :—

The Prosecution of Mr. John Dillon, M.P. By J. J. CLANCY.

THE speech of Mr. Dillon at Tullyallen is given in full.

The Criminal Law in England and in Ireland: a Contrast. By J. G. SWIFT MACNEILL.

A STUDY of this pamphlet may be judiciously prescribed to those who are given to talking about "equal laws."

The Murder of John Mandeville. By WILLIAM O'BRIEN.

A SPEECH by Mr. O'Brien at Festiniog, October 10, in reply to Mr. Balfour's Glasgow speech.

Glensharrod in 1888. By ALFRED E. PEASE, M.P. (National Press Agency.) 1d.

AN admirable account of the position of the tenants on Mr. Delmege's Glensharrod estate, co. Limerick. It is full of facts, and should be read by every one who has searchings of heart about the Plan of Campaign. He will learn how the tenants are driven to it.

IT is worth while calling attention to an extraordinary work which has proceeded from the other side. It is called *Two Chapters on Irish History*, and is written by Dr. Dunbar Ingram, the same gentleman who—in 1887—wrote a *History of the Irish Union*, to show that the Union was an excellent thing of which all but a few discontented people heartily approved. The first of his two chapters is on the Irish Parliament of James II., and is a one-sided and inaccurate eulogy of the British Colony in Ireland. The second and more remarkable chapter is on the

alleged violation of the treaty of Limerick. We are not so much surprised at his saying that the treaty was not violated at all, for no fact concerning Ireland has ever been left undenied which it was anybody's interest to deny. But, not content with this, the author goes further, and builds up a very pretty justification for the penal laws. The English authorities, he says, were worse off than the Irish—an excellent point, only it was foolish of Dr. Ingram to give the answer himself: "In England the Roman Catholics were a small and inconsiderable minority, the Protestants being more than 100 to 1. In Ireland the Catholics formed an overwhelming majority, being to the Protestants as at least five to one." Again "the position of the Irish Roman Catholics at the worst period of the penal laws was a paradise when compared with the condition of the Protestants in France, Spain, Austria, and Savoy, at the same period." When once Dr. Ingram comes to justify these persecutions also, the argument may approach to relevancy. Lastly, the penal laws, when tried by the test of political necessity, "we must acknowledge that there was a justification for their enactment." There we have the secret of the whole thing: the penal laws were necessary for the preservation of the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland. Many people think as Dr. Ingram does, but we have seldom found so candid a statement of the truth. Political necessity has been the infamous defence of every form of tyranny and persecution; but it should open the eyes of tolerant men when they find it invoked in favour of the penal laws which wrecked the peace and prosperity of Ireland.

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* * * Communications, &c., relating to the supply of the JOURNAL should be addressed to the Hon. Treasurer; other communications to the Editor of the JOURNAL, 17 & 18, Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, Westminster.

THE LAST OUTRAGE.

WE rejoice to see that the outrage on Mr. O'Brien has touched the conscience of the people. In a speech, the other day, Mr. Picton said that during the last year or so there has been continually echoing in his ears the lines of Lowell:

"Wat'll make ye act like free men,
Wat'll git yer dander riz?"

and that ever since the Coercion Act was passed he had been wondering what would get John Bull's "dander riz." Our capacity for bearing with equanimity the misfortunes of others has been marvellously displayed. Not all the thousand resolutions in favour of freedom in Ireland that have been passed on English platforms can disguise the fact that the mass of Englishmen, however they may speak or vote, have not during the last two years shown that they really care whether Irishmen are free or not. But

for a time, at least, the country is awake. Men and women are gathering together in every town and village to express their indignation at the outrage committed in Clonmel Gaol. Committees are forming. Demonstrations are being planned. Best of all, the movement has no artificial origin, nor does it proceed from the suggestion of any party organisation. Among those who have raised the protest we find the names of many who in ordinary times stand wholly aloof from politics, and who would not now intervene did they not think that the shame of the deed lies at the door of every Englishman who remains silent. The protest is earnest in spirit, and is rational in its extent. The people only need good guidance to make it effective, but without such guidance the indignation will spend itself in idle words, and the old apathy will again prevail. It is a time for our leaders to act. They did not begin the movement—so much the better; but they should show the responsibility and the honour of taking part in it.

We may differ among ourselves in opinion as to the wisdom of Mr. O'Brien's step: though, for the matter of that, what better justification could there be than the fact that he has carried his point? Mr. Balfour was very bold before the Liberal Unionists of Dublin, who listened to his barely decent witticisms on the outrageous treatment of one of the most honourable of their fellow-Irishmen with "laughter," and "great laughter," and "roars of laughter." He

was all for rigidity of prison discipline. He would have no fine distinctions made between Mr. O'Brien and any other criminal. But he has not dared to carry it through ; and, whether acting with the calmest of calm wisdom or not, Mr. O'Brien has won the day, and brought this resolute Government into deserved ridicule. This, however, is not the serious question. It is the substance of Mr. O'Brien's claim, and not the form in which he put it, for which we care. And in the substance of his claim Mr. O'Brien was right. He refuses to admit that he is a criminal, or that he should be treated as a criminal. Who shall say he is a criminal, or that he should be treated as a criminal ?

Equality of punishment by all means ; but equality of punishment pre-supposes equality of criminality. Mr. O'Brien has broken the law ; be it so. Though if he has broken the law, we Home Rulers are doing the same every day of our lives, and doing it with impunity. But who, even among the youngest of semi-Unionists, believes that morally or socially, or in point of honesty or dignity, Mr. O'Brien has descended a single step by his breach of the law ? Between him and the ordinary criminal there is a wide gulf, which there is no bridging over ; and justice requires that the distinction should be recognised in practice. In dealing rigorously and unsparingly with the thief, the forger, and the murderer, we have the support of every honest citizen. We are persuaded that such rigorous dealing is necessary, and to a large degree is effectual, in preventing the commission of similar crimes. But how is it with Mr. O'Brien ? So far from the Government having the support of every honest citizen, four-fifths of Mr. O'Brien's countrymen approve his action, and believe that the speeches for which he has been convicted, whether illegal or not, were full of sound and just and necessary counsel. To them he is no criminal, but their friend and defender.

Will his sufferings deter other Irishmen from following the same path ? Does anyone imagine that our rigour will prevent the commission of "crimes" similar to that for which he is undergoing punishment ? No one has any such delusion, for in Ireland we have made the prison a place of honour, and not of disgrace.

It is for the sake of the dignity of law, as well as in the name of justice and decency, that we make our protest. Our opponents dwell unceasingly on the disrespect for the law which is exhibited in Ireland. It is indeed deplorable, for there can be no surer sign of bad government. In every sound society law is maintained not by policemen and prisons, but by the support of public opinion, and by the belief that its maintenance is for the common interest. We have taken away from Irishmen this belief. We have taught them that the law is one-sided, and that it is not just. Why should they respect it ? Will they respect it the more for this last outrage on Mr. O'Brien ?

HOW WILLIAM O'BRIEN KEPT HIS APPOINTMENT IN MANCHESTER.

BY THE MAN WHO MANAGED IT.

THE circumstances attending Mr. William O'Brien's prosecution at Carrick-on-Suir, and subsequent arrest at Manchester, throw a lurid light not only upon the cruelty and vindictiveness of Mr. Balfour's administration of the Crimes Act, but also upon the folly of which the instruments of his tyranny are capable. The public are already familiar with the *fiasco* at Carrick-on-Suir ; the faithful efforts of Mr. William O'Brien to surrender to his bail ; the blundering attempt of the constabulary to keep him out of the Court House at the point of the bayonet ; the audacious endeavour of the magistrates to hold the inquiry and condemn him in secret ; the sturdy refusal of Mr. O'Brien to lend himself to any such course ; the ineffectual manoeuvre of the police to prevent his leaving the Court House ; their failure to arrest him in the town ; his public declaration that he would address a meeting in Mr. Balfour's constituency on the 29th of January ; his successful passage from Ireland to England though every ship was watched and every port

guarded ; and finally the impotence of six hundred police and detectives to prevent his entering a room that would not hold fifteen hundred people and had only two doors, although he had given them five days' notice of the hour at which he intended to be there. The public, however, do not know how this last feat was effected.

I will let them into the secret. It had been arranged that Mr. O'Brien was to arrive at one of three private houses in Manchester as soon after dusk as he could on the evening of the 29th. One of these houses, which we will call No. 1, was to be the trysting place if possible ; the other two were only to be chosen in case Mr. O'Brien found himself watched or was otherwise prevented from reaching No. 1. He was to get to the London Road Station, Manchester, at about half-past four o'clock ; but we, his friends, determined to put the enemy off the scent ; accordingly, we gave out that he would arrive at the Victoria Station about the same time. We organised a large deputation to meet him there, and also a series of smaller deputations to meet the train at the suburban stations it passed. With one other friend, I drove after dusk to the houses No. 2 and No. 3. We waited a few minutes at each, but Mr. O'Brien did not come. We then went round to No. 1, and here we waited about twenty minutes. Still he did not come. Thinking that he might have gone to one of the other houses, we set off on a second tour of inspection. As we passed out of the front door we saw a cab standing at a side entrance ; on going up to it in the intention of driving off in it, we noticed a bag in the cab and were told that the owner had just entered the house ; we immediately followed, and to our inexpressible delight found Mr. O'Brien. This was at about twenty minutes past seven, and the meeting was to begin at 7.30. The building was guarded by fully 600 police and detectives in plain clothes, about a hundred of these having been imported from Ireland. We had previously arranged a plan for diverting their attention.

There is a large vestibule hall and staircase mounting up to the Hulme Town Hall where the meeting was to be held. Long before this time every available corner of the room was packed, and many thousands of people stood outside unable to gain admittance. Besides the principal entrance there is a single back entrance, and this was kept locked after 7 o'clock. Of the key of this back entrance a few stalwart men among our friends had succeeded in possessing themselves, and they posted themselves inside the door. One detail of our plot was that there should drive up punctually at 7.30, at the front entrance, a cab containing a tall gentleman in spectacles not unlike Mr. William O'Brien. Some of our friends who had been initiated into the secret, and who

were to be standing in the crowd, on seeing the cab, were to raise a cry that it was Mr. O'Brien. Meanwhile we were to drive by a back street with the real man and to arrive precisely at the same instant at the locked entrance.

Our plan worked to perfection. Just as we were passing through the back street and approaching the door we heard a great shout in front of the building that Mr. O'Brien had arrived. Instantly, the whole of the police rushed towards the front entrance, and we arrived at the private door in the nick of time. Our friends inside being on the look-out, instantly responded to our knock, and Mr. O'Brien safely entered the building. The moment of his appearance on the platform surpassed anything I have ever seen, although I am familiar with the enthusiasm of great Irish meetings. The speech of Mr. O'Brien has already appeared in the public press, but no report could convey an idea of the impression it made upon those who heard it. At its conclusion, the meeting was brought to an abrupt close, for everyone was excited by the knowledge of what was now to come. It was of course known that the police had orders to arrest Mr. O'Brien before the meeting, and it was also known that Mr. O'Brien had no desire to avoid arrest after he had kept his promise and addressed the meeting ; in fact, Mr. O'Brien made not the slightest effort to avoid arrest, in spite of the "insolent lie" in the *Times* report exposed by Mrs. Bright. If he had desired to do so, nothing would have been easier, for the 1,500 Englishmen present were neither familiar with, nor disposed to brook, illustrations of Mr. Balfour's despotism such as that about to be enacted before their eyes. Amid the incidents that followed immediately upon the close of the meeting, the conduct of the Manchester police formed a marked contrast to that of the imported Irish constables. No one could help seeing that the Manchester police, from Mr. Malcolm Wood, their chief, downwards, even including the celebrated Manchester detective, Mr. Cassinada, felt that they had a dirty job to do, and were heartily ashamed of it.

The imported Irish detectives, on the other hand, were blatant and insolent, hustling and pushing while the audience were going out. Mr. Michael Conway, M.P., was assaulted by one of them as he was leaving the hall. Mr. O'Brien went into the ante-room, and the warrant was placed in his hands by Mr. Malcolm Wood. It was examined by Mr. Leake, M.P., and Mr. O'Brien immediately left Hulme Town Hall in the midst of a body of about 500 Manchester police. They marched to the Manchester Town Hall, and along the whole route, a distance of nearly two miles, Mr. O'Brien received a perfect ovation, by no means mainly from Irishmen, but from the English citizens of Manchester.

Arriving at last more like a conqueror than a criminal at the Town Hall of Manchester, he found the Mayor waiting to receive him in his state parlour. There was a champagne supper laid out for him, and he was entertained for the night in the state apartments of the town which were last occupied by the heir to the throne of the British Empire.

This is the treatment which the English people, as well as the citizens of Manchester, feel that Mr. O'Brien's public action merits.

The treatment which he receives at the hands of Mr. Balfour is told in the accounts that have horrified the English people of the brutalities practised upon him in Clonmel Jail. How long will the English people endure this inconsistency between their own intentions and the action of their Irish Minister?

NEW YEAR'S DAY IN AN IRISH WORKHOUSE.

WHILST spending my Christmas holidays in Ireland, I was invited to be present at a treat to the pauper children in a country workhouse, an account of which may interest your readers.

The most prominent building about an Irish county town is usually the workhouse; the second in importance being the jail. At any rate, such is the case in the place to which I now refer. Both buildings are conspicuously situated in the immediate vicinity of the town. The jail is surrounded by a lofty wall, with a menacing-looking gallows over the front entrance. For years it has been quite empty, in common with four-fifths of Irish jails, and but for Mr. Balfour's Coercion Act, those which are still open would be far more than the requirements of the country demand. The workhouse accommodation is also five times as much as there is any need for. Most of the Unions were formed between 1840 and 1850, when the country had twice its present population, and when the famine was impending. These large workhouses served a very good purpose during the terrible years from 1846 to 1849, but ever since they have been an incubus on the ratepayers, and an illustration of the difficulty of suiting the institutions to the requirements of the country whilst the people are refused any effective control.

The workhouse to which I was invited consists of several blocks of building, one rising above the other on the terraces of a gently sloping hill. It affords accommodation for 1,250 inmates, and, during the famine, 16,000 to 18,000 were crowded within its walls, as many more being lodged within other buildings which were temporarily used to supplement the main one. On the day of my visit, however, there were altogether only

250 paupers, and, during the last quarter of a century, the number has seldom exceeded 300.

The children for whom the entertainment was provided numbered only sixty—about thirty-five girls and twenty-five boys. Their ages ranged from about two or three years to fourteen or fifteen. I enquired why it was there were so few boys, and was told that the farmers hired them out at a much earlier age than they did the girls.

The ladies who prepared the treat had obtained the sanction of the guardians, and the schoolmaster and schoolmistress as well as all the other officers of the house did everything in their power to render useful assistance. The two schoolrooms had been appropriated, and some simple but effective decorations had been put round the walls to relieve the dull blank of the whitewash. These entertainments, which have now been carried out for two or three years past, are looked forward to as the greatest annual event in the monotonous lives of the children. All the preparations had interested them most keenly. When the decorations were being put up, each of the ladies was surrounded by an eager group of boys and girls, dressed in workhouse livery, with outstretched hands offering hammer, tacks, twine, nails, holly, or whatever else might be required. One and all esteemed it the greatest honour to be allowed to assist, and the feelings of the youngsters were correctly expressed by one of the little fellows, who observed to his patron, in a low and confidential voice—"Shure, miss, we're faintin' for the faist."

Each schoolroom was a huge bare apartment, with a single fireplace, which did comparatively little to warm the further corners. When we entered, a couple of lamps and candles were carried in, and we found the girls arranged on two or three forms in a corner of their apartment. Each wore a spotless pinafore, and had a tidy and comfortable appearance. Cloths were spread over three great tables, and preparations for the repast were immediately commenced. In one corner of the room two or three gentlemen of the party made arrangements for exhibiting a magic-lantern, always a very popular form of entertainment in Ireland.

Whilst this was going on I found my way into the boys' room, where, crowded along a bench or two, the five-and-twenty youths sat in a remote corner. Except for the blaze of the fire there was no light, but one could see that this room was divided by a rough wooden partition. On enquiry, I found that a temporary altar and chapel had been erected on the other side of the boarding, where prayers were said for the Roman Catholic inmates every morning, on Sundays the whole schoolroom being used for this purpose. A gentleman carried a music-box into the room, and this gave rise to much surmise, the majority concluding that

it must be the magic lantern; when, however, it was placed on a form and set playing their curiosity could no longer be restrained. Fifty clogs clattered upon the floor, and an eager group of boys gathered round the instrument.

Meantime the preparations in the other room were completed. Two by two the boys marched in, and sixty hungry little bodies were seated round the tables. It had been a point of honour with them to eat no dinner that day, to keep their appetites in good order for the repast. The first portion of this consisted of plum pudding, which vanished in a moment. Next tea with large slices of currant cake was served. Two ladies looked after each table, and it was impossible to get round as fast as the cups were emptied and the cake devoured. I watched one small boy. A beaming smile spread over his countenance from ear to ear, and, whether in his stomach or in his pockets, he managed to make room for twelve great slices. All crammed their pockets full, and, notwithstanding the speed at which everything disappeared, the meal lasted nearly an hour.

While it was proceeding, the clerk of the Union invited me up to his room and kindly placed at my disposal some of the facts connected with the work of the board. The Poor Law in Ireland is supposed to be the same as in England, but like every English institution transferred to that country, it has been vitiated in the process. The main difference in the administration of the two countries is that in Ireland there are more *ex-officio* guardians, and they take a more active part in the work, so that the bulk of the ratepayers are often cheated out of the control of affairs. The *ex-officio* guardians are appointed from the Castle. In this Union there are thirty-four elected guardians, of whom nine are Protestant and twenty-five Roman Catholic. This small Protestant minority has always retained the principal offices of honour and emolument for its own nominees. Since the Board was formed, the majority has never been able to elect the chairman even for a single year. Its subjection is affected by the *ex-officio* guardians, who also number thirty-four, several of whom do not reside in the Union; but whenever there is an office to be filled, they appear in considerable force and look after the spoils. On the other hand, the drudgery of the weekly meeting and the general work is left in the hands of the elected guardians. As the Board of Guardians is the only popular institution of the district, other duties are thrown upon it in addition to its proper work of relieving the poor, such as administering Registration, Sanitary, Contagious Diseases (Animals), and Burials Acts, erection of labourers' dwellings, &c. The annual expenditure under all these heads is nearly £15,000, and the rate ranges from 1s. 2d. in the £ in some divisions to 3s. 4d. in others. It is levied according to the paupers

relieved or work done in each electoral division. The weekly cost of maintaining each pauper in the workhouse is 2s. 4d., exclusive of officers' salaries. During the winter almost as much is expended in outdoor relief, which is granted by the relieving officer on the recommendation of the guardian for the district, at rates ranging from 1s. to 2s. 6d. per week. Increasing difficulty is each year found in levying the rates, owing to the state of depression that exists throughout the country, and I was informed by the master that it was harder to get in money now than during the famine years.

From these graver considerations we were recalled to the schoolroom, where, the repast being finished, the lights were lowered and the magic lantern entertainment began. It commenced with a series of pictures illustrating the sagacity of animals, and accompanied by running comments in favour of treating the dumb creation more kindly. Most intelligent answers were given to various questions which were asked as the lecturer proceeded, and here it may be observed that nothing could be more satisfactory than the condition of both schools of the workhouse. They had received the highest commendation from the Government inspector, and all the children had creditably passed their various standards. After the animals, the adventures of Mr. John Gilpin were read and duly illustrated, the show being closed with a dozen or two of comic pictures, which kept the children in a constant roar.

Meanwhile the ladies had been busy putting up a Christmas-tree in the boys' schoolroom. When all was ready, the children were marched in and stood in a wide circle round it, the boys on one side and the girls on the other. A present, with an apple and small bag of sweets, was now given to everyone. All had chosen what present they desired some weeks before. Out of the thirty-five girls thirty asked for dolls, while the boys chose trumpets, whips, concertinas, tops, &c. As each name was read out and the gifts distributed, smiles of satisfaction lit up every face, and a tremendous din of small musical instruments commenced as every child proceeded to test his toy. It was evident the girls had made the wisest selection. Some of them kept their dolls throughout the whole year, and when leaving the workhouse brought them with them. Their first idea is to give them a name. I said to one, "What is your name?"

" Susan Brady."

" What are you going to call your doll?"

" Susan Brady."

It was the same all round. Every girl called her doll after herself. The costumes of the dolls illustrated all the latest fashions, and every detail was evidently fully appreciated by the girls, who made no efforts to conceal their delight.

When all the gifts had been distributed, the lights on the Christmas-tree were extinguished, and, with cheers and thanks to the visitors, the entertainment ended.

LORD BEACONSFIELD A HOME RULER.

It is well known that Lord Beaconsfield's views on Ireland were very different from those of the mass of his own party. He was too clear-headed not to see the danger of disregarding Irish opinion, and leaving the Irish people unreconciled. To bring over his unimaginative followers to his opinions was beyond even his powers of education, and he can scarcely be said to have tried it. But on several occasions he did give expression to his real thoughts. One famous speech, delivered in the House of Commons in 1844, has often been cited.

"Let them consider Ireland," he said, "as they would any other country under similar circumstances. They had a starving population, an absentee aristocracy, an alien church, and the weakest Executive in the world. This was the Irish question. Gentlemen would say at once, on reading of a country in such a position, the remedy is revolution—not the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. But the connection with England prevented revolution. Therefore, England was logically in the position of being the cause of all the misery of Ireland. What, then, was the duty of an English minister? To effect by his policy all the changes which a revolution would do by force."

What answer has ever been given to that argument, so neatly expressed?

In 1868 the speech was brought up against Mr. Disraeli, and he deliberately re-affirmed the opinion that he had given a quarter of a century before. "In my conscience," he said, "the sentiment of that speech was right. It may have been expressed with the heedless rhetoric which I suppose is the appanage of all who sit below the gangway; but in my historical conscience the sentiment of that speech was right."

It was right in 1844; it was right in 1868. Who would say that it has lost its point in 1889? The alien church has gone, its pockets full of compensation moneys; but the poverty is still there, mitigated by tidal waves of emigration. The aristocracy still claim their privileges, and neglect their duties; and the Executive, with all the powers of the most stringent Coercion Act ever passed, is still the weakest in the world.

We now find that Lord Beaconsfield went yet a step further. In the *North American Review* for December, 1888, appeared an article entitled "Lord Beaconsfield and the Irish Question,"

written by the Hon. Edwards Pierrepont, an ex-minister to this country from the United States. We take from the *Pall Mall Gazette* the following account of the most interesting passage in the article:—

"A considerable part of the article has no special reference to the Irish question, but towards its close Mr. Pierrepont makes a very remarkable disclosure. He had previously met Mr. Disraeli in 1876 at the Prince of Wales's Garden Party at Chiswick, when American politics were discussed, and he adds: 'On the 22nd of December, 1877, I had a conversation with Lord Beaconsfield about the Irish question. I thought it so important that I made copious notes of it in my diary, by referring to which I am able to reproduce it substantially.' He conceded that many grievances under which Ireland laboured would have to be redressed, and that she must have a voice, as she demanded, in her own domestic affairs. The question would cause 'much trouble before long,' and the 'agitation' would reach America.

"I asked him," writes Mr. Pierrepont, "if he had any plan for the better government of Ireland?" He said in reply, "No perfected plan, but a general idea that if he had to deal with the situation he should propose to place Ireland in a similar relation to the Imperial Government that New York held towards the Federal Government—different in many particulars, on account of the different conditions—but in the main similar."

"To the objection so obviously suggested, and so freely used in the course of the present controversy, Lord Beaconsfield said: 'The fear that many express lest in that case Ireland would become independent, I consider groundless—your war has settled that; even several great States combined could not maintain a confederacy independent of the Union.'

"The 'blood and iron' method of governing Ireland would fail. It failed under Cromwell. 'The Irish are susceptible to kindness,' Lord Beaconsfield said, 'and full of sentiment—not logical—and inconsiderate of the means necessary to gain desired ends; but easily governed if dealt with in the right way.' That way, he had previously hinted, was by recognising that 'imagination' played 'quite as important a part in the government of nations as reason.'

"Mr. Disraeli then touched upon the Ulster problem as follows:—'The great difficulty about the adoption of any plan for the home government of Ireland is that Ulster and the other Protestant portions of Ireland fear that if Ireland were made a State like New York, her legislation would be oppressive to the Protestants.' This remark evoked the suggestion from the American Minister: 'Do as we do in America. Divide Ireland into two States, as we divided Virginia; or Ulster and Leinster make one State, and of the

remainder of the island make another. Each State being then absolutely independent of the other, and both subject to the Imperial power—as in the United States—no oppressive legislation of the kind feared would be possible.' Mr. Disraeli liked the suggestion, and said to the Minister that 'perhaps he might live to give him credit for it.'

"Mr. Pierrepont adds, by way of comment, that since the Irish question has assumed such 'large proportions,' he has often thought 'that if Lord Beaconsfield had lived in the full possession of his eminent faculties for dealing with difficult situations, the Irish problem would have been solved.'"

BUNGLED AT GOVERNMENT.

FROM a letter of a correspondent we extract the following passages:—"Unionists do not apparently perceive that to the conduct of Irish affairs are being applied principles contrary to those which regulate all other kinds of business. The difference consists in a total disregard of results. In general a man who undertakes any kind of work does so knowing that in proportion as he is able to satisfy given wants, the reward of success is likely to attend his efforts. If a doctor shows himself to be an ignorant bungler, he fails to acquire a practice. A cook who systematically spoils food is sure to be dismissed. Let a student waste his chances of work in idle dissipation, and he need not look to winning honours at examination time. The world's tests are somewhat rough; luck plays its part in the allotment of prizes: yet, on the whole, good work does not in the long run go unrecognized, while incompetence is generally laid bare sooner or later. But success has not been made the criterion of our government of Ireland. There the only people whose bread does depend upon things being well done, are the unhappy governed themselves—and they are powerless.

"Compare the big machinery of the Castle and its dependent organisation with a big enterprise of a private kind, such as was the Bon Marché of Paris under the *régime* of its late gifted foundress, Madame Boucicault. That business was a gigantic success. It brought vast wealth to its proprietors. It was also the means of livelihood of innumerable men and women, and more than mere livelihood, their higher needs being cared for with intelligent generosity. Madame Boucicault may serve as the model on a small scale of what in his extended sphere an administrator should strive to become. But in her case results furnished a test.

"Ought not that much larger organisation—a government—equally with smaller enterprises, to be upheld or condemned according as it succeeds or fails in promoting the interests of the governed?

"How long will so-called Unionists remain

satisfied with the present disastrous condition of Ireland?

"Is that, in their opinion, good government which alienates the bulk of the people more and more day by day?

"Is that good government which causes imprisonment to be regarded as a crown of laurels?

"Is that good government which proves itself impotent to protect the mass of the peasantry from rapacious plunder?

"Is that a competent government which disdainfully rejects the counsels of men enlightened by intimate knowledge of their country and sympathy with its people, and which listens by preference to the voice of hostile strangers?

"Is that a diplomatic government which loses no opportunity of heightening and renewing long-standing exasperation?

"Is that a philosophic government which seeks no guidance from past history?"

FOURTEEN UNIONIST LIES.

MANY of our readers will have read the admirable letters of Mr. Picton, M.P., to the *Daily News*, under the title of "The Devil in Ireland." We quote a passage from one of them, in which he sums up the main facts of the case against our present system of governing Ireland:—"Consider for a moment the multifold falsehood of the position as it exists just now. We pretend to govern Ireland on representative principles, while we persistently ignore a five-sixths' majority of the men elected to represent her. Lie number one. We defend our conduct by the plea that the whole population of Leinster, Munster, Connaught, and the greater part of Ulster are coerced by a handful of "agitators" into voting contrary to their real wishes; though the like explanation of similar electoral results in England, Scotland, or Wales would be scouted as the delirium of prejudice. Lie number two. Or we are content to rest our case on the swamping of an Irish by an English majority, as though government by representation could justly or safely ignore local opinion. Lie number three. We parade, in our self-glorification, Land Acts and Landlord Loans, and Landlord relief Bills, which always lag behind Irish opinion, and have to be enforced by baton and bayonet. Lie number four. The more cynical among us talk about the impossibility of self-government among inferior races, and make delicate allusions to 'Hottentots,' while, at the same time, we all know that our Parliamentary system is irreversible, and that the first condition of its satisfactory working is an assured sense of political equality all round. Lie number five. Platforms ring with the platitude that 'Home Rule means Rome Rule,' though history shows that, with one conspicuous exception, most of the

supreme leaders of Irish revolt for a century past have been Protestants, and through the meddling of the Pope in matters beyond his province has recently given a crucial test of political independence of Rome. Lie number six. We sagely assume a universal 'contract' between landlord and tenant, while the characteristic of little tenures over a large part of Ireland is an inherited relation between successive generations of landlords of landlord and tenant, having as little to do with 'contract' as the relation of big and little brothers. Lie number seven. We draw an indictment against a nation for 'idleness' when anyone can see for himself that in estates like Glensharrold, for instance, not only the materials of the wretched cots, but even the very soil on which the crops grow, has been carried on the weary shoulders of the tenants and worked up at the cost of grinding labour which hardly any other race in the world would endure. Lie number eight. We prose about 'Griffith's Valuation' and praise the liberality which sometimes, though rarely, reduces rents to that standard, but we ignore the inclusion in that valuation of tenants' buildings, to the value of which, in moral equity, the landlord has no more right than my landlord has to a rental on the books I may produce in the room hired from him. Lie number nine. We prate about 'law and order,' while the whole scope of our Government for seven centuries has been to make law a curse to the multitude and order therefore impossible. Lie number ten. We implore our Irish neighbour to let us pull out from his eye the mote of exclusive dealing, while the beam in our own eye blinds us to the boycotting machinery, all perverse and relentless, which stifles Radicalism in our country villages. Lie number eleven. We affect a horror of the murderous propensities of Irish secret societies, while London in one month shows more deeds of blood, violence, or outrage than Ireland in a whole year. Lie number twelve. We whine about 'national disintegration,' as though a modified union of which Ireland would be a willing and loyal member, and which she would do her utmost to strengthen, would be weaker than an unmodified union to which she is only bound by brute force, and which she does her utmost to destroy. Lie number thirteen. We orate about America's determination to maintain the Federal Union, as though Home Rule were not an essential condition of that union. Lie number fourteen."

NOTES BY THE WAY.

Clause 24 in a New Dress.—A great ado was made about Mr. Gladstone's proposal to exclude Irish members from the Westminster

Parliament. Though not the real cause, it was the excuse for the Liberal split. We heard a great deal about Ireland being deprived of all share in controlling the destinies of this great Empire; about taxation without representation; and so on. Now the exclusion of the Irish members may, or may not, be a very bad thing, but if they are to be excluded, it should at least be done honestly. The Bill of 1886 proposed one method. The present Government, who are evidently coming round to Mr. Gladstone's first idea, have got another method. And this is how the new 24th Clause works:—

1. Mr. Edward Harrington, M.P., undergoing six months' hard labour.

2. Mr. Finucane, M.P., undergoing five months' imprisonment without hard labour. Just released in respect of first month. The other four months subject to appeal.

3. Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., undergoing four months' imprisonment. Three other prosecutions pending.

4. Mr. Condon, M.P., sentenced to four months' imprisonment in Clonmel Gaol on 31st January.Appealed. Other charges pending.

5. Mr. John O'Connor, M.P., four months' imprisonment.

6. Mr. David Sheehy, M.P., four months' imprisonment. Other charges pending.

7. Dr. Tanner, M.P., summoned for speech in Tipperary last October; warrant not yet executed.

8. Mr. Cox, M.P., four months' imprisonment.

9. Mr. Denis Kilbride, M.P.; three summonses.

10. Mr. J. L. Carew, M.P.; three summonses; warrant not yet executed.

11. Mr. Sheehan, M.P., convicted, but not punished, owing to ill-health.

On the whole, we prefer the 24th Clause in its first form.

Genteel Boycotting.—We take the following suggestive incident from the *Star*. At Denbigh they evidently need a resident magistrate with sound vigorous views of the law of conspiracy:—"A Denbigh correspondent reports a curious state of affairs arising out of the County Council elections there, in which three Liberals were returned. Mr. Humphreys Roberts, solicitor, superintendent of the Welsh Established Church Sunday schools, announced to the scholars yesterday that he had received a request from the rector to resign this office because several ladies had intimated that they would discontinue their support to the school if he remained. The Conservatives alleged that he had made a statement on a Liberal platform that one of the unsuccessful Conservative candidates had employed Chester painters instead of Denbigh painters. Many

Liberal tradesmen have since the election received requests to send in their bills and close accounts."

Another correspondent of the *Star*, writing from Leamington, gives the following account of the difficulties which have attended the progress of one of the Home Rule Union vans:—"The provision of sleeping accommodation in the van has proved useful. It may almost seem beyond belief, though perfectly true, that the gentlemen accompanying the van have been refused both food and lodging in many of the villages through which it has passed. The van has roused in the minds of the farmers, and sometimes more exalted personages, a hostility amusing in its intensity. No epithets have been too coarse with which to assail the driver or the lecturer. The local publican frequently refuses to take in the horse, seeking to punish the owner by attempting to starve the animal. In some cases where lodgings have been let to the driver, without knowing that he was associated with the 'Green Monster,' the landlord has afterwards told him that if he had known he would not have dared to have taken him in, and expresses fear that he may be made to suffer for it. At Wellesbourne, a few weeks back, Mr. Hanmer and Mr. Perry were both refused admission at night to a house in which they had engaged rooms. A tour with the Home Rule van would convince even the most sceptical that there is a good deal of quiet but effective boycotting in England. The blankets and tea of the Primrose Dames are the persuasive means; the loss of employment, or ejection from the little cottage—perhaps the only one to be obtained in the village—are the sterner methods by which Tory squires coerce the labourer into voting, against his own conscience, for Tory candidates."

The Govan Election.—The Govan Election is full of encouragement, for when all allowance is made for local influences in favour of the Liberal candidate, there remains solid evidence of the progress of opinion. We had certain obvious advantages, it is true. Lord Hartington wrote a letter. Many thousand copies of "Parnellism and Crime" were distributed among the electors. Mr. Balfour had just burst into fresh vigour in his defence of law and order. But these are advantages, which are likely to continue. To the Liberal Unionists of Scotland the election means notice to quit. This hybrid party, which has purchased its Unionism at the expense of its Liberalism, has no place in present politics, and must merge with the Tory party or disappear. At the next General Election they must make their choice.

A Frenchman's View of the Situation.

—"It is reasonable to ask whether this mighty

effort which, after all, to be just to Mr. Balfour, has meant sacrifice, not alone on the part of his victims, is really a success? A state of siege and of extreme coercion of more than a year's duration, does not appear to have weakened the movement for autonomy in Ireland. In England, the spectacle of such a policy has potently contributed to win minds over to the liberal alternative offered by Mr. Gladstone. The bye-elections which have taken place in the last year testify that the very men whose courage failed them in 1886, and who gave a negative reply to an imperfectly formulated question, are now adopting an attitude more favourable to Home Rule. I speak not alone of the great victories achieved in constituencies which, like those of Spalding, Coventry, West Edinburgh, and six or seven others, replaced a Tory or a Unionist by a Liberal. Even in constituencies which have left the balance of parties unaltered, the distribution of votes has steadily shifted in favour of the Opposition, and one may, without exaggeration, say that the two parties tend to re-assume the position which they respectively occupied at the time of the General Election of 1885, and to recede from that gained in the General Election of 1886."—M. DE PRESSENS, *L'Irlande et L'Angleterre*, p. 519.

Mr. Balfour's Fig-Tree.—"If you have an apple-tree in your garden, and hang upon it a label, whereon you write 'This is a fig-tree,' will your tree thereby be turned into a fig-tree? No, verily, and though you gathered together your entire household, nay, every inhabitant of the country, and caused them loudly and solemnly to asseverate, 'This is a fig-tree,' the tree remains what it was, and next year this will be manifest, for it will bear apples, and not figs." As little will Mr. Balfour's glib platitudes avail to convert distressed Ireland into a scene of growing prosperity.

Archbishop Croke and the Donegal Evictions.—Together with a gift of £50 for the relief of the evicted tenants in Donegal, the Bishop of Raphoe received a letter from the Archbishop of Cashel, in which he says:—"As far as I know—and I know a good deal about savage as well as civilised countries—there is no land on the face of the habitable globe, except unhappy Ireland, in which such scandalous, heart-rending, and unchristian scenes could take place with any approach to impunity, or without much fierce contention and even bloodshed. Sending the armed forces of the Crown to tear down the roottrees and demolish the humble dwellings of the poor, for the benefit of a pampered few, appears to me to be a sin that cries to Heaven for vengeance; and surely if Holy Writ has justly consigned to everlasting perdition the heartless creatures who refuse shelter to those that need it,

to the homeless stranger whom they would not 'take in,' what must be thought of our present moralising rulers who, far from being content with the negative attitude of non-intervention, bring all the weight of their authority, such as it is, to sanction such guilty excesses, and hold in hand a gang of ruthless desperadoes to carry them into effect?"

A Unionist on Lord Clanricarde.—Here is the character of Lord Clanricarde as a landlord, drawn not by a Home Ruler, but by that ardent unionist, Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P., in a letter to the *Times* (January 26th):—"I now come to Lord Clanricarde himself, and, as I said at the beginning of this letter, his is a case for very plain speaking. On the morning of Thursday last I drove through the Portumna demesne. It covers 1,400 acres. Towards the right stand the ruins of the old castle, burnt some thirty years ago. They constitute a most picturesque object. Further on there is another castle going to ruin in a different way. After the fire which destroyed the ancestral mansion, the late marquis set to work and built a noble edifice entirely worthy of the demesnes. There it stands, roofed and glazed, with the carpenter work inside unfinished, and the outer doors unplaced—never touched since the late Lord Clanricarde's death. Of course, it is rapidly going to destruction. From this spot the prospect is a most lovely one. The Shannon flows within a few hundred yards of the house. In the distance the Galtees and the Devil's Bit are visible. As I stood and wondered at all around, I could not help exclaiming that this was a heritage it were well worth while to hold in fee. Near the stables, which open off a splendid courtyard, and which are now converted into a dwelling-house for Mr. Tener, there is a fine old abbey, built, I believe, by the Dominicans in the thirteenth century. It might almost be made into a second Fountains. But it is going to wreck and ruin. One has to wade through muck and dirt to inspect it. Here, in a hole in the wall, lie the remains of the late marquis and marchioness. Close by are visible the excavations for, and the foundations of, a vault, designed by the late marquis. But the work has been left where he left it. I am told that the remains of the late Lord Dunkellin, the leader of the Adullamites, lie in a neglected portion of the graveyard at Athenry. I asked Mr. Tener and others what Lord Clanricarde, with his vast rent-roll, contributed to the schools and charities on the estate. I found annual benefactions amounting to £10, and no more. At Loughrea the resident magistrate, Mr. Hickson, deemed it necessary to apologise for his quarters, and declared he could not bring his family to live there. I asked why it was so. He could not get Lord Clanricarde to

put a house in repair. This was his reply. I found the District Inspector much in the same plight. And the authorities told me they could not get even the police barrack repaired. Lord Clanricarde may say that he is a mere rent charger, that he is not now the owner of the land. He could not plead this prior to 1881. He has never been near the place since 1872. Few on the estate would know him were he now to visit it. I say that this man has abdicated his position. He has neglected every duty devolving on the owner of land. He has rights, and is not slow to demand the support of the Crown in enforcing them. It is time to tell his lordship that he has also duties, and that by the systematic neglect of these in every particular he has become a public danger to the State. I do not know what Mr. Balfour will do. But I should fancy that at this moment Lord Clanricarde is to him the greatest Irish difficulty. His Lordship takes it easily enough in the Albany. Nothing that happens is at all likely to impair his digestion. Mr. Tener, acting for him, considers himself the man in the breach, the real defender of the British Empire and the Moral Law combined. Surrounded by an armed guard, the like of which is not to be seen on this side of Texas, he sallies forth to execute Lord Clanricarde's orders. He has done and will do his duty faithfully. Were there no other interests involved, I should be glad to see the battle fought out between the League and Lord Clanricarde. But there are other interests at stake. And on the ground that Lord Clanricarde has so completely abdicated his functions as to imperil the interests of the State itself, I, for one, should heartily support a special bill to relieve the county of Galway of his influence. I may be told that this is an extreme proposal. Of course it is. But I see no wrong to Lord Clanricarde in it. Let the Land Commissioner value his land. Let him be paid for it. Let him have his ducats. Thank God, there is but one Lord Clanricarde. If it were otherwise the country would be in worse plight than it is."

The Scene at Clonmel.—The following is Mr. O'Brien's account of what happened in prison:—"The chief warden came to my cell and asked me to come and see the doctor. I left the cell with him, as I looked upon his request in the light of a command. I was then conveyed to an open hall, where I saw a gentleman standing at a desk. He made no sign or motion whatever to explain who or what he was. He did not in any manner notice or salute me. The first words he uttered were, 'Open your vest.' He then put the stethoscope to my chest at each side in a very cursory way, and asked, 'Have you a cough?' I said, 'I don't mean to be discourteous to you, but the base use that was made before of my

communications as to the state of my health has left me no security or alternative but to refuse to made any communication on the subject to official doctors. But you are quite free to examine me in any way you please.' He then produced an instrument and asked me to take a long breath. He said, in answer to my statement with reference to official doctors, 'Oh, that doesn't matter.' I then asked him was there anything more, and he said 'No.' The examination did not take more than a minute, and within five minutes afterwards the warders were attacking me. Mr. Condon then asked him, 'How were you attacked?' I said, 'I was set upon by four warders, and knocked on my back. I struggled with all my strength to prevent them taking my clothes off me, but of course was powerless in the grasp of four strong men. They then turned me on my face. I lost consciousness, and when I recovered I found that the prison clothes were on me, and that my moustache and whiskers were clipped off, and also my hair. I was dragged across the yard to a weighing-machine, and was placed upon it. I was then taken to my cell, and two warders were left in charge of me. I told the officials that I would throw off the clothes on the very first opportunity, and that they would have to remain in the cell with me during the four months to prevent my doing so. The two warders remained for about an hour in the cell, and, when they left, I threw off the clothes, and was for eight hours in the cell with nothing on me but my shirt. When bedtime came, a plank bed was brought into my cell, upon which I had to lie until morning. I was aroused about half-past five this morning, and was told to get up, to make up my bed, and clean out my cell. I told them that I would do no such thing. The plank was then removed. I made an effort to retain the quilt for the purpose of covering me, but without success, and then remained from half-past six to half-past eight in my shirt, sitting as close as I could to the hot-water pipes to keep myself warm. The doctor then arrived, and ordered me a mattress and bedclothes, and I have been since, as you see me, lying here. The doctor disclaimed any intention of being discourteous to me yesterday; and, while I accept his statement of to-day unreservedly, still I could form no other conclusion from his demeanour to me yesterday than that he studiously intended to treat me in the manner I have already described. Perhaps I may call attention to the fact that the officials have been engaged for the past few hours in securing my cell in wickerwork, to prevent a repetition of clothes being brought in to me, *à la Tullamore.*'

Mr. O'Brien at Manchester.—"That night, as soon as that meeting was over, he could be

dragged through the midst of their great city—('No, no')—but he said yes—('No, no')—and from the heart of that great free land he would be handed over to Mr. Balfour, to be subjected to the miserable little torments, and all sorts of defilements with which it seemed to be his delight to pollute the men whom he could not conquer. He did not complain of it in the least. He knew the English could not help it until the General Election; but he did want Englishmen to understand the fact that any common Irish policeman could come into that quiet city of theirs that night and outrage the sanctity of English freedom which Lord Palmerston once defied the whole of the armies of France to outrage in the case of a revolutionist of a much more dangerous character than he (Mr. O'Brien) was. Every word of the speech upon which he had been condemned he could safely deliver in Manchester. His crime was a geographical crime. He had not come there that night to fly from the penalties which were gathering round his head. As soon as that meeting was over he was at the disposal of Mr. Balfour's police, but in the meantime he stood there in spite of him. Before disappearing from the public scene he was anxious to meet Mr. Balfour's constituents there in Manchester, and to ask them whether they were proud of his work in Ireland. In the second place, he came there because he believed it would be instructive just for once to prove to Englishmen that he could keep his appointment there that night. How did he come there that night? He simply walked away. He gave clear public warning that he intended to walk away out of the courthouse, in and around which there were over a hundred armed policemen with no other business except to guard him. He had been enabled to traverse populous districts in Ireland, swarming with police, and to pass out of their country and into the heart of England, and Mr. Balfour, with all his forty thousand bayonets and all his secret service money, could not purchase the secret which was the common gossip round thousands of Irish hearths. He wanted to show the English people that they were endeavouring to intimidate a people who would shed their hearts' blood to save their chosen leaders. If they were conspirators, then the whole population of Ireland were their confederates and their fellow-conspirators; and Dublin Castle, with all its power and all its gold had nobody to love it and serve it except those who took its pay, and probably not a great many of those. He protested that at heart he sometimes felt that if he could put arms into the hands of his defenceless countrymen he would call upon them not to lie down tamely under what they had at present to suffer. There must be something hideously and radically wrong with the government of a country where such things could happen, and where they imprisoned

and tortured the best men in the country in order to enable men like Lord Clanricarde to place their feet upon the necks of the people. He should like Englishmen to bear in mind that they were dealing with an Ireland without crime, and absolutely without ill-will against England; they were dealing for the first time in the present century with an Irish race longing to be at peace and in friendship with the people of England. Whatever the Irish people might have to bear they would bear it patiently, in the belief that on the day of election they would at last receive the message of peace and deliverance from their friends in England."

The Revision of Rents in Ireland.—In our last number we called attention to the order of the Land Commissioners revising judicial rents under the power conferred by Sect. 29 of the Act of 1887, and pointed out how by the skilful manipulation of this section in Parliament the benefit of the Act had been taken away. The Commissioners have since issued a report, in which they refer to this matter. Unlike the order, it is assigned by the three Commissioners, and the reasons for Judge O'Hagan's dissent are given. "As considerable misapprehension," they say, "appears to exist on the subject, we desire to point out that our function under the Act of Parliament is strictly limited to determine what alteration, if any, ought equitably to be made in the judicial rents of the years 1887, 1888, and 1889, according as such rents were fixed in one or other of the years 1881 to 1885 inclusive, so that the rent fixed under the provisions of this section shall differ by the difference in prices as aforesaid in the respective years. Such differences in prices, when ascertained and applied to its particular district, is what must in each of the three years while the statute remains in force govern the result; and when there has been either an ascertained fall or a rise in prices affecting agriculture between the year in which our order is made as compared with the year when the judicial rent was fixed, the Act of Parliament requires, in the opinion of the majority of the members of the Commission, that such judicial rent shall for that year rise or fall in like manner. We are precluded by the Act of Parliament from taking into consideration the question of yield of the various agricultural products. We only call attention to a recognised fact when we say that there was a marked rise in certain prices during the year 1888. Mr. Justice O'Hagan felt himself unable to concur in signing the order of the 18th December inst., or adopting the schedule which it sanctioned, for the same reason as that assigned by him in our report to your Excellency of the 3rd January, 1888—namely, that in his

opinion the 29th section bestowed upon the Land Commission a larger power of determining what alteration ought equitably to be made in judicial rents, having regard to the difference in prices affecting agriculture, than the other Commissioners conceived to be open to them under the wording of the section."

The Policy of Irritation.—“What was the use of spending more millions to strengthen the Navy so long as we did not at the same time unite the arts of policy to the arts of war, and reconcile that sort of danger and weakness on our western flank? The sentence on Mr. Edward Harrington, which was savage, vindictive, and atrocious, had deepened the alienation from the law in Ireland. Was treatment like this of her representatives bringing, or likely to bring, the day nearer when Ireland would be pacified and contented with her situation in the realm? The Prime Minister knew in his heart that the present deadlock in respect to the government of Ireland could not continue, and that the quackery of coercion had not touched the evil with which we had to deal, and he had lately made some remarks worthy of special attention. One of the Unionist members for Sheffield had said that to give Ireland a separate Legislature would be to ruin Ireland, disintegrate the Empire, and smash up English greatness. What did the Prime Minister say? He talked no wretched nonsense of this kind: he said, ‘If it were only a question of legislating for Ireland, I can conceive and contemplate, though I cannot approve of it. The establishing of a separate Legislature for Ireland, with only powers of legislation, is a less evil because the veto of the Crown might be used for preventing dangerous measures from being passed.’ Did the meeting see the importance of that? The Prime Minister, though he did not approve of it, though he thought it bad, yet he could conceive a separate Legislature out of which all danger might be taken by means of the veto of the Crown. Therefore the Prime Minister, at all events, did not think that the demand for a separate Legislature was the ruin and destruction of Imperial unity. That was most remarkable; but he went on, and said:—‘What is it that the Irish Loyalists dread? It is not so much bad legislation, for many of the Irish Loyalists think that they have nothing to thank Parliament for in that respect as it is. What they dread is, that the Executive Government should fall into rebel hands.’ That was very remarkable. Neither the English Prime Minister, nor his so-called Loyalist friends in Ireland, apprehended necessary danger from the separate Irish Legislature. Well, what did they dread? They dreaded the transfer of the executive power. When Lord Salisbury said he thought the Irish Legislature might be prevented from carrying

dangerous measures by the veto of the Crown, probably what he had in his mind was some provision that a Bill which had passed the Irish Legislature should not receive the royal assent until it had lain for a certain time on the table of the Parliament in England, and should not receive it if it had been concurrently objected to by both Houses of the Imperial Legislature. But Lord Salisbury asked, How could we leave the great harbours of Ireland, from which enemies might come over to England, in the hands of the Irish Executive, our irreconcilable foes? He (Mr. Morley) had always been of opinion that the executive power was one of the real difficulties of the situation; but let them realise how Lord Salisbury left it, for this was where the Conservative Party had now to start their argument from. 'There is avoidable danger in the Irish Legislature. All we have to do is to devise some plan by which the Irish Executive should not have it in its power to play tricks on this country.' If it had come to that, he could not conceive any man, whatever party he belonged to, supposing that there was no way out of the present deadlock, or saying that it was impossible to devise such checks upon the executive power as would make any apprehension of hostile navies gathering in and sailing forth from Irish harbours perfectly chimerical. No doubt Lord Salisbury said that the Irish were our incurable and inveterate enemies; but he could not really mean what he said, or else he would not be ready to trust them with an indefinite number of millions sterling to settle their land question, and bring away the Irish land-owners, 'our only friends,' and leave the Irish tenant 'monarch of all he surveyed, with no one his right to dispute.' He (Mr. Morley) invited the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when he came to Sheffield next month, to descend from his high-stepping charger and give a plain, business-like answer to this point: If the Irish were a nation of swindlers, moonlighters, and boycotters, as it pleased Lord Salisbury and the Tory Party to represent, how was England going to get back the money with which they would have her trust that nation? There had never been a more random or incoherent policy than this of the present Government. They were going, it seemed, to give the Irish local government; but what was the use of that while they were doing their best to irritate and exasperate the men into whose hands it would come? The responsibility was enormous for such a policy. Public opinion on it was to be sought in such great audiences as that before him. He had no want of faith in their verdict. It was a hundred years ago this year since two great changes took place in the world. France threw off an ancient monarchy, and America took the final and decisive

step in putting on the robes of a new freedom. They all wished well to Government by the people in America and France; but he declared that he thought there was material for government by the people in England which might surpass, for equity, for seriousness, for genuine interest in the advancement of man, even what had been done by the democracies of America and France. He thought the condition of things in England, though the Parliamentary majority for the moment was against the Liberal cause and principles, was one that might be envied. We had a nation that had never severed the link that bound them to the past, which had imbued in them reverence along with boldness, courage along with resolution to do nothing unjust. There was no more upright democracy than the democracy of England. They needed to have a cause explained to them. It had been necessary to explain this great Irish cause to the English democracy. He believed that when the time came they would judge rightly. Let them cast back their minds over the centuries of grievous wrong Ireland had suffered, and realise that to them had been given the opportunity of righting this wrong, and of giving Irishmen a chance, and of giving them fair play, and he believed that it was impossible, when the opportunity came, that it would be lost or misapplied."—Mr. MORLEY at Sheffield, January 2nd.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the HOME RULE JOURNAL.

69, Bentinck Road,
Nottingham,

January 3rd, 1889.

SIR,—Having taken an active interest in the cause of Home Rule, and, as a consequence, been in contact with those who are unfortunately opposed to us, I have observed that there is a particular phase of the question which appears to have been entirely overlooked by the more able advocates of the cause. There is no doubt that as far as *history* is concerned we have had plenty of valuable information; but, unfortunately, that does not succeed in doing the amount of good one might reasonably expect. Why not? Because, it is argued, the *present* condition of Ireland (separated from that produced by the Persecution Act) is not such as calls for the granting of a Native Parliament. This is just Mr. Bright's argument; as also that of Dr. Leech, of Dublin, whose pamphlet Mr. Bright so strongly urged everyone to read.

This being so, it has occurred to me that a great deal of good would result from the publication of a pamphlet informing the electors of telling facts in the *present* condition of the nation (apart, as before

said, from the actual effects of Balfour's persecution), and not the interest of a class which cries for a relief, which (*here comes the point*) it is in the power of a local legislature (only) to bestow.

I am convinced that a pamphlet of this description, written apart from party recriminations and commonplaces of sentiment, would produce a singular and profound effect.

You will see by letter enclosed that I have laid this matter before our respected representative, Henry Broadhurst, Esq., and, acting upon his advice, have written to you upon the subject.

I would also suggest that in every town and village *agents* be appointed who would willingly try to aid the sale.

Hoping that the suggestion will receive your approval, and lead to the adoption of some such scheme.—I am, sir, yours very truly,

THOS. C. NICHOLS.

[We do not entirely share Mr. Nichols's opinion as to the history of the question. Sure enough we have had plenty of valuable historical information, but the true lessons to be derived therefrom have not yet been driven home to the minds of the electors. The information has not been assimilated, nor has its bearings on the present state of Ireland been appreciated. And until this is done we are only beating the air in striking at the evils of the present day. The roots of Irish misgovernment and distress lie deep; the present agitation is no passing breeze, but is the inevitable result of a long series of causes; the strength of the tenants' case consists in a long prescriptive right—we can make no way unless we have secured persuasion on these and other fundamental points. Let us not turn from the past. It is the key to the situation. Without its help we do but beg the question in discussing Castle government, coercion, and landlords' exactions. None the less should we welcome such a pamphlet as Mr. Nichols suggests. The chief difficulty is that it would have to be of inconvenient length, for every step would have to be carefully made good by abundant evidence. Until the perfectly calm pamphleteer shall come forward, his pen tipped with persuasion, let us do what we can with the existing literature. The wide circulation of the publications of the Irish Press Agency (and especially the recent excellent pamphlet of Mr. Clancy), would do incalculable good. But let us not burn our books of history.—ED.]

DIARY OF THE MOVEMENT.

January 1.—Mr. Finucane, M.P., sentenced to four months' imprisonment, for alleged intimidation.—Mr. Sheenan, M.P., found guilty of taking

part in the Plan of Campaign. Sentence deferred owing to state of health.

January 2.—Commencement of evictions on the Olphert Estate. Desperate resistance, especially by O'Donnell, where the intervention of the priests alone prevented the soldiers from firing upon the house.—At Killarney, Dan Sheenan and Dan Querin sentenced to one month's imprisonment for cheering the Plan of Campaign.—Tenantry on Glendale Estate, Limerick, ask and are refused 25 per cent. reduction in rent.

January 3.—Further evictions on the Olphert Estate.—Irish Land Commission issue a second Special Report, in which it is stated that where there has been an ascertained fall or rise in the price of agricultural produce since they have adjudicated a fair rent, the rent must also fall or rise.—About eighty ejectment decrees issued by the Kilrush Quarter Sessions.

January 4.—Third day of the Donegal evictions. A prolonged struggle took place at the house of a tenant named Doogan. The Riot Act was read. The tenant surrendered on the advice of the priests.—Messrs. Finucane, M.P., Lundon, and Stewart, sentenced to one month's, and Mr. Moran to six months', imprisonment under the Crimes Act.—The Wexford Convention of the National League vote £500 in support of evicted tenants.

January 5.—Riot Act again read at Olphert evictions.—Colonel Tottenham having refused to treat with his tenants under the Ashbourne Act, gives notice to the New Ross Poor Law Board that he will commence evicting.

January 7.—Twenty-one men who had been released from prison re-arrested at Kilrush to serve the remainder of their term of sentence for barricading their houses against the sheriff during the Vandeleur evictions.—Tenants on the Ballinascreen portion of the Drapers' Estate threatened with evictions purchase their farms at the proprietors' valuation and consent to pay all arrears, with the exception of those of 1886.

January 8.—Close of Donegal evictions.—One hundred police, 100 soldiers, and an army surgeon, proceed to evict Colonel Tottenham's tenants and meet with no resistance.—Moonlighters fire into the house of Michael Davenport, Durneen, Clare.

January 9.—Mr. Condon, M.P., charged at Clonmel with intimidation.—Twenty persons evicted on Colonel Tottenham's Estate.—Sale of Father Coen's (Woodford parish priest) horse, for rent due to Lord Clanricarde. On an attempt being made to hold a meeting, the police charged the people with fixed bayonets.

January 10.—Dr. Tanner, M.P., and Messrs. Condon, M.P., J. O'Connor, M.P., and Manning failing to appear at the Crimes Court, held at Tipperary, writs were issued for their arrest.

January 11.—Mr. Healy, M.P., moves for a *habeas corpus* on behalf of Mr. E. Harrington, M.P., sentenced to six months' imprisonment for declining to promise not to publish National League Branch reports.—At a meeting of the Kilmallock Board of Guardians, Limerick, it is stated that three-fourths of the labourers of the district are idle.

January 12.—Interesting article on the administration of the Clancarke Estates, published in the *Freeman's Journal*.

January 14.—Govan nomination.—Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, at Bristol, on the Unionist party, Irish land legislation, and trade progress.—Mr. Reeves, reporter for the *Munster News*, refuses to give evidence at Dublin with reference to a speech of Mr. Mahony, M.P., delivered last October at Glensharroll, and is committed for contempt of court.—Fifteen young men belonging to the Waterford fife band sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from fourteen days to one month, for taking part in demonstrations in memory of the "Manchester Martyrs."

January 15.—Parnell Commission resumes its sittings, Mr. W. O'Brien defends himself against a charge of contempt.—Conditional order of *habeas corpus* granted by Exchequer Division, Dublin, in favour of Mr. Harrington.—Mr. J. O'Connor, M.P., arrested by constable without warrant whilst driving through Charlestown, Mayo.

January 16.—Parnell Commission. O'Brien acquitted. Examination of Delaney.—Cork Corporation unanimously express sympathy with members of Parliament imprisoned under the Crimes Act.—Mr. Shaw-Lefevre speaks at Bradford on Ireland and Foreign policy.

January 17.—Election of London County Council.—Sir George Trevelyan speaks at Govan on the Unionist policy.

January 18.—Govan election resulting in Liberal victory.—Captain Plunkett examined before the Parnell Commission.

January 21.—Marquis of Ripon presides at complimentary dinner to Mr. Naoroji at the National Liberal Club.—Mr. Sheehy arrested in Glasgow, and a mass meeting passes a condemnatory resolution. The Exchequer Division refuses to grant *habeas corpus* to release Mr. E. Harrington.

January 22.—Mr. John Morley speaks at Sheffield on Liberal prospects and programme, and Irish administration.—The Queen's Bench Division exonerate Messrs. Dugdson and Emerson, agents for Captain Singleton, from a verdict of manslaughter found against them by a coroner's jury at Ardee, in connection with the death of Dunne who died shortly after eviction.

January 23.—Lords Rosebery and Derby and Mr. Chamberlain speak on the Irish question.

—Parnell Commission, evidence on Moonlighting in Limerick.

January 24.—Mr. O'Brien, M.P., appears before R.M.'s Bodkin and Considine, at Carrick-on-Suir, and is assaulted, along with Mr. Healy, by constables with fixed bayonets. Great excitement and tumult followed, in the midst of which Mr. O'Brien leaves the court.—Police charge the people who assembled at Skibbereen during Father McCarthy's trial.—Mr. Monnery, secretary, Waterford Branch of the National League, arrested in Blackburn under the Crimes Act.—Parnell Commission: Evidence on crime in Kilkenny, Tipperary, Carlow, and Wicklow.

January 25.—Mr. O'Brien, in his absence, sentenced to four months' imprisonment.—Father McCarthy sentenced to four months' imprisonment under the Crimes Act.—Ulster Land Law Committee, at a meeting in Belfast, declare the Government are legislating on behalf of the landlords without regard to the tenants.—Death of Mr. Stewart Menzies, M.P. for East Perthshire.

January 28.—Judge Hamilton, at Kanturk Quarter Sessions, heard two appeals against sentences of seven weeks' imprisonment, passed on two men who had resisted at an eviction, by resident magistrates. The magistrates' decision was reversed.—Father McFadden failing to answer a summons a warrant is issued for his apprehension.

January 29.—Great Liberal demonstration at Manchester addressed by Mr. O'Brien, who is arrested at the close.—Mr. Hodder and Colonel Pearse sentence Mr. Sheehy, M.P., to six months' imprisonment.—The Bishops of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross write to the National Convention, sitting in Cork, disapproving of the raising of rent by the Land Commission.

January 30.—Mr. Goschen speaks at Stratford on Unionists v. Liberals, specially referring to Mr. Gladstone's speech at Limehouse.

January 31.—A Crimes Act Court, at Tipperary, sentences Messrs. O'Connor and Condon to four months' imprisonment, and Mr. Manning to two.—Reported brutal usage of Mr. O'Brien in prison.

THE RECORD OF COERCION.

A VERY large number of cases have been brought before the resident magistrates in Ireland during the past four weeks, but the number of adjournments has been so considerable that the record of convictions is less heavy than might be imagined by those who have been following the particular events of a very sad and exciting month. The fate of the Falcarragh prisoners is still pending, and the same remark applies to

several other important cases. The figures, however, are as follows:—

Week ending—	Cases tried.	Convictions.
Jan. 1	8	3
„ 8	20	16
„ 15	27	22
„ 22	1	1
	56	42

During the last only of these weeks, twenty-four cases were adjourned, besides which thirteen of the Falcarragh cases were returned for trial at the assizes; and in the preceding week there were also several adjournments, and a similar decision with respect to twelve more of the Falcarragh prisoners. This is the first occasion on which the magistrates have handed over the cases brought before them to the ordinary law, and we congratulate them on having done so.

The analysis of the cases gives the following results:—

Class	I.—Agrarian cases...	Trial.	Convicted.
„ II.—Assembly, &c...	39	31	
„ IV.—Boycotting and Intimidation ...	7	2	
„ V.—Newspaper Rpts.	1	1	
„ VII.—Miscellaneous—Having arms in proclaimed district ...	1	1	
	56	42	

It is scarcely necessary to say that the one newspaper case is that of Mr. Edward Harrington, M.P., who, safely lodged in Tullamore for six months, will no longer be able to render valuable service to the defendants in the Parnell Commission case. We may expect, too, that before Parliament meets, several other of Mr. Balfour's most troublesome Parliamentary opponents will have followed Mr. Harrington and Mr. Finucane to prison.

HOME RULE UNION.

AN informal meeting of influential members of various political bodies in the metropolis was hastily called together at the offices of the Home Rule Union, 17 and 18, Palace Chambers, Westminster, on February 4th, to consider the questions raised by the treatment of Mr. O'Brien. There were present—Mr. R. K. Causton, M.P., in the chair; Messrs. J. Allanson Picton, Esq., M.P., S. D. Waddy, Esq., Q.C., M.P., Dr. Clarke, M.P., C. A. V. Conybeare, M.P., George Howell, M.P., J. G. Biggar, M.P., Mrs. Bryant, D.Sc., Miss J. Cobden, L.C., Miss A. Mander, Miss Orme, B. Ellis, C. W. Foote, R. Seager, J. D. Pillars, Dr. B. O'Connor, T. Lough, J. D. Neiass, T. E. Gibb, H. Holiday, J. Tims, P.

Bunting, E. J. C. Morton, J. L. Lee, A. Stearn, W. S. Brown, Dan Gow, T. G. Tomes, A. W. Anderson, Dillon Lewis, Captain U. Luttrell, and C. A. Marsh (Hon. Sec. South Berks Liberal Association). On the motion of Mr. Lough, seconded by Mr. Allanson Picton, it was carried unanimously:—"That this meeting invites the Liberal and Radical Union, the Metropolitan Radical Federation, and the Home Rule Union to form a joint Committee for London to organise a protest against the brutal system of coercion now being carried out in Ireland." On the motion of Dr. Clarke it was decided—"In the opinion of this meeting it is desirable to hold a demonstration in Hyde Park to protest against the barbarous treatment of the Irish political prisoners at the earliest possible moment." On the motion of Mrs. Bryant it was decided, "That this meeting expresses its indignation at the infamous treatment of Mr. William O'Brien in Clonmel Gaol, and is of opinion that Mr. Balfour should be held personally responsible for whatever ill consequences may arise therefrom."

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THE FORGER PARTY.

BY MR. FREDERIC HARRISON.

FOR the first time in our history during the last two centuries the Government of this country and its entire policy in a great national question rests upon conspiracy, perjury, and forgery. The Unionist party is now the Forger party. Lord Salisbury, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Balfour are the directors of a policy which is essentially based on crime—on foul, malignant, organised crime. The Unionist party is the Coercion party; the Government exists, and was put in power, solely to crush the representatives of Ireland; and the whole policy of Coercion was rooted in crime, has been developed out of crime, was accepted through crime, and depends for continuance on crime. And that crime is forgery, conspiracy, perjury.

All questions of policy now centre round one great issue—the coercion of Ireland: the savage, mean, tricky execution of the Coercion Act of 1887. All

other things which divide us are merely subordinate matters. What we will not submit to or forgive is that scores of Irish members—our friends, men whom we honour, love, and are proud to follow, men whose prison cells their accusers and slanderers are not worthy to clean out—are being to-day outraged, tortured, perhaps done to death by means of an Act that was wrung from the English Parliament and thrust upon the English people by an organised conspiracy of false witness, in the centre of which were men as vile as Titus Oates and Bedloe. Never since the infamy of the Popish Plot have a gang of forgers and perjurors thus bewildered the public, thus gulled a Government, and thus prostituted justice, law, and official authority. The odious Coercion Act giving powers so exceptional, so arbitrary, so unconstitutional to the Castle bureaucracy of Ireland never could have been wrung from Parliament, or made bearable to English fairplay, except by a widespread and uneasy suspicion that the Irish members had in some way trafficked with crime, or had countenanced crime. Millions of quiet men who would not dare to say that Mr. Parnell had instigated to murder, or that Mr. O'Brien was privy to shooting landlords, thought in a doubtful way "that there must be something in it," and that "Parnellism" had a certain underground correspondence with crime. In saying *crime*, we mean real crime, crime in the common sense—murder, mutilation, and arson—

not the honourable public policy of a nation's leaders, which, for party purposes, may be declared crime by a legal fiction and judicial chicanery. In 1887, Parliament and the country were brought to think that "Parnellism and crime" had some sort of connection; that Mr. Parnell winked at murder societies; that the Irish members were criminals *in posse* if not *in esse*, and that the Irish party could not claim the fair terms of political combat which all English parties for two centuries have had. Having been brought to think that, the country set its teeth, sharpened its face like a flint, and with a bitter heart and ugly misgivings it suffered the Act to pass, and looked on whilst Balfour and his familiars seized, condemned, and tortured honourable men, the flower and hope of a nation.

How was the country brought to think that evil of the Irish party? Mainly by "Parnellism and Crime," and the torrent of calumny of which it was the parent. The forgeries were launched at the crisis of the Coercion Act, and as it was being fought clause by clause in committee (and the main wickedness of it was accomplished in committee), the excitement over the forged letters and the suborned evidence was at its height. The country was bewildered; the storm of invective and slander was so loud as to drown the indignant protests of the Irish members. The public lost its head for a time; forgery, perjury, and conspiracy did their work; and amidst a deluge of official lies the infamous Act passed into law.

For a year and a half the struggle has now mainly raged round Coercion, and at every fresh act of chicanery and brutality in working it British feeling has growled uneasily, with a dull hold on the vague belief that "after all there must have been something in 'Parnellism and Crime.'" For nearly two years, since April, 1887, the Government and the whole Unionist party have more and

more become implicated in these charges. Members of the Government repeated them; the party adopted them as the basis of their policy; the Government of Ireland and of England was put at the service of the accusers; to every protest the ever-ready and all-sufficing answer in effect was simply "Parnellism and Crime"! Then came the long struggle as to the mode of trying the issue, the bogus motion in the House, the bogus trial in the Courts, and finally the Special Commission.

All through this struggle the Government and the party have made "Parnellism and Crime" their own. They staked their character, their policy, their existence upon it. Cabinet Ministers did not in plain words assert their belief in the forged letters, but the law officers practically did, the party as a whole in effect did, and their acts were all based on the assumption of such belief. The first law adviser of the Crown became the counsel for the forged accusation. The leader of the House of Commons, a newsman, put his head together with another newsman, the purchaser of the forgeries, and the main hirer of the perjured evidence, and they concocted an exceptional court to try the issue in a mode unknown to the Constitution. The Government put out their whole strength to force the Special Commission on the Irish party and on the country, under the conditions they dictated, and in the confident belief that it would crush Ireland once for all. The two old newsmen seemed to imagine that the country would pay the costs quietly when it was all over. In the meantime the administration of justice was upset by withdrawing from their public duties three most eminent and honourable judges. The whole machinery of government was put at the disposal of the forgery accuser. The first law officer of the Crown was withdrawn from all public duty in order to get up and

promote the forgery accusation. The police of Ireland were detailed off to get up evidence, as if they were clerks in Mr. Soames' office. The Castle archives, the Home Office archives, the whole inner and secret chancery of administration, Irish and English, was opened to the forgery prosecutor. Professional spies and hired informers were supplied with the most secret reports. For months the very existence of the Government has been felt to rest on proving the forgeries, of which, only in name and in form, was the Government not the maintainer. But because one old newsman, who happens to lead the House of Commons, arranged with another old newsman, who owns a very big journal, that the forgery accusation should be brought against the Irish party by the newsman out of the House, and not by the newsman in it, are the English people so silly as to let it be said that the Government had nothing to do with a private quarrel, and are not affected by the fact that a forger and a rogue have swindled Mr. Walter? Mr. Walter and the *Times* are mere underlings in this great national issue, as insignificant, and now almost as worthy of oblivion as Pigott himself. They will soon be sold up and forgotten, or remembered only as examples of the depths of imbecile meanness to which malignity and party passion can drive business men to descend. Mr. Walter and the *Times* are now nothing to us, except that we shall see that they pay retribution to the uttermost farthing.

But if Titus Oates and Bedloe have swindled the *Times*, the Government have profited by the work of forgers and rogues to swindle the nation. They have fomented and nursed the public delirium. They lent to the forgers, the perjurors, the informers, the whole resources at their disposal in order to blacken and ruin the Irish party. They have wrung infamous laws from Parlia-

ment, and have imposed brutal excesses on public opinion, solely because they had so deeply pledged themselves to the proof of crime. Lord Shaftesbury and his fellows in 1678 might far more easily assert that they had nothing to do with Titus Oates than Lord Salisbury can affirm in 1889 that he has nothing to do with Pigott. Lord Salisbury's government has long rested on Pigott; it has chosen to stand with Pigott, and it must fall with Pigott. Lord Salisbury, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Balfour have made themselves the responsible directors of a vast system of coercion and accusation, the essential heart of which is now known to be forgery and perjury. For more than two centuries English parties have fought hard against each other, but they have fought fairly, often no doubt with monstrous acrimony and outrageous charges. But the acrimony has been parliamentary acrimony, and the charges have been of political criminality. For the first time for centuries a great party in the State have stooped to make infamous personal charges against the private character of their rivals. They have accused them of foul offences, such as prevent accuser and accused sitting together at the same table. They have treated them as outside the pale of honourable warfare. And they have done so falsely, in haste and passion, on the evidence of informers, perjurors, and forgers. And as yet they have made no reparation, nor even uttered their remorse and their shame.

It is not only this. For the first time since the Revolution one party in the State has seized the political leaders of the rival party, has thrown them into felons' cells, loaded them with outrage and torture, and gone as near as it dared to kill them. In no country in Europe during the century have the representatives of the people been flung into prison by scores so as to decimate the party in a great popular struggle. For the first

time since the Revolution the Unionist party have prostituted courts of justice and Acts of Parliament to enable them to attain, silence, and break down their opponents. The loyalists of to-day choose to revive the revolutionary violence of Stuart and Tudor times. And they must take the consequences.

It is the fashion to say (and it is part of the whole fabric of lying and perjury) that the brutalities inflicted are all under Act of Parliament, and that no man is punished except for breach of law. Acts of Parliament! Breaches of law! Of course a victorious party can pass what Acts they choose, and call the noblest acts of heroism breaches of law, as was done in Stuart and Tudor times, or by the Terrorists in 1793. Breaches of law, indeed! No law that we will recognise or submit to. I say it advisedly, for my part, that I know of no public act for which an Irish member has been condemned which does not seem to me a laudable act in furtherance of a noble cause, and of which I would not be proud to be the author. The Pharisees and their creatures shouted on a certain occasion, "We have a law, and by our law He ought to die!" But the result has not justified the jurists of the Sanhedrim. Fouquier-Tinville put no man to death, nor woman either, except according to the code and rules of criminal procedure then in force. All this parade of law and the statute book is tending fast to degrade the authority of law in England as it has long been uprooted in Ireland. If law is to become merely the weapon of a victorious party, we are not far from revolution and civil war.

But the point of it is, that these statutes, these rules of law, and exceptional engines of Coercion, to which they appeal as if they were the Ten Tables of Rome, the law and the prophets of the synagogues, and as sacred as Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, were all

wrong from the English people by the fabric of false accusation, of which "Parnellism and Crime" was the central pillar and Pigott the corner-stone. Their "law," the decisions of R.M.'s, and the rest of the special machinery of Coercion therefore rest on forgery, perjury, and conspiracy. If there had been no Pigott, if there had been no gang of desperate informers, if half-crazy partisans had not offered whole fortunes to spies and forgers, if the Government had not taken up the forgeries bought so greedily by the half-crazy partisans, if they had not persuaded Parliament and the public that the forgeries were genuine by giving them the importance of quasi-State documents, no such "law," no such "courts of justice," would have existed. The whole fabric of Coercion rests on Pigott, and it shall go with Pigott.

Let no man suppose that the people of England are going to be stopped from debating a great political issue by any technical rule proper to Courts of Justice. Technical rules of Courts of Justice are made for the trial of causes between man and man, where it is right that for the moment no outside voice should disturb the course of judicial hearing. It would be ridiculous pedantry to apply any rule of civil trials to a great political issue lasting for years, and which one party, by issuing forgeries in their indictment has got transferred to a Court of Justice. Courts of Justice must be swallowed up whenever they presume to arrest great political issues which divide the nation, and which are fast hastening into the regions of civil war. It would indeed be a new device if one party in the State could shelve a great issue of policy and close their opponents' mouths by referring the question to a Special Commission. Imagine the French Government of to-day referring to a Special Commission the whole question of "Boulangerism and Empire," and requiring that, until the Report of the

Judges was made, the subject should not be alluded to in public! The idea is laughable, and it could only end in making three worthy judges ridiculous. Courts of Justice and their rules are made for private quarrels and private offences. It is childish to imagine that they can decide on mighty issues of State, or stay for one hour the floodgates of political passion and party conflict. You might as well refer a Civil War to the arbitration of a County Court Judge. Be well assured that any attempt to thrust Courts of Justice out of their proper sphere can only end in making "law" a laughing stock, and judges the tools of a party. There was one issue which could be tried, and well tried, in a court of law. Did Mr. Parnell and his friends write certain letters, or are they forgeries; and who forged them, and who bought and paid for them? That has been decided, and there ends the Commission. The character of the Irish cause and the future of Ireland is for the people of England to decide, and not for these learned and laborious lawyers. They have honestly presided whilst the forgeries were detected. But as for their opinion on the Irish cause and the Nationalist leaders, the people of England do not care a rush, and they are not going to be stopped an hour either by judges, ushers, or affidavits, from debating the whole question without let or hindrance.

We have had far too much of the "schoolboy" and "quidnunc" view in this mighty issue. The referring political issues to a civil court, the gossip of the clubs, the chatter of fine ladies and retired majors, the "gentleman-like traditions" of the House of Commons, are all very well; but they cannot determine the future of nations. Great issues of State do not hang on any Eton code of manners. To sneer, to insinuate slanders, to revel nightly in official prevarication, to nurse (in secret) forgery,

perjury, and subornation of false witness, to subject a political rival to degrading punishments, glibly to repeat the official falsehood, to hint that a little outrage might bring him to reason—but, oh! not so as to endanger his health, to show a mean, malignant, sinister love of oppression worthy of James II., and then to snigger about the sufferings of your victim—all this is in the Eton code of manner, provided you never visibly lose your temper, or use the word "liar," or commit any other breach of conventional decorum. If you do any of these things, your cause is self-condemned, and you sink to the level of assassins and thieves. The Irish members have not been to Eton. Many of them do lose their tempers. Some, even, have used very bad language, and have done things not usual in polite society. It cannot be helped. Since those who have been to Eton will not help the Irish peasant, he turns to those who will. If you treat a body of men, honoured with the confidence of their countrymen, as thieves and blackguards, they will make rough retorts now and then. When you are thrusting your opponents into felons' cells, herding them with bestial ruffians, forcing them into garments of shame and infamy, starving them on coarse bread, and torturing them by degrading vexations, you must not be surprised if their friends and comrades look on you as a brute, and show their loathing for you in rough and ready ways. And now it seems the English people are coming to see that the Irish members whom you cast into prison are men who do not quail under calumny, persecution, and insult, and that the Eton code of manner admits the use of forgery, perjury, and conspiracy as among the weapons of gentlemen, provided that you sneer instead of shout, and smile your insults instead of shaking your fist. The distinction is rather too fine for the vulgar mind. And plain men are coming to

see that a party and a policy resting on forgery have to go.

How make them go, some of the more timid ones are asking, with a majority of eighty in Parliament? The people of England are not fallen so low that they cannot get rid of a Government implicated in forgery and foul accusation, even if it had a majority of twice eighty. No one says that Lord Salisbury, Mr. Smith, or Mr. Balfour knew that the accusations were based on forgery and perjury; no one pretends that Mr. Walter knew, or Mr. Buckle, or the Attorney-General. Of course not. But a knot of malignant partisans recklessly opened their arms to spies, informers, perjurers, and forgers. The conductors of a great newspaper, losing their heads in passion, opened their arms to the knot of malignant partisans, and bought and paraded the forgeries they acquired, and, indeed, had offered prizes for. A Government, losing their heads in eagerness to crush their opponents opened their arms to the great journal, and made themselves co-proprietors of the forgeries. With the forgeries, and through the forgeries, they gained a great party triumph, and persuaded the country to support them in a career of oppression and injustice. The fabric of iniquity suddenly explodes, and it is ridiculous to tell us that the Forger party are still to rule England and still carry on the policy of outrage which the forgeries enabled them to establish. Great political issues are ultimately decided by the quiet middle men who belong to no party, and who give a casting vote on rare occasions. They judge coolly enough the charges and countercharges of both parties; but they are not the men to see the government of the country carried on by a party which is entangled in a wholesale fabric of crime.

How and when they are to go is a detail. It may not be in ten days, and it may not be on a direct issue. But our

business now is to make government by the Forger party impossible. Nothing shall be done till expiation is made. Smith and Balfour, and the rest should be met with one persistent answer of—No forgery! On every platform in England the Unionist should be called on to clear himself of part or lot with Pigott. All methods are good to get rid of a Forger party. Louis Napoleon said, after Sedan, "*tout peut se rétablir.*" But in forty-eight hours the Empire was swept away like a bad dream. The Marshal said, "*j'y suis, j'y reste!*" But in a few weeks, after the detection of the fraudulent elections, the Marshal retired to shoot rabbits. So M. Grévy was irremovable and irresponsible, but within a week of the detection of the Wilson swindles, M. Grévy had no occupation but his billiards and his chess. Great nations will not submit to great swindles in high places, nor will they forgive gross and shameful blunders in matters of good faith. To pledge the Government and a proud party to a system of foul slanders—slanders which it now appears were swallowed down with reckless and imbecile eagerness—is, to say the least, a gross and shameful blunder. Those who have made it must go. The *Times* is Lord Salisbury's M. Wilson. No one thought that M. Grévy had trafficked in offices; but he had to go, and the Presidency had to be cleared out. The Ministry here has to be cleared out. The Government of this nation has to be disinfected and made wholesome. Lord Salisbury can shoot rabbits at Hatfield, and Mr. Smith can read his *Times* quietly on the lawn at Greenlands, until they have to appear before the next Special Commission. Our first duty is to clear the Government of the Empire from complicity with forgers. Our second will be to reverse, by Act of Parliament and judicial decisions, as was done after the flight of James II., their evil laws and their perverse judg-

ments, to restore the honour of their victims, and to punish the guilty instruments of tyrannical power and prostituted justice.

NOTES FROM IRELAND.

FROM A CORRESPONDENT.

AN important land meeting was held at Gortnessey, co. Londonderry, on the 21st of February, in order to pass a series of resolutions showing cause why the land question should be finally settled and the system of landlordism abolished. The meeting was largely attended, and was composed *almost entirely of Protestants*. Dr. Baird, of Muff, Dr. R. H. Todd, LL.D., Derry, Rev. Jas. Anderson, of Bury, J. J. Pollock J.P., Derry, Robert Thompson, P.L.G., George Miller of Mallabuoy, and William Lynch, of Artnaguniog, are the names of a few of those who attended, the chair being taken by Mr. R. A. Gilfillan.

The Rev. James Anderson proposed the first resolution. Lord Salisbury, he said, had declared that the land laws of Ireland were the best in the world! He (the speaker) contested this statement, and set forth its fallacious nature. He also gave some interesting details as to the way in which some of the landlords became possessed of their properties, and as to their treatment of their tenants.

On the very farm which he himself occupied, both the tenant preceding him and he himself had to pay £20 a year for the very water that fell from the clouds of heaven! The former tenant of his farm had gone to enormous expense in building a dam and conveying water-power to his own place, and no sooner was that done than the landlord compelled him to pay £20 a year for that water-power, created, *not* at the expense of the landlord, but entirely at that of the tenant.

Another case was that in which a tenant re-claimed sixty acres of land at his own expense, in return for which benefit his landlord straightway imposed a rackrent. At the present moment the tenant of that land has paid £4,000 for land whose value he himself created!

To quote the Rev. Mr. Anderson's words:—"I have," he said, "fifty years' experience of Irish landlordism, and, as an ordained clergyman of thirty-six years' standing, I unhesitatingly say that if we were permitted to search the records of heaven's high chancery, we would find there more deeds of wrong-doing recorded in connection with Irish landlordism than there are in any other country—I might truthfully say, in *all* other countries."

Mr. Grocer Caldwell proposed the following resolution:—"That the schedule of the reduc-

tions of judicial rents, issued in December, 1888, has given rise to great dissatisfaction, and wholly fails to meet the continued depressed state of agriculture; that the Commissioners, in not taking into account the price per acre by which much agricultural produce is sold in the North of Ireland, and by allowing themselves to be guided solely by data as to price by weight, have not carried out the meaning and intention of the Act of 1887, and have consequently done great injustice to the tenant farmers."

AT a meeting of the Irish Protestant Home Rule Association, held to protest against the Irish policy of the Government, the President, Mr. Thomas Shillington, of Portadown, told the following story, which he had just heard from a Government official:—

"I was dining," said this official, "a short time ago with two resident magistrates, and during dinner they could talk about nothing else but their grievances and difficulties; and, amongst other things, one of them said that if he was in an independent position he would give up his official appointment at once.

"Then the other magistrate, in confirmation of his companion, said that a short time ago he was directed to go to a Crimes Act Court to hear a certain case. The evidence produced by the Crown established nothing against the accused, and he had to dismiss the case.

"A day or two afterwards he went into the office of the divisional magistrate. That functionary asked him what had happened at the trial in question, and why he had dismissed the case. The resident magistrate replied, 'There was no evidence, and I could not convict.'

"'Damn the evidence,' was the reply he met with. 'Damn the evidence; we want a conviction.'"

IN Mr. Frederic Harrison's powerful "rejoinder to the Duke of Argyll," in this month's *Contemporary Review*, there is again quoted "the horror felt in 1814, and expressed by Baron Fletcher, at the depopulation of an entire tract of country. A judge addressed a body of landowners, whom he told that this practice was the direct cause of agrarian outrage; just as, in 1838, Thomas Drummond, then Chief Secretary, told the magistrates of Tipperary that the cause of agrarian outrage was the wholesale expulsion of cottier tenants."

This crime is to be again enacted on the Olphert estate, on the townlands of Ballynass and Drummatinny, notwithstanding that the potato crop has been a complete and total failure there! For weeks past the people have been absolutely *without potatoes*, "and everyone knows what this means to a Donegal peasant"; yet

"these are the people now doomed to extermination."

If the Government allow these evictions to be carried out, the number of families evicted in Cloughaneely since the beginning of the new year will be fifty-three, comprising about 250 individuals!

The summonses were to be heard at Falcarragh on the 20th inst., and eight days after that the cases would be ripe for eviction.

I take the following from the *Drogheda Independent* :—"We publish a lengthened report of the Land Commission at Kells. During the sitting the Commissioners delivered judgments declaring, in effect, that certain landlords had carried on a system of plunder for years."

I see one reduction was from a rent of £138 10s. 6d. to £95. Another from £145 to £103.

One tenant at least proved that he got his rent regularly each year from a relative in America.

A GREAT ADMINISTRATOR.

THE short years of Thomas Drummond's administration stand out as a solitary oasis in the desert of English mis-rule. Before his day it had not entered the heads of Irish secretaries to regard the welfare and happiness of the people as the sole aim to be kept in view by those set in authority over them. That fact is bad enough, but a thousand times worse is it that when at last a great statesman appeared, bringing comfort and hope, when some tardy atonement seemed about to be made for the hideous iniquities of our past policy, when there lay before us the prospect of establishing real unity between this country and the sister isle—the opportunity was suffered to pass by unheeded, the noble example flung aside to make room once more for the old, miserable system of selfishness, neglect, and coercion.

Drummond's experience knocks on the head all other theories of government for Ireland; for, while these have proved unmitigated failures, he achieved a magnificent success. Had his days but been prolonged, or had a worthy successor to him been forthcoming, we should probably have heard no more of the agitation for Home Rule. Mr. Barry O'Brien's most deeply interesting account of his life and work should in fairness be read by every one who espouses the anti-Nationalist cause. A Unionist should at least be able to say: "I have studied the history of this century; I have taken account of the spirit in which the Irish people and their idolised leader O'Connell were prepared to accept English rule at the hands of such a man as Thomas Drummond; I note the fact that his successors have scouted his example; I recognise that

whereas Drummond was deeply and universally beloved, those who came after him have been held in varying degrees of execration; I see no sign that the present Government contemplates a course of action in the slightest degree resembling his. Taking into consideration all these circumstances, I am led to the conclusion that Ireland is best governed by a system of Balfourian coercion, and I unhesitatingly declare myself a so-called Unionist." What a gain it would be if we could pin our opponents down to some such confession of faith !

In his recent important speech on Mr. John Morley's amendment, Mr. Gladstone spoke as follows on the subject of Drummond's administration :—

"History supplies us with a most interesting instance of the truth of the proposition I have stated. It is so interesting that, though I will not detain the House by giving all the details, I will at least give a sample from one period of Irish history in this century which fairly and fully brought to issue how much could be done even without remedial legislation to mitigate the condition of Ireland and to attract the confidence of her people by good administration. It was in times much worse than these, in times when Ireland had not been relieved, as she has now been relieved, of some of the worst of her grievances; it was at a time when the Irish people were in a far greater degree a crime-committing people. It was in the time of that eminent man whose name I am glad to sound through this House to the admiration, the gratitude, and the reverential appreciation" of his countrymen—Thomas Drummond. In Dublin Castle, from 1835 to 1840, when his life ebbed away, a sacrifice to his labours, to his incessant anxieties, and possibly to the calumnies and persecutions to which he was subjected, Thomas Drummond not only sat at Dublin Castle, but he was for those years what Dublin Castle came to mean to the mind of the Irish people. During those years the Melbourne Government was able to do nothing in the way of remedial legislation for Ireland, with the exception of the Poor Law Act, passed in 1838, when its time was nearly over. There was no remedial legislation for Ireland, but there was administration in a soothing, a conciliatory, and a national spirit. Thomas Drummond's system of conciliation in Ireland was defended with great skill and courage in the House of Commons, and Viceroy, when occasionally attending in the House of Lords, used to defend it. It will be best understood when I say it was a system which in the main satisfied the desires and demands of O'Connell. What were the results of that system in Ireland? I want to bring to trial the issue what is the better means of putting down mischief and

improving the condition of the country. What was done between 1835 and 1839? The question was the subject of inquiry by a hostile committee sitting in the House of Lords, and the effects were summed up under these heads—diminution of crime, confidence of the people in the law, aversion to crime, and measures taken to put down crime among the people themselves. In those days Lord Plunket, notwithstanding his great eloquence—I know that, in the opinion of Lord Russell, I should not be exaggerating if I said his unrivalled eloquence—was regarded by O'Connell as the plague spot of Ireland, but he said in 1836, 'I have never known Ireland in such a state of tranquillity as at this moment.' What was the case with regard to crime? I give all the serious categories of crime. Whereas in 1834 these crimes amounted to 4,289, in 1838, without the use of coercive powers, although I believe there were some coercive powers which could be used, they were reduced to 2,294. What was the attitude of the people towards the agents of the law? A case happened in Tipperary—it was then the great centre of criminal activity—a case happened where a police pensioner was murdered, and the police pensioner was a Protestant. The murderer fled; the police went after him; they brought him back, and Mr. Drummond bore testimony before the Lords' Committee that when the police brought back the murderer to the scene of the crime the people gathered together and cheered the police. Still more remarkable, in those days, in Tipperary a society was formed among the people for the prevention of crime. A society of whom? A society of peasants in Tipperary between 1834 and 1838. Its members entered into pledges one to another to communicate to a magistrate or some member of their own committee any facts likely to lead to the prevention of outrage. They were determined to discourage bad characters. But there was another thing they were to do—to refuse to employ such persons. To refuse to employ such persons; and if those who now exercised power exercised it then, those persons who associated together for this most laudable purpose might themselves be brought before the removable judges of the right hon. gentleman—and imprisoned for six months, with hard labour, on the ground of having entered into an illegal conspiracy. There was confidence then in the stipendiary magistrates, confidence in the police, aversion to crime, diminution of crime to one-half, an increase—a considerable increase—in the proportion of convictions to committals. Is that the present state of the case? I say again, the acts of Her Majesty's Government ought to be tested by their results. In my opinion, the right hon. gentleman has succeeded in widening the breach between the

people and the constabulary. If such a breach now exists, I cannot help deplored it. The confidence in the stipendiary magistrates which in Drummond's time was almost a vital principle of their life—where is it now?"

IRISH MEMBERS NOT AT WEST-MINSTER.

We take the following statement of the crimes and punishments of Irish members from the *Star*. Better than any general summary, the full list will show how the Crimes Act has been worked. Dr. Tanner's name has been added to the roll of honour since the list was compiled:—

1.—William O'Brien, M.P.—Fifteen Months.

(a) Three months' imprisonment by Removables Eaton and Stokes at Mitchelstown on September 23rd, 1887, for a speech delivered to his constituents on August 9th concerning the threatened Kingston estate evictions. This speech averted evictions, and the tenants are now protected and safe.

(b) Charge of publishing reports of suppressed National League reports in *United Ireland*. Prosecution abandoned.

(c) Three months' imprisonment by Removables Hodder and Paul at Loughrea, co. Galway, on April 19th, 1888, for taking part in a meeting of the National League at Loughrea on April 8th, which was one of a series convened to "give the lie" to Balfour's statement in the House of Commons that the League was "a thing of the past" in the suppressed district.

(d) Four months' imprisonment by Removables Bodkin and Considine at Carrick-on-Suir, co. Tipperary, on January 24th, 1889, for a public speech, the charges being embodied in two summonses—one for conspiracy to compel, and the other for conspiracy to induce, unknown persons not to be land-grabbers.

(e) Six months' imprisonment by Removables Roche and Massey at Tralee, on February 19th, 1888, for public speeches delivered to the Kinmare tenants. ("Conspiracy to promote the Plan of Campaign.") Portion of this sentence—about one month—runs concurrently with preceding sentence. Mr. O'Brien will be in prison until August next.

2.—T. D. Sullivan, M.P.—Two Months.

Two months' imprisonment as a first-class misdemeanant on December 2nd, 1887, by Chief Police Magistrate of Dublin, for publishing reports of suppressed National League branches in the *Nation*. The magistrate had dismissed the charge on October 6th, but the

Exchequer Division directed him to re-hear and substantially to convict. No other case has been submitted to this magistrate since.

3.—Edward Harrington, M.P.—Seven Months.

(a) One month's imprisonment by Removables Roche and Welch on December 8th, 1887, at Tralee, for publishing reports of suppressed National League branches in the *Kerry Sentinel*.

(b) Six months' imprisonment by Removables Roche and McDermott at Tralee, on December 31st, 1888, for publishing in *Kerry Sentinel* a speech against outrages made at a meeting of a suppressed Kerry branch of the National League. Hard labour was added in this case.

4.—David Sheehy, M.P.—Fourteen Months.

(a) Three months' imprisonment by Removables Dillon and Henn on December 16th, 1887, for a speech delivered at French-park, advising tenants threatened with evictions to resist. County Court Judge, confirming the sentence on appeal, ordered Mr. Sheehy to be treated as a first-class misdemeanant.

(b) One month's imprisonment at Clonmel, on December 21st, 1887, by Removables Meldon and Bodkin, for a speech there, repeating what he had said at French-park. The Clonmel speech had been given in evidence against him at French-park.

(c) Six months' imprisonment by Removables Hodder and Persse, at Castleconnel, co. Limerick, on January 29th, 1889, for a public speech at Castleconnel last October.

(d) Four months' imprisonment by Removables Eaton and Persse, at Ballyneety, on February 1st, 1889, for a public speech at Ballyneety on Sunday, November 4th, 1888. ("Conspiracy against landgrabbing.")

5.—Alderman Hooper, M.P.—Two Months.

Two months' imprisonment by Removables Stokes and Irwin, on December 19th, 1887, at Cork, for publishing in the *Cork Herald* reports of suppressed branches of the National League. Fifteen summonses had been issued against him; on each of the first two a month's imprisonment, thereby ousting an appeal.

6.—T. Harrington, M.P.

Six weeks' imprisonment by Removables Roche and Persse, January 9th, 1888, for publishing reports of the suppressed branches of the National League in the *Kerry Sentinel*. *Ante*, Mr. Edward Harrington; same offence.

7.—W. J. Lane, M.P.—One Month.

One month's imprisonment by Removables Irwin and Warburton, on January 18th, 1888, at Cork, for a speech to his constituents praising the conduct of the Ponsonby tenants.

8.—J. R. Cox, M.P.—Ten Months.

(a) Four months' imprisonment by Removables Roche and Hodder, on January 28th, 1888, at Ennis, for attending a suppressed meeting of the National League ("unlawful assembly"). On appeal, heard April 20th, County Court Judge Hickson reduced sentence to one month.

(b) One month by Removables Roche and Hodder, at Ennis, on February 1st, 1888, for attending an open-air meeting which the magistrates held to be a meeting of a suppressed branch of the League. The shorter sentence was that he might remain in gaol pending the hearing of an appeal against the former sentence.

(c) Four months' imprisonment by Removables Brady and Longbourne, on January 31st, for speeches delivered last autumn in co. Roscommon.

(d) Four months' imprisonment at Shokestown, on February 2nd, for speeches in Roscommon in recommendation of the Plan of Campaign.

9.—Patrick O'Brien, M.P.—Seven Months.

(a) Four months' imprisonment by Removables Beckett and Townsend, on January 27th, 1888, for advocating Plan of Campaign in co. Roscommon. On appeal, heard March 23rd, sentence confirmed, but County Court Judge Morris ordered treatment as first-class misdemeanant.

(b) Three months by Removables Considine and Bodkin, on February 8th, 1888, at Goresbridge, for advocating Plan of Campaign in co. Wexford. On appeal, on April 10th, sentence confirmed, but County Court Judge De Moleyns ordered treatment as first-class misdemeanant.

10.—A. Blane, M.P.—Six Months.

Four months by Removables Nagle and Hamilton, on January 31st, 1888, at Dunfanagh, co. Donegal, for a speech recommending the Plan of Campaign at Falcarragh. On appeal, heard April 19th, County Court Judge Webb affirmed the conviction, and increased the sentence to six months.

11.—J. D. Pyne, M.P. (Deceased).—Four and a Half Months.

(a) Three months by Removables Considine and Bodkin, on February 15th, 1888, at Kilmacthomas, co. Wexford, for a speech to his constituents in the preceding October, recommending tenants to obstruct eviction.

(b) Prosecuted at Clonmel on February 22nd, 1888, before Removables Fitzgerald and Meldon, for speech on November 6th. Charge dismissed.

(c) Six weeks' hard labour by same Remov-

ables at Clonmel on February 29th, 1888, for same speech, inciting to boycotting.

12.—J. C. Flynn.—Twenty-one Days.

Twenty-one days by Removables Irwin and Seagrave at Newmarket, co. Cork, on February 25th, 1888, for a speech delivered in his constituency on January 8th, urging the people to combination ("conspiracy").

13.—J. Gilhooley, M.P.—Fourteen Days.

Two months' hard labour by Removables Gardiner and Warburton, ex-inspectors of police, on March 6th, 1888, at Schull, co. Cork, for a speech in his constituency ("intimidation"). On appeal, heard April 19th, County Court Judge Ferguson reduced the sentence to fourteen days.

14.—T. J. Condon, M.P.—Five Months, Fourteen Days.

(a) Charge of conspiracy, tried on May 4th, 1888, before Removables Irwin and Persse, at Mitchelstown, arising out of a meeting in Mitchelstown on April 2nd. The magistrate made no rule.

(b) On May 5th same magistrates heard a charge of inciting persons to conspire against the payment of the Constable Leahy blood tax. Sentence—one month's imprisonment.

(c) On a third charge of taking part in "an unlawful conspiracy," two weeks' imprisonment.

NOTE.—These three charges were formed out of the Mitchelstown meeting. In some Mr. Condon was prosecuted for observations of his own; in others for observations made at the same meeting by Mr. Healy and Mr. O'Brien, who were not prosecuted.

(d) Four months' imprisonment by Removables Bodkin and Considine at Tipperary, on January 31st, 1889, for speeches made against land-grabbing.

(e) Two months with hard labour by Removables Considine and Bodkin at Clonmel, on February 14th, 1889, on a charge of conspiracy to induce persons to boycott a land-grabber.

15.—John Dillon, M.P.—Six Months.

(a) Six months' imprisonment by Removables Hamilton and Mayne, on May 11th, 1888, at Mel, co. Louth, for a public speech on April 8th, at Tullyallen ("taking part in an unlawful conspiracy").

(b) On May 12th a concurrent sentence of six months was imposed on a second charge based on the same speech of inciting persons to join the Plan of Campaign.

16.—James J. O'Kelly, M.P.—Two Months.

Four months' imprisonment by Removables Smith and Henn, at Boyle, co. Roscommon, on August 10th, for a public speech delivered

at Boyle, to his constituents on June 24th. There were several charges; sentence was pronounced on the first ("taking part in an unlawful assembly"), and the Crown then decided not to proceed with the others. On appeal, heard October 27th, County Court Judge Morris reduced sentence to two months, and ordered treatment as first-class misdemeanant.

17.—J. E. Redmond, M.P.—Five Weeks.

Five weeks' imprisonment by Removables McLeod and Bodkin, on September 26th, 1888, at Ferns, co. Wexford, for a speech delivered by him on July 22nd. Charge—intimidatory language.

18.—W.H. Redmond, M.P.—Three Months.

Three months' imprisonment by Removables McLeod and Bodkin, at Wexford, on September 13th, 1888, for shouting at Somers' Fort eviction, "Well done, Wexfordmen; bravo, well done." (Described in the charge as "inciting to resist and obstruct a bailiff.")

19.—J. D. Sheehan, M.P.—One Month.

(a) One month's imprisonment by Removable Roche, in November, 1888, for telling a police officer who searched his house for documents, that he might go farther and fare worse.

(b) Prosecuted on November 3rd, 1888, for conspiracy to promote Plan of Campaign on Kenmare estate. Not sentenced, owing to ill-health resulting from previous imprisonment.

20.—J. Finucane, M.P.—Five Months.

(a) Four months' imprisonment by Removables Eaton and Gardiner at Castleconnell, co. Limerick, on December 31st, for a speech delivered on May 20th. ("Criminal conspiracy and intimidation.")

(b) One month on January 4th, 1889, at Ballyneety, for a public speech. ("Taking part in a criminal conspiracy.")

21.—John O'Connor, M.P.—Four Months.

Four months' imprisonment by Removables Bodkin and Considine, at Tipperary, on January 31st, 1889, for public speeches against land-grabbing.

22.—Denis Kilbride, M.P.—Three Months.

Three months' imprisonment by Removables Henn and Bowlby at Kildare, on February 8th, 1889, for a speech against land-grabbing on the estate of the Marquis of Drogheda.

23.—J. L. Carew, M.P.—Four Months.

Four months' imprisonment by Removables Considine and M. Sheehy, at Kilkenny, on February 21st, 1889, for a public speech delivered in November, 1888. Arrested in Perthshire on the day of polling, February 19th. Forcibly stripped and head shaven in prison, like ordinary criminals.

"LOOK HERE, UPON THIS PICTURE, AND ON THIS."

OUR Unionist opponents unwittingly do us many a good turn. The recent attempt to blacken Mr. Gladstone's character as a landlord brings to light a fresh and striking instance of the vital dissimilarity between England and Ireland as regards the position both of landlord and of tenant.

IN ENGLAND.

A few years back Mr. Gladstone made over his rights in the Hawarden estates, subject to an annual life charge, to his eldest son, who has since been responsible for its management, and has exercised a careful personal stewardship over this extensive property. The farms have been re-valued, and rents in a large number of cases lowered, and improvements made. Mr. W. H. Gladstone said to a correspondent :—"We are not rich people, but we spend from £1,000 to £1,500 annually on the property; and the best contradiction of the charges made against us is the fact that from our 500 tenants we have very rarely any complaint, and never until now have had any trouble. A few of the smaller tenants occasionally do brickwork for themselves, and then we make an allowance for it, and if we disturb them give compensation. It is true that when tenants do not pay their rent we do not spend more than we can help over their land."

At the recent distraint sale, the auctioneer, referring to the article in the *Liverpool Courier*, stated that in the case of the tenant Speed there was owing

IN IRELAND.

"An eviction took place at Polgour, within a short distance of Kilkenny, on Thursday, 23rd September. Mr. Fleming's holding at Polgour consists of about thirty Irish acres, and has been in possession of the family for upwards of two hundred years. The annual rent is £80, and the valuation is only £60 15s. Both Mr. Fleming and his forefathers improved the land considerably by tillage, drains, aye, and manuring, and the rent was always paid punctually until the failure of the crops, bad prices for cattle, and the general depression brought ruin to many a prosperous farmer. His landlord is Captain Edward Wheeler, of her Majesty's Navy. The tenant promised that he would pay the year's rent due within a month; but it would not be accepted unless he gave security. . . . The work of destruction then commenced. The furniture was flung out in the yard and broken to pieces. . . . The anguish exhibited by the sorrowful family would melt a heart of adamant. . . . Sir John Blunden, Bart., accompanied by two ladies, happened to be driving by at the time,

six years' rent; and yet, after he had been sold up, Mr. Gladstone bought in the horse and cart and gears which had been sold, and made the man what was practically a present of them, telling him to keep them till he could pay. In addition to that, he never touched Speed's furniture. As to the present sale, the tenant Hughes had told him (Mr. Nightingale) that he did not consider that Mr. Gladstone had treated him unfairly.

[Quoted by John J. Clancy, M.P., in "Six Months of 'Unionist' Rule," p. 17.]

We have purposely chosen an ordinary and in no way sensational specimen of an Irish eviction. Comment is needless; the facts speak for themselves.

Of Mr. W. H. Gladstone's action as a landlord we have the opinion best worth considering—that of his tenants, not excluding those who had received notices to quit. After meeting together for the purpose of presenting Mr. Gladstone's agent with a handsome silver salver on the occasion of his marriage, they held an indignation meeting to protest against the false charges that had been put in circulation regarding their landlord. Mr. Price (Broughton), characterised the statements as thundering lies, which utterance was applauded by those present. The chairman, a Conservative, by the way, emphatically reprobated the assertions which had been made. He knew that Mr. Gladstone had been kind and generous to his tenants. The following resolution was proposed and carried :—"That we, as tenants of the Hawarden estate, desire to place on record our indignation at the statements which have been published in the public press, falsely imputing cruelty and harshness to our landlord; we condemn the accusations made as false, and we consider them biased by wrong considerations."

We subjoin letters written by the "evicted" tenants.

"Queensferry, February 18, 1889.

"SIR,—I was sorry to see false reports in the paper. I did not blame Mr. Gladstone, nor did I wish to remain in the place, as I could not see my way in paying the rent.

"Yours respectfully,
ELIZABETH WHITEHEAD (widow)."

"Kersley Farm, February 18, 1889.

"SIR,—I have not complained of Mr. W. H. Gladstone as an unkind landlord, he having always treated me fairly. My misfortune is principally from losses at various times, over which I have had no control.

"Yours respectfully,

"GEORGE HUGHES."

"Aston, Queensferry, February 18, 1889.

"SIR,—Believing that you have been put out by what has appeared in the papers about the evictions, I wish to tell you that, however hard it did seem at the time, I do not blame you in anything, either as a landlord or as a gentleman.

"Yours obediently,

"JOSEPH CATHERALL.

"To W. H. Gladstone, Esq., Hawarden."

Speed, who was the fourth person visited on the subject, did not write. He desired that a quantity of manure which was on his farm should be valued, in order that he might ascertain his present pecuniary position. It will be recollectcd that Speed was the tenant for whom Mr. Gladstone purchased his horse and cart at his sale.

NOTES BY THE WAY.

Signs of Wavering.—At the conclusion of Mr. Parnell's speech on Mr. Morley's amendment (a speech preceded by the most remarkable demonstration ever witnessed in the House of Commons), occurs a passage which is interesting in itself, and is still more interesting from the way in which it has been received. "We have every confidence," he said, "that in the near future the people of this country will see that our cause is a just one; and that it is possible to arrange such a system as will permit Ireland to have the power of dealing with all those matters which concern herself, and herself alone, without the slightest shadow of danger or risk to the interests of the Empire. All I ask is that you on your side should be willing to consider and deal with this question as if it were an open question; that you should consider how far you can give to Ireland the right to legislate for herself with safety to your own greater, and undoubtedly more overpowering, influences. It is legitimate and right that we, being the smaller country, should endeavour to conciliate you in every possible manner, and yield to you, and agree to such safeguards as you may think necessary or desirable for the security of your own interests. We have always been anxious and willing for this, and we are willing to do so still. I am convinced that our people, knowing that England and Scotland and Wales have for the first time turned the ear of reason to the solution of this question, will steadily resist every incitement to disorder, to turbulence, and to

crime; and that they will hold fast in the true way pointed out to them by the right hon. gentleman, the member for Mid Lothian, in 1885 until he gets that chance which we hope and believe will be a near one, both for the sake of Ireland and for the sake of England, of again touching the great heart of his countrymen." Next morning the *Times* remarked on what it was pleased to call "this enormous change of tone"; and, forgetting in the hurry of the moment that Mr. Parnell and his friends are a gang of conspirators secretly plotting the disruption of the Empire, declared in substance that if that is all they want nobody will stand in the way. And Mr. Aird, worthy man, of the firm of Lucas & Aird, is prepared to take the contract for the job. He is ready to form a syndicate to float a Home Rule scheme that will please everybody. There has been an "enormous change of tone," certainly, but it has not been on the part of Mr. Parnell. He has been saying the same thing any time these last three years; and only now, after a rather rough surgical operation, does the *Times* open its ears. It really looks very much as if the process of climbing down had already begun, and that along an inclined plane we shall see the Unionist party move slowly past resolute government to county boards, then to provincial assemblies, and finally to Home Rule. They will then swear by all the gods that this has been the desire of their hearts from the first. Such has been the history of the *Times* in regard to every great popular question. We shall watch with great interest for the next step.

How Unionists Stop their Ears.—In the course of a debate on the condition and government of Ireland, a few nights ago, Sir George Trevelyan aptly pointed out how forcible an illustration was being afforded of the Irish difficulty. So long as it pleased the Member for North Armagh to indulge in "a series of propositions which were incredibly insulting to a great majority of his fellow countrymen," the benches around him remained crowded; the rising of Mr. Dillon to speak gave the signal for their emptying. If, together with this stupid practice, to which Mr. John Morley and others, besides Sir George Trevelyan, have drawn attention, we consider the significant fact that even so shrewd and honest a politician as the late Mr. Forster failed to penetrate the character of the impostor Pigott, who can wonder at the disgust with which our conduct of their affairs has inspired the Irish?

One instance out of many.—We extract from the *Freeman's Journal* of February 2nd the following copy of a letter addressed to the Editor of the *Irish Times* by the widow of the late Martin Loughlin, whose interment had taken place a few

days before:—"To the Editor of the *Irish Times*. Yougal, Feb. 1, 1889. Sir, my attention has been called to a paragraph in your issue of Thursday referring to my late husband, Martin Loughlin, who was buried yesterday. The writer states my husband would have paid his rent if he were allowed. I know this to be untrue; and I know that for several years before his eviction, and in spite of all he had previously spent in buildings and the improvement of his farm, he was not able to pay his rent without involving himself and his family in debt. The last rent paid by him in July, 1886, had to be borrowed from a friend of our family. Your correspondent cannot know, as I do, that if the former state of things had gone on our family would have been ruined without hope of recovery. I have no claim to the sympathy of your correspondent in my troubles, but he might have refrained from insulting the memory of my late husband, and adding another pang to the affliction in which myself and my family are plunged.—Yours faithfully, ELLEN LOUGHLIN."

A big Blunder.—The Government was indeed in a bad way when it lost its head so far as to arrest Mr. Carew, M.P., at the very moment of an election. Of course there was no chance of winning, but that was no reason for making the defeat additionally crushing. Perhaps a Richard of our day was already beginning to be haunted in his dreams by visions of coming disaster, causing him to exclaim:—

"I fear, I fear !

Methought the souls of all that I had [slandered]
Came to my tent, and every one did threat
To-morrow's vengeance on the head of Richard."

Something of this uneasiness must have been in the air when the polling for East Perthshire began: how else can one explain the blunder ?

The Abolition of Law.—Surely the Unionists might now with advantage cease repeating that Irishmen enjoy the same measure of liberty of speech as the people of this country. The lie may have done them service in the past, but lies, like other cheap clothing, soon wear threadbare, and this particular lie will prove a sorry defence against the storm fast gathering on the political horizon. Mr. W. F. Robson remarked the other day, at a meeting of the Council of the Liberal Federation, that "it was hard to call on a lawyer to follow a series of distinctly criminal speeches. Hardly a sentence had been uttered which would not, on the authority of an Irish magistrate, condemn all the speakers to hard labour. They ought not to allow their opponents to monopolise the term "law and order." They must impress on the people that in attacking the Coercion Act they were not merely

attacking a bad law, but attacking an enactment which deliberately abolished law in Ireland. Law was a body of general rules, showing what was permitted and what was not; when that body of rules was abolished, they had a pure and simple tyranny. The whole body of English common law had been superseded in Ireland by the arbitrary will of an individual magistrate; that was not merely bad law, it was the abolition of law. That the Government knew this themselves was shown by the character of the tribunals they were obliged to create—tribunals of briefless barristers, half-pay captains, and men who had failed in every other respect. And yet in attacking the decision of these men they were told that they were attacking the dignity and majesty of the law!"

A Conservative Meeting in Glasgow.—Each day brings fresh proof of the progress of opinion. Glasgow, which has hitherto had room only for one Conservative representative, now comes to the conclusion that he is one too many. Mr. J. G. Baird, M.P., addressing his constituents of the Central Division, early this month, was met in response by the following resolution:—"That this meeting thanks Mr. Baird for his address, acknowledges his many and varied services to the community; but in view of his being a supporter of the present coercionist Government in their harsh and vindictive policy towards Ireland, and as a protest against the unjust and brutal treatment of political prisoners, as exemplified in the cases of David Sheehy and William O'Brien, this meeting condemns his Parliamentary conduct as being in opposition to his pledges to the constituency, and declares that he has forfeited the confidence of the electors." Great efforts were made to hinder the reading of this resolution, but it was seconded and carried amidst loud cheers by 800 votes to about 200.

Ferdinand Lassalle on Government.—In dealing with the life of a people it is not safe to take one's stand on the legal constitution, for law is only the expression and written will of society, never its master. If the will and the needs of a community undergo a change, the hitherto existing code may fittingly be relegated to the museum of historical curiosities, and must yield its place to the new presentment, the new reflection of the time. I am aware what manner of justification a victorious power is entitled to claim when it asserts itself openly and undisguised. But I shall never bring myself to tolerate, without protest, that beneath a hypocritical cover of legality, recourse be had to sanguinary repressive measures, or that under the ægis of the law itself law should be made to figure as crime, and crime as law. Revolution means rotation, and thus a revolution is consummated whenever, whether by

or without forcible means—for the method matters not—an existing state of things is replaced by one based on an entirely new principle. Reform, on the other hand, implies that the principle of the existing state of things is retained, and is merely developed, as the case may be, either in the direction of a more lenient or of a more strictly consistent and just policy. Again, the methods are immaterial. A reform may be carried by insurrection and bloodshed, and a revolution effected amidst profoundest tranquillity.

DIARY OF THE MOVEMENT.

February 1.—Mr. Eaton, R.M., sentences Mr. Sheehy, M.P., to four months' imprisonment for being "concerned in this nefarious and brutal system of coercion."—Several meetings held throughout Britain to protest against the treatment of Irish political prisoners.

February 2.—Representative meeting at the National Liberal Club to consider the National protest.—Mr. Balfour delivers an after-dinner speech in Dublin on the comical aspect of Irish administration.—Mr. Cox, M.P., and Mr. Tulley, Editor of *Roscommon Herald*, sentenced to four months' imprisonment for advising that a branch of the National League should be established in Roscommon, and for urging tenants not to pay excessive rents.—Rev. W. Marrinan, of Castleconnel, sentenced to five weeks' imprisonment under the Coercion Act.

February 3.—Arrest of Father McFadden on leaving church. In the struggle with the people Inspector Martin is killed.

February 4.—Mr. Morley at Newcastle on the questions of Ireland and National defence.—Dublin Corporation expresses sympathy with the Irish political prisoners.—Great meetings in Manchester, Birmingham, and elsewhere, join in National protest.—Mr. Dennis Kilbride, M.P., arrested at Leicester.

February 5.—Lord Kinnear dismisses Mr. Parnell's Scottish action, finding there was no jurisdiction.—Parnell Commission: Commencement of Major Le Caron's evidence.

February 6.—Great meetings in London (National Liberal Club), Sheffield, Liverpool, &c., protest against the Irish policy of the Government, and call for a dissolution.—Earl Spencer at Reading, and Sir Michael Hicks Beach at Bristol, on Ireland.

February 7.—Mr. Condon, M.P., and four others receive sentences from two to four months for "criminal conspiracy to induce cattle dealers not to deal with a Mr. Tobin, a sub-agent for some evicted farms."—Irish Protestant Home Rule Association protest against Mr. O'Brien's prison treatment.

February 8.—Mr. Kilbride, M.P., sent to

prison for three months for trying to hinder the letting of evicted farms.

February 9.—Mr. Balfour "exposes the falsehoods of Mr. O'Brien's case" to a Manchester correspondent.

February 10.—Great demonstration in Hyde Park calls for a dissolution of Parliament.

February 11.—Mr. Parnell moves for liberty to issue writ against *Times* in Dublin.—Mr. O'Brien transferred from Clonmel to Tralee for another trial. Several conflicts between police and people.—Mr. Chamberlain explains his notions of the American Constitution to a Glasgow audience.

February 12.—Mr. John Kelly, organiser for the National League, receives six months' sentence under the Crimes Act.—Counties Meath and Waterford proclaimed.—Mr. Goschen at Pimlico on the political situation.—Mr. Chamberlain at Glasgow on Unionists and "Constructive Legislation for Ireland."

February 13.—Mr. John Gallagher sentenced to three months' hard labour for taking part in a conflict with the police.—Great meeting and speech by Mr. Morley at Portsmouth.—Sir George Trevelyan at Glasgow replies to Mr. Chamberlain.

February 14.—Parnell Commission: Soames in the box.—Mr. Morley at Portsmouth on Mr. Chamberlain and the Dissenters.

February 15.—Parnell Commission: Macdonald, the *Times*' manager, examined.

February 16.—Mr. Chamberlain visits St. Andrews, and makes a speech.

February 17.—Great open-air demonstration on Peckham Rye, and other parts of London, protest against the Government.

February 18.—O'Brien before Roche and Massey, R.M.'s, at Tralee.—Expulsion of Mr. Healy from court.—Limerick Harbour Trustees protest against the imprisonment of Mr. Reeves, the reporter, sent to gaol for refusing to give evidence at a Crimes' Court.

February 19.—Parnell Commission.—Hous顿's examination.—Liberal victory in East Perthshire.—Lord Rosebery in Edinburgh on Unionist progress in Scotland.—Arrest of Mr. Carew, M.P., in Perthshire.—Mr. O'Brien sentenced to six months after refusing to forsake the Plan of Campaign.

February 20.—Parnell Commission.—Pigott in the box.—Return of Mr. Gladstone; enthusiastic reception.—Motion in favour of Home Rule for Ireland introduced in the Canadian House of Commons.

February 21.—Opening of Parliament.—Mr. Gladstone speaks on the Address.—Mr. Carew sentenced to four months for "criminal conspiracy."

February 23.—Mr. Shaw Lefevre at Dartford on the Parnell Commission.—Rev. Father

Stephens arrested at Fulcarragh for advising tenants of Olphert Estate not to pay rent.

February 25.—Mr. Morley submits his amendment on the Address. Mr. Balfour replies.—Messrs. Cecil Roche and O'Brien, R.M.'s, sentence Thomas Birmingham to two sentences of six months each, to run consecutively, for obstructing sheriff and police during the Vandeleur evictions.

February 26.—Parnell Commission. Pigott missing.—Earls Granville and Spencer at the Home Counties Liberal Federation Meeting in National Liberal Club.

February 27.—Parnell Commission.—Attorney-General, on behalf of the *Times*, apologises to Mr. Parnell.—Six families evicted on the Clancarne Estate.—Sir W. Harcourt at Derby on the Commission and the Round Table Conference.

February 28.—Six families evicted on Miss King-Harman's Longford Estate.—Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Bradlaugh speak on Mr. Morley's amendment.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

A MEETING of the Executive Committee was held on Tuesday, February 5th, at the Offices of the Union, when there were present:—Professor Stuart, M.P., in the chair; Mrs. Beesly, Mrs. Bryant, Miss Monck, Mr. J. Allanson Picton, M.P., Rev. J. S. Jones, Dr. Bernard O'Connor, Messrs. Gibb, Lough, and the Secretary. It was proposed by the Secretary, seconded by Mr. Allanson Picton, and carried unanimously, that Dr. Summerhayes be elected to fill one of the two vacancies on the Committee.

It was proposed by the Rev. J. S. Jones, and seconded by Mrs. Beesly, and carried unanimously, "That this Meeting of the Executive of the Home Rule Union desires to place on record its vehement indignation at the barbarous treatment of William O'Brien, and feels that the recent action of Mr. Balfour has cast a stain upon the British name."

The Chairman stated that Mrs. Gladstone had given him a sum of £26, to be devoted to the funds of the Home Rule Union, a cheque for which amount he handed in.

A meeting of the Executive Committee was again held on Tuesday, February 19th. Present:—Dr. Bernard O'Connor in the chair; Mrs. Beesly, Miss Monck, Rev. J. S. Jones, Dr. Summerhayes, Messrs. Gibb, Lough, and the Secretary.

It was proposed by Mr. Lough, and seconded by Mr. Gibb, and carried unanimously, that the Annual Meeting of the Home Rule Union be held in the Conference Room of the National Liberal Club, on March 7th, at eight o'clock.

It was proposed by Mr. Lough, and seconded

by Mr. Gibb, that St. James's Hall be taken for the great meeting to be addressed by the Right Hon. Sir William Harcourt, M.P., on April the 10th.

It was proposed by Miss Monck, and seconded by Dr. Summerhayes, and carried unanimously, that Miss Cobden be invited to fill the vacant place on the Committee.

It was proposed by Mr. Gibb, and seconded by Dr. Summerhayes, and carried unanimously, that the use of the Offices of the Union be granted to the National Protest Committee, and that the Secretary be requested to give all the assistance in his power in furtherance of that movement.

THE VAN.

THE three months' tour of the Van in Devonshire was finished on February 9th.

A tour was commenced on Friday, February 22nd, in North Herefordshire, which is now proceeding.

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Schwaun, C. E., M.P.	25	0	0
Slade, M. M.	1	1	0
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Summerhayes, Dr.	2	2	0
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JOHN BRIGHT AND IRELAND.

At a meeting in Dublin after Mr. Bright's declaration of opposition to Home Rule and of distrust in the Home Rule leaders, his name was mentioned, and from a corner of the room a hiss was heard. Instantly there arose a cry of "Hush!" When we see so much which almost compels us to believe that there is no such thing as gratitude in politics it brings a solace to our minds to recall an incident like this. It was a sore sight for Irishmen to see Mr. Bright in the ranks of their enemies, but they never allowed their grief and disappointment to make them forget the services of the past; and instinctively they felt that in Ireland, which owed him much, he had earned the right of security from disrespect. As Mr. Justin McCarthy said, they are not so wanting in generosity, nor is their memory so short.

In days when few Englishmen could

be found to listen patiently to the claims of the Irish people, Bright had the courage to take up their cause. Nearly a quarter of a century before the disestablishment of the Irish Church, he denounced that Church as "the most disgraceful institution in Christendom." When English governments shrank from legislation on behalf of Irish tenants as being an interference with the rights of property, he reminded them of the property of the poor, and declared his opinion that "nothing can be a greater interference and infringement of the rights of property than the laws which regulate property now." When Crimes and Outrage Bills and the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act seemed to most of his countrymen the only remedies for Irish discontent, he declared that the persistent resort to these measures was a blot upon the reign of the Queen and a scandal to civilisation. "This ever-failing and ever-poisonous medicine"—so he described the policy of coercion. "There is no statesmanship," he said, "merely in acts of force and acts of repression." In those days he stood aloof from those who on the strength of constant disaffection found it an easy thing to draw an indictment against the whole Irish people. "I am inclined to believe," he said, "that whatever there is that is defective in any portion of the Irish people comes not from their race, but from their history, and from the conditions to which they have been subjected." Nor did he find

any note of sedition in the national aspirations of Ireland. Still believing in the possibility of justice under English rule, he saw no sacredness in the "fraudulent Act of Union." "And further," he declared, "I am willing to admit, what everybody in England allows with regard to every foreign country, that any nation, believing it to be to its interest, has a right to both ask for and strive for national independence." It is the John Bright who spoke such words as these, and who in speaking them was as one crying in the wilderness, that will live in the memory of the Irish people.

This is not the time for any cold inquiry into the influences which led Bright to adopt a hostile attitude to Mr. Gladstone's policy of Home Rule, to acquiesce in yet one more application of "the ever-failing and ever-poisonous medicine," and to speak of the chosen leaders of the Irish people as conspirators and rebels. To the student of political history it will be the interesting and profitable inquiry; but one has no desire just now to seek the explanation of the apparent contradiction. We turn away from these later years, when a strange fate made his name grateful to the party of privilege and ignorance, to the better past when

"He dared to be
In the right with two or three."

The memory of his share in the events of the last three years will soon grow dim; but the record will endure of his long endeavour to awaken the conscience of England to her duty towards Ireland. If we can now see before us the end of our weary journey towards peace and reconciliation, let us remember how much he did to lead us into the right path.

THE REIGN OF TERROR IN GWEEDORE.

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

It is not long before the visitor to Ireland has an opportunity of finding out that he is in an enslaved land. At every roadside station you see a couple

or more of brave Balfour's men, who come and stare in at your carriage window, evidently taking your description. On my journey from Dublin to Derry I very soon realised that I was not in a free country; the uncomfortable feeling with which a residence of some six months in the Russian Empire had made me familiar came back upon me. But this was only the beginning.

On the following day after my arrival in the sister island, I stood in the streets of Derry, watching the Gweedore prisoners on their way to Letterkenny, where they were to be brought up again before the "removables." They were escorted to the station by a strong force of constables and soldiers, who accompanied them in a special train to Letterkenny. When I saw how quiet the crowds in the streets were—(only here and there did I see a handkerchief silently waved by a weeping woman)—I could not help asking myself how it was that the fifteen or sixteen thousand Nationalists in the city of Derry did not make some demonstration of sympathy for their beloved leader, Father McFadden. But on enquiry of a friend, I soon learnt the cause. Even a groan or a cheer would mean arrest, and probably ill-treatment at the hands of a brutal constabulary. Only the other day a girl was arrested for laughing at the constables.

The streets of Derry had been pretty full of police—I met about fifty in a ten minutes' walk—but on reaching the little town of Letterkenny I could hardly believe my eyes. The whole place was full of police, and there was a troop of Scots Greys drawn up under arms in the main street. There must have been an armed man for every able-bodied citizen in the place.

But I was destined to have the state of affairs brought home to me in a still more forcible manner. On leaving Letterkenny on Sunday morning for Gweedore, I saw a car waiting ready at the police barracks. As soon as I had left the town, the car came out after me, with three armed policemen in it. They had a much better horse than I had, but they did not overtake me; they remained behind at a distance of about twenty yards; when I stopped they stopped, and, on alighting at Kilmacrenan for lunch, they waited on the road for me. It was irritating in the highest degree; I had committed no crime, and had no intention of committing one. Why should an Englishman be treated in his own country in a way in which his nation would not allow him to be treated by any foreign despotism? As it happened, the police had a rough time of it. During the whole distance of thirty miles we were exposed to a storm of wind and rain, which, the driver informed me, was the worst he had seen for fifteen years. I reached Gweedore Hotel, and found it converted into barracks. In my bedroom I picked up six cartridges. It was on Monday, how-

ever, that I saw the first signs of the Reign of Terror. In walking over from the Gweedore Hotel to Derrybeg, the scene of Inspector Martin's death, I saw the people, even the children, running away to hide themselves on my approach, and on the distant hills were hunted men looking down from their hiding.

On my arrival at Derrybeg I was enabled, by the help of friends, to find out by personal enquiries some of the incidents of the Terror, and I select a few typical cases in order to show Englishmen what kind of rule they are supporting in Ireland.

The first terror began immediately after the first arrests, i.e., about the 4th or 5th of February. Sunday, February 3rd, the day of Mr. Martin's death, had been a wild, stormy day, and the congregation at Derrybeg had been much smaller than usual. Now when the people in distant parts of the parish and in the islands saw the wholesale arrest of neighbours, who they knew very well had never been near the chapel, a panic seized them. They did not know whether their turn might not come next, and men fled to the wilderness, where many spent ten days lying out, hunger-stricken, in frost and snow.

It would be undesirable to play into the hands of the police by giving too much information, but in the following cases I shall give names and dates where possible, so that the accuracy of my report may be verified. I have preserved, as far as possible, the original wording of the communications made to me.

On February 14th the constables went to a house near Derrybeg, and found the tenant's wife and children at home alone. The head constable asked the wife whether her husband was in. She replied that he was not, and was trying to soothe her children, who were very much frightened, when the representative of "Ioranyorder" fiercely roared at her, "I will knock your brains out if you don't tell me where he is!"

On February 17th Margaret O'Donnell and Sarah Boyd, of Crolly, Margaret Coyle, and Kate Coyle were coming up past Middletown, after Mass, walking on the side of the road, and leaving room for the police to pass. The latter were headed by Sergt. Daly; behind them marched "the red-whiskered head constable" (whose name is known). Sergt. Mahony, who was walking by the side of the squad, cried out, "Clear the road there!" and the red-whiskered one angrily yelled out the order to "skiver them!"

On February 23rd Constable Boyd and Detective Allison visited the house of Michael McGee, of Ballindrait, and asked the wife where her husband was. She replied, in Irish, that he was not in. They then asked whether he was at Mass on February 3rd. She said "No," still in Irish. Allison then ordered her to tell him what

she knew in English, and when she replied that she "had no English," he put his hand on his bayonet and cried, "Be d---d to you; I'll make you speak English." On the same day a man arrested at Connell Gallagher's, near Gweedore Hotel, was struck on the chest with the butt end of a rifle, and afterwards, there being no proof against him, was liberated.

Anthony Gallagher, of Lunagh, was going up from the shore on Sunday, February 24th, with two lads, when Sergeant Mahony, who was with four policemen, called to him to stop. The man ran away and the five constables followed. Shortly afterwards a shot was fired. The chase went on till a wide channel was reached, when a second shot was fired. At last they got to the seashore, and further flight was impossible; still a third shot was heard, and finally Mahony rushed up to Gallagher, and, holding a revolver to his breast, asked where the other men were. There was absolutely no evidence against Gallagher, and he was released on March 7th.

A body of Rifles came from Dunfanaghy on February 25th, and surrounded all the people on the shore; they also formed a cordon round the townlands of Lunnah, Carrick, and Glassagh; many people ran away from fear. McCafferty ran from two policemen, one of whom (Varrily) fired a shot after him.

H.M.S. *Banterer* arrived at noon, and landed policemen on the islands. They arrested ten men at Innishmane Island and handcuffed them immediately. The inspector put the keys of the handcuffs in his pocket, and sent the prisoners on board. They remained in boats from 1 till 4 p.m., during a severe storm, till the *Banterer* came back. The naval officers told the constables that they could not take the prisoners on board handcuffed, but they were at last embarked, and lay huddled together handcuffed till morning. Their wrists were bleeding. When at last they reached Gweedore barracks they were all discharged!

One poor man on the shore, Connel McBride, was arrested four times, and finally received one of the famous passes. But all this had been mere child's play compared with what was to follow. On March 6th the Rifles and all the police in Dunfanaghy and Falcarragh went to the mountains about 4 a.m., and all the police in Gweedore went there to meet them, while the Scots Greys took possession of all the roads. By daybreak the force had encircled the parish with a cordon about sixteen miles in circumference. They moved slowly down to the shore, searching every house, barn, stable, &c. They arrived on the beach about 5 p.m., having made no arrests. The police and the soldiers suffered severely from cold and hunger. Other raids took place on March 7th and 8th. Houses have been broke into, and doors smashed.

The following incident is a characteristic illustration of the "felicity" of the people of Gweedore:—When Connell Boyd, of Carvin, got up the other morning he received a visit from five or six policemen. After they had left, he went out to work, and soon afterwards his attention was attracted by a dark object on the hillside. At first he thought it was a sheep, but he soon saw a helmet feebly waved on the end of a rifle, and on going to the spot he found one of his morning visitors lying half dead from fatigue and exposure, and abandoned by his comrades. At first Connell was afraid that the policeman was playing him some trick, and would not approach; but the man handed over his rifle, as a pledge of good faith, whereupon the Good Samaritan, with great difficulty, conveyed the sick man to his cabin, fed him and put him to bed. In the evening the constable went on his way refreshed, but he neither gave Connell payment nor thanks for his good offices, and Connell told me yesterday, at Derrybeg Fair, that he had not heard anything of his guest since then.

Anthony Sweany, of Magheracloagher, was visited by the police. During a general conversation, Anthony took the liberty of looking into a certain head-constable's face, whereupon the constable yelled at him: "Don't look at me with your murderous face!"

I have not yet concluded my investigations, but I have already such a mass of materials that I have only been able to give a small selection from them in the present article.

I shall conclude with one case which ought to appeal very strongly to the feelings of the British public, for it affects a charming Donegal girl with whom many Londoners must have a slight acquaintance, for she was over at the Exhibition last year, at Mrs. Hart's stall.

Constable Boyd, who is not very well spoken of here, was battering the door of the house where Cecilia McBridly lives. She was in bed, and called out asking him not to break down the door, as she would open it in a minute, as soon as she was dressed. He, nevertheless, broke down the door, at the same time making use of language which will not bear repeating. Cecilia is little more than a child, and is a bright, clever lass.

For about ten days the people had been getting much more composed, and were returning from hiding and settling down to their work again. The presence of Mr. Wilson, M.P. for Holmfirth, helped more than anything else to restore their confidence. But a second Reign of Terror began last night, when two men were arrested at Derrybeg Fair. I saw them brought into the barracks here by thirty men with fixed bayonets, and followed by their shrieking female relatives. One of the accused was in Scotland on February 3rd, the other was nowhere near the chapel.

They were taken away to Gweedore barracks, and then the former of the two was released. Late last night a man called Harkin was also arrested. The people have again taken fright in consequence of these new arrests.

NOTES FROM IRELAND.

A DUBLIN correspondent writes to us:—"The break-up of the *Times* over the alleged Parnell letters has sensibly reduced the tension of the political atmosphere in Dublin. The Unionists, of course, still try to put a good face on the matter, and speak now of the letters as of quite secondary importance; but a somewhat more conciliatory tone is noticeable in intercourse, and some even go the length of saying that, if the Irish party is cleared of crime, they see no very great objection to Home Rule.

"We cannot expect, however, any very sudden change of opinion among Unionists. A few have come over on the letters, such as the Rev. Mr. Hinkson, M.A.; but the disintegrating forces must have time to work, and their full effect will probably not be apparent till the next General Election.

"A municipal contest of more than ordinary interest is now pending, and, as arising out of the notorious Balfour banquet, is certain to be fought out to the last man. Mr. Sexton (not the Lord Mayor), a member of the Corporation and a leading light of the Conservative party here, attended the banquet with two other Tory corporators. Their action was, of course, commented on and censured at the next meeting of the Town Council, and so Mr. Sexton resigns his seat and offers himself for re-election, as a test issue. Mr. Sexton's seat in the Corporation has not hitherto been contested, the Nationalists having, at the last and previous elections, decided not to contest it, in recognition of his general services and deserved popularity in the Corporation. His present action, however, waives such considerations, and the ward being pretty equally divided, a sharp contest is expected.*

"The resolution of the Corporation on the Balfour banquet runs as follows:—'That this Council expresses its deep indignation and regret that any body of citizens of Dublin, no matter how small or insignificant, should have been found to aid the chief gaoler of William O'Brien in casting ridicule on his prisoner's sufferings.' As Mr. A. Webb said at the last meeting of the National League, the resolution was really very moderate. Consider for a moment, had one of the most popular of the English leaders, a man possessing

* Since our correspondent wrote, Mr. Sexton has been returned by a majority of four votes. On his former election he was returned by the casting vote of the chairman.

in a like degree as William O'Brien the affection of the majority of his countrymen, been subjected to prison treatment by his political opponents such as that inflicted on Mr. O'Brien, and then jeered and sneered at by the Minister responsible for his treatment, to the accompaniment of hired laughter (for the majority of the banqueters were officials and place-hunters), would the people of England have stood it with the same patience that the Irish have shown, and would it not have been more than human had not threats of boycotting been heard at indignation meetings.

"In Ireland, the case against the Balfour banqueters is tenfold stronger. Apart from the specially aggravating circumstances of the case, the action of Mr. Balfour's supporters in Ireland does not fall within the legitimate exercise of the right of freedom of opinion. Irish Unionists have been defeated one every public platform, and in every representative contest to which they have appealed in their own country; outside of four counties in Ulster, they have practically no political existence, and they now maintain their opposition to the will of the country only by calling in outside aid in the shape of Balfourism. Surely a country ought to have the power which every public meeting possesses of enforcing order and silencing opposition when carried too far. The minority in Ireland, having had their full say, may now fitly be called on to stand aside. Without the Irish Unionists as a *point d'appui* Balfourism could not exist, and, pushed to its logical conclusion the success of the Unionists in Ireland would simply mean the tyranny of the minority. No doubt Irish Unionists now take their stand as citizens of the United Kingdom, and as such claim to be above Irish opinion. This is, however, to ignore facts. But it were a waste of breath to argue with them; the system of bribery by office and emolument to which they have been subjected for generations has completely denationalised them, not only in an Irish sense, but English also, they are simply from day to day whatever is likely to pay best at the time. Thus when the Irish Church was disestablished, they rejected the United Kingdom idea and took up the position that the Established Church in Ireland was based on a compact between free peoples, and if interfered with, that they would be entitled to reconsider the compact of the Union itself. And, not to particularise threats of active disloyalty, I find, on turning over the old files of the *Daily Express* (and it is by no means an isolated instance), Dr. Nail, F.T.C.D., a now active Unionist, addressed a meeting at that time in the following suggestive words:—'If their compact with the Crown of England was now to be rudely broken, in justice they must demand to be allowed to reconsider the question of the Union; and he was sure he spoke the sentiments of every man present

when he said they were, first of all, Protestants; in the second place, Irishmen; and only thirdly, Englishmen.' With men of such weathercock nationality argument is useless. The only way to bring them to a reasonable frame of mind is to vote them down; and, on all possible occasions, to contest and break up the system of government on which their factitious strength depends."

FROM another correspondent we have received the following:—"Mr. Balfour declares Ireland to be flourishing under his rule. Did anyone ever hear of people flying *en masse* from a flourishing country? 'Unionists' should read in the Irish emigration statistics of the 78,684 people who left the shores of Ireland last year! This is a far higher average than that of the years between 1866 and 1875, and now, as hitherto, it is the youth and flower of the nation that is going; more than 80 per cent. of last year's emigrants were between the ages of 15 and 35. If the present state of things continues much longer, poor Ireland will relapse into bog and moorland for want of hands to till the soil.

"Here is an anecdote of one of the tenants whom such landlords as Mr. Olphert or Mr. Smith Barry would ruthlessly evict and drive from their native land. During the present reign of terror at Gweedore, an armed police party were out on an all-night search through the mountains, when one of their number, becoming exhausted and unable to proceed, was abandoned by his comrades. Shortly afterwards a certain Connell Gallagher, engaged in tending sheep, passed by and discovered the man in a faint and speechless condition. Like the good Samaritan of old, he carried the poor fellow to his own home, further down the mountain, administered warm drink, got him to bed, and gradually restored him to consciousness and strength.

"The constable himself declares that Connell saved his life.

"Of this incident, which our Gweedore Correspondent also relates, the *Derry Journal* truly says:—'Nothing here was done but what is characteristic of the Irish peasant. It is but the illustration so often given of the kindly impulses in him which are of his nature, just as is that wonderful fire that defends O'Donnell's or Curran's Fort, or gives the quality that made the fame of the Faugh-a-ballaghs or Connaught Rangers.'

CANON KELLER might well say that the affairs of the Ponsonby Estate have from recent developments come to be "nothing short of a National question." I would strongly advise my English readers who may wish thoroughly to understand this "chapter in the history of Irish landlordism" to send to the Irish Press Agency, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, S.W., for

copies of a small pamphlet by the Very Rev. Canon Keller, P.P. This little leaflet, for it is scarcely more than that, is entitled "The Struggle for Life on the Ponsonby Estate." The Canon says, "In the face of the facts and examples to which I have referred, fair-minded Englishmen, at least, will not consider the demands of the Ponsonby tenants either exaggerated or unjust." It was upon the occasion, it will be remembered, of the arrest of Canon Keller, for standing by these same sorely-tried people, that Captain Plunkett despatched his famous telegram, "Don't hesitate to shoot," and this to a neighbourhood concerning whose inhabitants the District Inspector deposed on oath that they had been an abnormally quiet people!

All Home Rulers should stand by these tenants. "A fair, amicable settlement was within our grasp," said the Rev. Canon Keller at Youghal last week, "until Mr. Smith Barry stepped in to sow discord amongst us."

LAST Sunday, in accordance with the resolutions adopted at the County Wexford Convention, a collection was made in every parish, to raise the sum of £500, which the County of Wexford pledged itself to pay Mr. John Dillon yearly as long as may be necessary for the protection of the tenants. Though the returns from the different parishes are not yet known, it is anticipated, from the vigorous manner in which the appeal was everywhere met, that even a larger sum than that asked for has been subscribed.

AN Ulster Correspondent writes to us:—"The part lawyers play in connection with rent-collecting constitutes a very serious grievance in Ireland. With ordinary notices of eviction the public is tolerably familiar, but there exist still more stealthy modes of procedure, of which less is known.

"Absentee landlords are in the habit of appointing solicitors as their agents. Nearly every solicitor is somebody's agent, and derives a portion of his income from the many technicalities arising out of the collection of rents. He is under no risk in taking action, for if the costs cannot be wrung out of the tenant the landlord is made answerable. Writs are served whenever the rent becomes overdue; shoals of them go out every week from Dublin offices, little resistance being ever offered, as the tenants have learnt from long experience that they, in their retired country homes, are seldom a match for wily Dublin lawyers, and that to submit to a certain amount of legal fleecing is the alternative to complete expropriation.

"When the tenant is overcharged his friends constantly advise him not to contest the matter, as the agent is sure to fight to the end. He is paid in any event, his costs are safe whether he win or lose; and, having thus everything to gain by

harassing the tenant, he does not consult the absentee landlord, who has left such matters in his absolute discretion. There is no exaggeration in saying that this habit of leaving everything to agents, who have all the power and none of the responsibilities of ownership, has been in a great measure the cause of the land troubles in Ireland. Any comparison of Irish with English tenants which does not take account of this great difference in management is entirely misleading.

"The recent legislation has given less relief to the tenant than is generally supposed. I have the case before me of a farm, of which the rent is more than thirty per cent. above the Government valuation. For the last ten years it has not paid interest on the capital sunk in it, and if the tenant had not other means of support, the rent could not have been paid. £1,300 has been spent in buildings and improvements, but not even in the worst years has the landlord, who is an absentee, made any reduction in the rent. Notice for a reduction by the Commissioners was served eighteen months ago, but the case, with hundreds of others in the county, has not been heard yet. The tenant is even in a worse position than before. Hitherto, owing to unusual punctuality in the payment of rent, there had been few difficulties with the agent, but since the notice for a reduction was served no consideration of any kind has been shown. The agent has refused to discuss questions of overcharge, and sends a writ instead of a civil reply. To seek a judicial reduction seems to him an offence to be punished by every petty means in his power."

LORD SALISBURY ON IRISH TENANTS.

IN his speech at Watford, on March 19th, Lord Salisbury made the following statement with regard to the position of the Irish tenant:—

"The matter upon which Mr. Parnell took his stand was that the Irish tenant made the improvements on his farm, and he suggested that when he was evicted he would not get the value of these improvements. Now that is absolutely contrary to the fact. It is quite true that the Irish tenant generally does perform the improvements on his farm, but it is not true that any landlord has the power, or for the last nineteen years has ever had the power, to rob him of the value of those improvements. By an Act passed in 1870, so far as that clause is concerned, passed with the general consent of all parties in Parliament, he was given the right in case of eviction for non-payment of rent, or anything else, the absolute right to the value of the improvement which he or his predecessors in title had made upon the farm. It is perhaps a rather tiring thing to read a clause in an Act of Parliament at a dinner like this, but

the matter is so important and the clause is so short I hope you will allow me to do it. The Act of 1870—the Irish Land Act of 1870—clause 4, said, ‘Any tenant,’ other than one under the Ulster custom, otherwise provided for, ‘may on quitting his holding have compensation, to be paid by the landlord under this section, in respect of all improvements on his holding made by him or his predecessor in title,’ and by section 9 these words include a tenant ejected for non-payment of rent. It is, therefore, absolutely untrue that the Irish tenant has any grievance in respect of his own improvements—that is, whether he goes by his own will or whether he is turned out in consequence of non-payment of rent, he has an absolute right under a statute nineteen years old to the value of all improvements which he or his predecessors in title may have made upon his farm. It is very important to bear this in mind, because, again and again, you will find Gladstonian constituencies basing their claims to sympathy for tenants who have taken part in the Plan of Campaign on the ground that they were threatened with the loss of the value which their own improvements had created.”

To this utterly misleading statement (which omits the qualifying provisions of the statute) a reply by anticipation will be found in Mr. Clancy’s tract on “The Position of the Irish Tenant.” Dealing with a similar statement (and taking account not only of the Act of 1870, but of the Act of 1881 and later Acts), he says:—

“(a) No compensation for improvements can in practice be obtained till after eviction, and then, if the tenant should get any compensation, the arrears of the very rack-rent which caused his eviction, and which was assessed on those improvements, may be set off against it, and he may not pocket a penny.

“(b) There is no right at all to compensation for improvements when, as has just been explained, the tenant is sold out and is evicted, not for non-payment of rent, but on title.

“(c) No tenant can ever be fully compensated for his improvements, for the decision of the Court of Appeal in the case of Adams *v.* Dunseath, already referred to, has prevented that act of justice, by prescribing, amongst other things, that, in measuring the value of a tenant’s improvements, the time he has ‘enjoyed’ them is to be taken into consideration against him—which is as much as to say that if a man paid £10 for a watch, the watchmaker who sold it might come back after ten years and demand it back, on the ground that, though he had been paid, yet the man who paid for it had ‘enjoyed’ it for ten years, and had therefore been repaid his money!

“(d) No improvements except permanent buildings and reclamation of waste lands can be claimed for if made more than twenty years before the

claim, and even those two sorts of improvements cannot be claimed for, whenever made, if the tenant holds under a lease of thirty-one years or over.

“(e) The technical difficulties in the way of proving the title to improvements, and the fact that the poor tenants never kept accounts, and were not even able to keep accounts of their improvements, have rendered the whole law of compensation for improvements such a mockery, that of all the tens of thousands of tenants evicted in Ireland since the law of 1870, which first provided for compensation for improvements, not three hundred—probably less—have obtained a single farthing for their improvements, although at the same time the improvements were confessedly theirs and not the landlords.”

We may add to this the opinion of Judge O’Connor Morris, written in 1884:—

“Under the Act of 1870, as a general rule, the rights of the tenants could be only realised on eviction, and when he was leaving the land; and experience soon showed that, as the Irish peasant, rather than face eviction and quit his home, was willing to forego the benefits of the land, and to submit to almost any hardship, the statute proved in a great measure useless. While the law, in theory, gave him large new rights, and seemed fairly to protect his property, the simple process of raising rent placed the tenant, practically, in as bad a position, or nearly so, as had been the case before.”

JUDGE CURRAN AND MR. O’BRIEN.

SELDOM has a stranger scene been witnessed in a court of justice than that which took place at the Killarney Courthouse, on March 26th. On February 19th, Mr. O’Brien was sentenced by Mr. Cecil Roche and Captain Massey to six months’ imprisonment for a speech delivered by him in favour of the Plan of Campaign on the Kenmare Estate. Mr. O’Brien appealed, and the appeal came on before County Court Judge Curran. During the examination of Mr. Leonard, the estate agent, the judge intervened, and the following conversation took place:—

Judge Curran said: Mr. Leonard, is there any way of this matter being settled? I think it would be a great matter if it was settled. Is there any way?

Mr. Leonard: I don’t know what the tenants want.

Judge Curran: Is there any chance of an arbitration on both sides being agreed to?

Mr. T. M. Healy: I may say on behalf of my client that we now renew the offer that we made to have the matter referred to any two English members of Parliament. We to select, one and

Mr. Leonard to select the other, with Mr. John George M'Carthy as umpire, who is the official Land Commissioner who fixed rents in this locality. We are only most anxious to come to a settlement, and we now renew the offer publicly, or the offer that my friend and client made before he was put into jail, and before he was even prosecuted.

Mr. Carson: Of course, I need hardly say that we have nothing to say to that.

Judge Curran: Certainly not; but I have a good deal, because it means desolation here for a considerable time.

Mr. Healy: I can only say on behalf of my client that anything that will put a stop to disorder or turmoil, and I will go the length of saying illegality in this district, we are most anxious to do, as we were most anxious to do before being prosecuted.

Mr. Healy offered to substitute Judge Curran for Mr. M'Carthy as umpire, and the judge agreed to act. Mr. Carson, on behalf of the Crown, had evidently no desire to facilitate an arrangement which might result in giving peace to the district, and contented himself with muttering protests against the irregularity of the whole proceeding. The arrangement was concluded, however, without his leave. After the evidence had been gone into the case was adjourned to April 10th, the judge stating that if he affirmed the conviction at all, he would make the sentence terminate with Mr. O'Brien's other sentence.

An irregular proceeding it was, certainly; though, if one may risk the bull, it is the rule in Irish criminal trials to commit irregularities. But they are seldom of so sensible a kind. Here is Mr. O'Brien being tried for inciting to a breach of the law by preaching the Plan of Campaign. To R.Ms. Roche and Massey the case is clear: Plan of Campaign a swindle; tenants' grievances all humbug; defendant a reckless law-breaker; six months. To Judge Curran the case appears in a different light. Knowing the district, he is aware that there is a good deal in the tenants' claim, and that at any rate it deserves to be looked into. He is inclined to think that it is not the chief end of law to keep Mr. O'Brien the greatest possible number of months in prison, but to secure peace and contentment among the people. He may still find that Mr. O'Brien broke the law, but he has clearly indicated his opinion that, right or wrong, Mr. O'Brien acted honestly in the tenants' interest, and that there was ground for his interference. It is the Irish Question in a nutshell. The pious horror which is excited by the Plan of Campaign, and other signs of discontent in Ireland, is due simply to wilful ignorance of the local circumstances which produce them. Unprejudiced people, who stand near, appreciate the cause, and are not satisfied with denouncing the result. It is

for those who call the Plan of Campaign a swindle, and who exult with indecency over the imprisonment of Mr. O'Brien, to suggest some better plan of action for the tenants. Preaching general maxims about land will not establish law in Ireland. Government needs to be carried on with some flexibility of mind, and without an excessive dread of irregularities. In short, we have failed to govern Ireland, because we have had too much Carson and too little Curran.

THE NATIONAL PROTEST.

THE success and effect of the national protest exceeded the expectations of those who organised it. Never since the agitation on the Eastern question, ten years ago, has been seen such a display of earnestness as marked the meetings of March 13th, at Farringdon Street Memorial Hall, and St. James's Hall. Such a reception as Mr. Parnell met with is to be paralleled only by the extraordinary scene at the close of Mr. Gladstone's speech at Bingley Hall. It indicated plainly that the conscience of the best part of the English people had been profoundly touched, and that there is a firm determination to get rid at all costs of a system of government which is bringing shame on the nation. Nothing can show better the earnestness of the meetings than the resolutions which they passed. As Mr. Frederic Harrison said, no stronger indictment has been laid against any government since the recital of grievances against James II. in the Bill of Rights; and it is not only strong but true. We might do worse than have it appointed to be read in churches.

"1. That the permanent government of one of the three kingdoms, in systematic defiance of the voice of its representatives in Parliament, is a violation of the spirit of the Constitution, and is contrary to all the political traditions held sacred by Englishmen and Scotchmen.

"2. To subject to criminal prosecution, within a period of twenty months, no less than twenty-four members of Parliament from Ireland, being nearly one-fourth of the entire representation of that kingdom, displays an insolent contempt for the first conditions of Parliamentary Government, and impairs the unity of the Empire and the free expression of opinion in the House of Commons.

"3. The infliction of severe and degrading punishments, in common with the most brutal malefactors, on men who have committed no offence under the law of crime as it stood in 1887, and whose acts are held in honour by the great mass of their constituents and countrymen, is contrary to the usages of civilised governments in Europe, and is a wanton abuse of power by a temporary majority.

"4. Permanently to deprive the people of one of the three kingdoms of the right of trial by jury—and that in the absence of either riot or insurrection—is contrary to the Constitution, and is an outrage on the political liberty of the subject which for centuries has not been attempted in England, during the worst times of misgovernment and oppression.

"5. To hand over the personal liberty of every man in Ireland to the arbitrary authority of ignorant and partizan officials, who are magistrates only in name, but, in fact, are instruments of the Castle Police, is to make what is called "law" odious, and what is called "crime" honourable, in the eyes of Englishmen as well as Irishmen.

"6. To subject to long terms of imprisonment with hard labour men whose pretended "crime" is the simple publication of speeches openly made in public meeting, the cheering of political prisoners, or the expression of political sympathy, is a flagrant abuse of law imported into our legal system from the worst despots of the Continent.

"7. For a Ministry to force on what is really a great State trial of the leaders of a nation, whilst shirking all responsibility for the issue, by devolving the task of prosecution on a private newspaper owner, is a proceeding at once mean, oppressive, and unconstitutional, and most unworthy of the Government of the Queen.

"8. That a Ministry should secretly, but systematically, support the cause of a private person in an indictment of its own opponents in Parliament, constitute a special tribunal unknown to the Constitution, disorganise the course of public justice and the public service, and place at the disposal of the private prosecutor, the law officers, the magistrates, the officials, the police, the informers and spies, the State documents and the prison discipline under their control in trust for the nation, is an outrage upon justice and a scandal to good government.

"9. A Ministry which has supported with the whole force of its influence and resources, and by the mouth of its principal law adviser, accusations of infamous crime against its political opponents; and when the principal charges have been proved to be based on perjury and forgery, retains in his office the official responsible for this scandalous blunder, has made itself a party to the foul calumny of which he was the instrument, and is unworthy of the confidence of the people of England.

"10. A Ministry, which exists mainly that it may foment and make perpetual ill-will between the people of Britain and the people of Ireland, and whose method of government consists in declaring standing war against a nation, is committing the same treason against the commonwealth for which in times past Parliament has pronounced just condemnation."

NOTES BY THE WAY.

The "Times" and the American Civil War.—During the war between the Northern and Southern States of America, a visitation of journalistic malignity occurred in this country similar to that from which we are now suffering. Then, as now, widespread ignorance had been the fostering atmosphere of prejudice and falsehood. In a letter to J. L. Motley ("Correspondence of J. L. Motley," vol. ii., p. 111.), John Stuart Mill writes:—"Difficult as it may well be for you to comprehend it, the English public were so ignorant of all the antecedents of the quarrel that they really believed what they were told—that slavery was not the ground, scarcely even the pretext, of the war." Later on, he says:—"Foreigners ought not to regard the *Times* as representing the British nation. Of course, a paper which is so largely read and bought, and so much thought of, as the *Times* is, must have a certain amount of suitability to the people that buy it; but the line it takes on any particular question is much more a matter of accident than is supposed. It is sometimes better than the public, and sometimes worse. . . . Unfortunately these papers, through the influence they obtain in other ways, and, in the case of the *Times*, very much in consequence of the prevailing notion that it speaks the opinions of all England, are able to exercise great power in perverting the opinions of England whenever the public is sufficiently ignorant of facts to be misled. That, whenever engaged in a wrong line, writers like those of the *Times* go from bad to worse, and at last stick at nothing in the way of perverse and even dishonest misrepresentation, is but natural to party-writers everywhere—natural to those who go on day after day working themselves up to write strongly in a matter to which they have committed themselves, and breathing an atmosphere inflamed by themselves." The parallel between the state of feeling in 1863 and that of our own day is further illustrated by a sentence which we find in a letter from Motley (vol. ii., p. 203) to the Duchess of Argyll. "I fear," he writes, "that it is not the *Times* alone, but every organ of public opinion in England, save two or three, and all the 'governing classes,' with a very few exceptions, who not only believed our national death to be inevitable, but who are very wretched now that they find themselves mistaken." Substitute for "our national death" "Mr. Parnell's political death," and we but give utterance to the sentiment which thousands of our countrymen and women have been shameless enough openly to avow.

A Parallel to the Forgeries.—Among the many cases in which attempts have been made to

blacken the characters of statesmen by forgery and other arts, one of the most striking is related in the following letter of Washington. We quote it from the *Weekly Dispatch*:—

“Philadelphia, March 3, 1797.

“Sir,—At the conclusion of my public employments, I have thought it expedient to notice the publication of certain forged letters, which first appeared in the year 1777, and were obtruded upon the public as mine. They are said by the editor to have been found in a small portmanteau that I had left in the care of my mulatto servant, named Billy, who it is pretended was taken prisoner at Fort Lee, in 1776. The period when these letters were first printed will be recollected, and what were the impressions they were intended to produce on the public mind. It was then supposed to be of some consequence to strike at the integrity of the American commander-in-chief, and to paint his inclinations as at variance with his professions and his duty. Another crisis in the affairs of America having occurred, the same weapon has been resorted to, to wound my character and deceive the people.

“The letters in question have the dates, addresses, and signatures here following:—New York, June 12, 1776. To Mr. Lund Washington, at Mount Vernon.—To John P. Curtis, Esq., June 18, 1776.—New York, July 8, 1776. To Mr. Lund Washington.—New York, July 16, 1776. To Mr. Lund Washington.—New York, July 15, 1776. To Mr. Lund Washington.—June 24, 1776. To Mr. Washington.

“At the time when these letters first appeared, it was notorious to the army immediately under my command, and particularly to the gentlemen attached to my person, that my mulatto-man, Billy, had never been one moment in the power of the enemy. It is also a fact that no part of my baggage, or any of my attendants, were captured during the whole course of the war. These well-known facts made it unnecessary during the war to call the public attention to the forgery by any express declaration of mine; and a firm reliance on my fellow-citizens, and the abundant proofs they gave of their confidence in me, rendered it alike unnecessary to take any formal notice of the revival of the imposition during my civil administration. But as I cannot know how soon a more serious event may succeed to that which will this day take place, I have thought it a duty that I owe to myself, to my country and to truth, now to detail the circumstances above recited, and to add my solemn declaration that the letters herein described are a base forgery, and that I never saw or heard of them until they appeared in print.

“The present letter I commit to your care, and desire it may be deposited in the Office of the Department of State as a solemn testimony of

the truth to the present generation and to posterity.—Accept, &c.,

“GEORGE WASHINGTON.

“To Timothy Pickering, Esq.,
“Secretary of State.”

How Irish Peasants Prosper Abroad.—

In the March number of the *Nineteenth Century* Mr. J. H. Tuke gives an interesting account of the condition and prospects, five years after their establishment, of a group of Irish emigrants stationed in and near St. Paul, Minnesota. His facts are drawn from careful and detailed reports furnished by Father Mahony, who after taking charge of a large detachment of these wanderers, remained among them in the land of their adoption. That Irish peasants, relieved from the daily dread of rack-rents, and placed under conditions not destructive of hope, should prosper, cannot be regarded as a novel phenomenon; but in face of widespread prejudice regarding them, and of reiterated charges as to their innate idleness and unthrift, one welcomes exceedingly such testimony as that afforded by Father Mahony's house-to-house visitations. It is the more valuable that he had seen these very people in the days of their direst want at home in Galway, where they dwelt under stress of such grinding poverty, that even to appear in decent clothing before those who were planning their salvation was, in many cases, rendered possible only by the aid of more fortunate neighbours, from whom the most indispensable garments could be borrowed for the occasion. “Since then,” writes Father Mahony, “frequently visiting them in their homes, or meeting them in the streets, or meeting their several pastors, I have been able to inform myself as to their condition and progress, and I can say that they have been lifted to quite a new life, benefited every way, and are right along doing better and better.” In the words of Dr. Ireland, the Roman Catholic Bishop of St. Paul, “they have become a most valuable and important addition to the community.” The long-established habit of paying rent appears to have made the emigrants slow at first to avail themselves of their opportunities for buying land and owning their houses; but the number of those who do so steadily increases.

“This *landed proprietorship*,” writes Father Mahony, “with all that it involves, is a great means of incorporating them into the social and civil life of the rest of the population. This is being done right along, even with the old. . . . With hardly an exception, the girls ‘of the Connemaras are respected and trusted and treasured as wives or domestics.’” After describing the vast demand for labour suitable to the emigrants in the growing cities of Minnesota, and the abundant possibilities of well-being which those regions afford, especially to settlers on whom a

little previous training has been bestowed, Father Mahony gives a detailed report, from which Mr. Tuke quotes a dozen representative cases, of visits paid to over fifty Connemara families in or near St. Paul. Amid much variety of circumstance, the same glad strain of well-rewarded work, of toilers securely housed and fed, of savings under which lurks no uneasy misgiving, runs unbrokenly through the good priest's narrative. Everything is, in fact, there whose absence has for so many generations produced in Ireland that brooding discontent, out of which agrarian crime and political agitation have ever sprung. Whether, as Mr. Tuke suggests, emigration should be regarded as a permanent expedient to assist legislators in keeping the wolf from the door of Irish cabins, is a questionable moral to derive from his cheering account of the "Connemaras" across the Atlantic. Before we accept that conclusion, let us anyhow feel quite sure that hope-yielding conditions of work are unattainable under a good land-system and home government.

Captain Segrave.—At last the Government have been compelled to acknowledge the indecency of permitting this gentleman to continue his judicial functions. Before being appointed Resident Magistrate he had qualified himself for his difficult and delicate duties by failing to pass the examination for a commission in the army, and by serving for three years in the Cape Mounted Police. The Cape Government at length dispensed with his services. The circumstances of his dismissal have not yet been fully explained, but the *prima facie* case against him is such that he has been suspended, and it is for him now to show that the cause was not grave misconduct on his part. Now, as far back as December 13th, the Government were informed of the charge against Captain Segrave, yet they let the matter sleep for more than three months, and have at length taken action only because they were driven to it. To their thinking it seemed of little moment; charge or no charge, he was good enough for a Resident Magistrate—and perhaps he was. How many Irishmen Captain Segrave has assisted in sending to prison we do not know, though a year ago his total was forty-eight convictions under the Crimes Act. Let those who tell us of equal laws, imagine for a moment what an outcry would have been raised if this scandal had occurred with regard to a London police magistrate.

The Bye-Elections.—Of the bye-elections during last month, one was thoroughly, and the others were moderately, satisfactory. The remarkable victory at Kennington, where we turned a minority of 430 into a majority of 630, is one of many

indications that at the General Election we shall at least regain our position in London. In London we have to contend against peculiar difficulties, among the chief of which are the constant shifting of the working-class electors, and the absence of a true civic spirit among the inhabitants. Wherever we can arouse a real interest in political matters, we need have no fear of defeat; and the work of arousing this interest is now, for the first time, being vigorously carried on. To the efforts of the *Star*, for instance, are due in a large measure the success of the reform candidates at the County Council elections, and the return of Mr. Beaufoy for Kennington, and it deserves our warmest gratitude. In Gorton and Enfield our progress is considerable, though a good deal less than might have been expected after the exposures from which the Government is suffering. But the increase in the poll in both cases is an excellent sign. It is an assurance that the party organisations are taking things seriously, and are not going to sleep.

A Story of William O'Brien.—In the course of her speech at the recent Women's Meeting at Prince's Hall, Miss Orme related the following story:—"At one time £1,200 was subscribed to pay Mr. O'Brien's costs in an action which at that time was in the Law Courts, and he didn't require it in the end. He had the £1,200; he might have spent it on his own enjoyment, he might have given it to some perfectly unknown Nationalist agitator, and told him to do what he liked with it. He might have enjoyed himself by a little tour abroad and rested himself—we know he has delicate health, and is sorely in need of rest—but none of these things did he do. He went down to Mallow, and he took his own parish priest into his confidence, and he said, 'I am rather in a strange position; some people haven't enough money, I have too much; I have got £1,200 that doesn't belong to me, which has been subscribed by friends and they won't take it back, and I want to know what to do with it. I have made up my mind, that as it is near Christmas I will give it to the poor of Mallow.' This parish priest said, 'You had better not give it in money, because it is quite possible that if the poor people suddenly have a sum of money they did not expect it may be spent in drink, and we do not want to increase that trouble at all in this part;' but Mr. O'Brien said, 'I must do it in my own way; I have always trusted the people, and if you will allow me to do it in my own way it will come to no harm,' and so he called a sort of committee of the Catholic priest, and the Catholic curate, and the Protestant clergyman, and the Protestant curate—for that is what you always notice in the South of Ireland: absolute tolerance in religion—and when

these four men met together they drew up a list of the poor of the place, with the number of the children in each family (a sort of account of the things of each household), and Mr. O'Brien carefully divided that money amongst all these people, and did it up in little parcels, and then addressed them in the Market Place, and he said, 'I have been advised that it would have been better to give you this I have to give in clothes and food. I want to show you I put trust in you, and if you disappoint me by spending any of it in drink, or in anything but wholesome food and good clothing for your wives and families, you will get me into trouble, for this is my plan.' And Mr. O'Brien knows the Irish people so well, and they are so ready to be led by him, he gave them that money, and for the first time since a record of such matters has been kept for the very first time, there was not a single case of drunkenness in Mallow that Christmas."

Meeting of the Home Rule Union.—A meeting of the Home Rule Union, at which addresses will be delivered by the Rt. Hon. Sir William Harcourt, M.P., and the Rt. Hon. Thomas Sexton, M.P. (Lord Mayor of Dublin), is to be held at St. James's Hall, on Tuesday, April 10th. A certain number of reserved seats can be had at prices varying from 5s. to 1s. Admission, whether to paid or unpaid seats, will be by ticket.

THE RECORD OF COERCION.

WE have been less concerned during the last two months with the quantity of coercion than with the intensified barbarity and increasing recklessness which marks the steady degeneration of its quality. We have been shocked by the prison treatment of Irish political leaders high and low; we have been scandalised by the wanton insult to the religious feelings of the people, which resulted in the unhappy manslaughter of Inspector Martin in Donegal; and our indignation has risen high at the wholesale arrests that have followed, by which it has been contrived that all possible witnesses for the defence should be placed, not in the witness-box, but in the dock. Since the beginning of this year the Crimes Act has degenerated more certainly than ever into a mere weapon of political warfare in the hands of a cynical and careless Chief Secretary, who takes no more trouble to use his powers wisely than he takes to obtain his "information" accurately. Hence the cry that has gone up from the country for an end to this whole abominable system of coercion, and to the Government that is responsible for it.

The record of numbers is for the last nine weeks, as follows:—

Week ending.	Tried.	Convicted.	Adjourned.
Jan. 29th	19	18	14
Feb. 5th	26	26	17
" 12th	25	21	16
" 19th	8	8	4
" 26th	5	4	2
Mar. 5th	5	5	0
" 12th	7	7	0
" 19th	38	38	4
" 26th	5	5	1
	138	132	

Average per week 15½ 14½

The proportion of convictions is extraordinarily high. Only 6 cases were dismissed out of the whole 138, and in one of these it may be noted that the accusation of firing into a herd's house was brought against a *police constable*.

The analysis of the cases gives the following results:—

Class	I.—Agrarian	Tried	Convicted
" II.—Assembly, &c.	26	25	
" III.—Incitements	46	44	
" IV.—Conspiracy and Intimidation..	5	5	
" VI.—Refusal to give evidence and contempt of court ..	51	49	
" VII.—Miscellaneous— Constable fir- ing into house	9	9	
	1	0	
	138	132	

One of the so-called conspirators is Father Stephens, and seven of them are members of Parliament. Mr. O'Brien is among these, and also appears as having "incited to conspiracy" in reference to the dispute on the Kenmare Estate. The practical effect has been to condemn this much-loved popular leader to seven months' imprisonment. But we still wait for the result of his appeal, and the outcome of Judge Curran's suggestion for a settlement by arbitration of the quarrel on the estate.

Twelve appeals have been heard and decided during the two months. Of these two were confirmed, two reversed, and eight reduced.

THE VANS.

A MOST successful tour has just been concluded by Van No. 1 in North Herefordshire, for which Mr. D. Gordon Peters is the Liberal candidate. The tour commenced on February 22nd, and

although the local arrangements had been somewhat too hurriedly made, in a few days the interest excited by the presence of the van compensated for the defective local organisation. The speakers sent from the Home Rule Union comprised, amongst others, Mr. R. Hanmer, Mr. T. J. Laud-Brown, and Mr. E. J. C. Morton. All the chief villages of the constituency were visited, and a number of successful meetings were held. The tour was concluded on Saturday, March 23rd, when a great meeting was held at Leominster, at which the candidate (Mr. Peters) and Mr. T. P. O'Connor delivered addresses of great importance. There were upwards of 1,500 people in the room, which was decorated with the beautiful cartoons designed by Mr. Henry Holiday, which first appeared at the Protest Meeting at St. James's Hall on March 13th.

The second van has been engaged since Thursday, March 21st, in the Enfield division, where meetings have been held both during the day and at night, the speakers being Mr. George Coffey, Mr. Flynn, M.P., Mr. R. Hanmer, and others.

The third van commenced a tour in South Northamptonshire on Monday, March 25th. Meetings have been held every night, which have been addressed chiefly by local speakers, although one excellent village meeting was held at King's Sutton on Tuesday evening, at which Mr. E. J. C. Morton delivered an address.

HOME RULE UNION—ANNUAL MEETING.

THE annual meeting of the members of the Home Rule Union took place on March 7th, in the Conference Hall of the National Liberal Club, Mr. JAMES BRYCE, M.P., in the chair.

The Annual Report and the Report of the Ladies' Committee were read. Both reports are given in this month's JOURNAL:—

THE CHAIRMAN, in moving the adoption of the report, expressed the satisfaction he felt that while the Home Rule vans had been pursuing their benignant course through the counties, London itself had been well looked after by the Ladies' Committee. They must remember that they could not expect to win a victory as complete and decisive as was necessary for the great purpose they had at heart without winning a certain number of seats in London, and he must say they ought to take some share of blame to themselves for having allowed the political education of the metropolis to remain behind that of some parts of the country. He, however, trusted that this defect would be to a great extent rectified by the establishment of the County Councils. The work of the Union was in the main an educational one, endeavouring as it did to bring subject for political thought within the reach of all classes.

The Home Rule vans had had an unusual measure of success in bringing the cause in a visible form forward in the remotest country districts, especially by enabling simple and natural meetings to be held in the evening in many places when the labourers had finished their work. The Unionist party no doubt conceived that they were the party of education and light, and that their opponents were the party of stupidity and ignorance; but he maintained that the party to which he belonged was that of reason, and that the others were guided by prejudice and ignorance. He would try to make good that audacious statement, so counter to what they were told by the Press of what were called the educated classes. What was the source of the ignorance which was, he believed, shown upon the Irish question by the dissentient Liberals? There was a passage in the "Pilgrim's Progress" in which the pilgrim meets with a young man called Ignorance, described as coming out of the country of Conceit—(laughter)—and he (the speaker) thought that the ignorance he was going to show was characteristic of the opponents of Home Rule was really the child of conceit, arising from the persuasion of their own superiority, which was absolutely groundless. Having made a statement like that he must prove it. Well, in the first place he never read one of their speeches or opened one of their pamphlets without finding that they were ignorant of Irish history. (Cheers.) Now a knowledge of Irish history was the whole foundation of their cause. It was because Englishmen and Scotchmen were ignorant of Irish history that things had come to their present pass. We had in almost every respect, during the last 200 years, taken the wrong course, and even a stupid course, with regard to the Irish question. Irish history taught us the cause which had brought about the feeling in Ireland against England which had existed since the Union. England had also been in ignorance of current Irish history, and of the very difficult part which the leaders of the Irish party—(cheers)—had had to play in connection with the affairs of the national cause. These were facts which they were beginning to wake up to, and he thought if Englishmen had recognised the extreme difficulty there was in giving a constitutional character to the Irish agitation they would have done more honour to Mr. Parnell. (Cheers.) There were two arguments which were constantly used against Home Rule: one was that any power and privileges which an Irish Legislature acquired would be used to push its demands for complete separation; and the other that that power would be turned to account to injure the north-eastern corner of Ireland. But he contended that Ireland must continue to be united to England for commercial as well as other reasons; nature was stronger than any other force that could be called

into this matter, and nature had long ago, from circumstances, forbidden unity between the two nations, while she had also forbidden separation. The two islands separated by a narrow sea must remain in connection with one another. It was the ignorance of these facts and laws which determined the relations of political communities, that made some persons persist in supposing that the Irish people, throwing aside all self-interest, desired to be separated from England. This ignorance, which Home Rulers had to fight against, was added to by the prejudice which marked the attitude of their opponents. It was extraordinary how deep this prejudice went, and how invincible it seemed to be. It had had the odd effect of producing in educated men a credulity which would be pitiable if it were not malignant. He did not wish to refer to any of those instances which were present to all their minds, but there was one answer given by a witness which seemed to show the whole bearing of the objection to Home Rule. He was asked why he assumed a certain letter had been written by a certain leader, and he said he did not make many inquiries, he took its genuineness for granted at once, "because under the circumstances it was just the letter that the leader would be likely to write." (Laughter.) He first formed a theory about the Irish political leaders, and assumed everything against them, so that he believed in this letter because it harmonised with what he thought ought to be the case. The duty of the Home Rule Union was to go on endeavouring to dispel this ignorance. There was no doubt which way the tide was flowing now; it had become a mighty current, which was bearing them on with irresistible force. Although they might see land not far off, they must also feel that much remained to be done. They did not desire the English and Scotch people to do the work in a sudden fit of enthusiasm, but on the solid grounds of deliberate conviction. They wanted to be able to meet any of the difficulties which might arise in a proper spirit, and with the feeling that the Act they were going to pass was founded on what was just and right. (Loud cheers.) He concluded by moving the adoption of the report.

Professor STUART, in seconding the motion, said he had to deal with only one question, and that was the question of money. He saw, from week to week, the difficulties in which the Union was placed for want of it, and many avenues of work along which they had only been able to advance a very little way from the same cause. Perhaps the most expensive part of their work had been that which the meeting had received with the greatest favour, namely, the operations of the Home Rule van. Those operations had been detailed in the report, and had received the best approval of all, namely, imitation by their

opponents. Under these circumstances they had been obliged, after their experience of the usefulness of this method of action, not entirely to abandon it as yet, but unless more money came in for the Home Rule van they would have to drop it. He hoped the Union would not allow them to do this, for it would be a pity—almost a disgrace, and he therefore strongly appealed to their friends for funds. They had done a great deal upon very little. The funds were not falling off, but their area of utility was extending, and they could rest assured that there was no association which gave a better percentage in work for money than the Home Rule Union. (Cheers.)

The report was then adopted.

Mr. STANSFIELD, M.P., moved the following resolution:

"That this meeting of the Home Rule Union protests against the insult levelled at the Irish National cause by the indignities now being inflicted on the trusted leaders of the Irish people; expresses its abhorrence of the methods by which it is now discovered the so-called 'Unionist' cause has been supported; and declares its conviction that the policy of Home Rule for Ireland is good in itself, advantageous in the interests of the Empire, and is the only alternative to the present iniquitous administration in Ireland."

After paying a high compliment to Mr. Bryce for his able address, he went on to say that he could recall no society which had done better work upon a more limited financial basis. Their workers had been composed in the main of educated and enthusiastic young men and women, who had given their services, so far as was practicable, gratuitously to the cause. The Home Rule vans, which he considered an excellent invention, had been a great success, while the same might also be said of the publication of their leaflets. He was, however, sorry to say that the funds had not increased in proportion to the work done. This was a ground for all friends of the Union to redouble their efforts. To go to the root of the matter, he would say they need not hesitate now to put their hands a little deeper into their pockets than usual, because the time was not far distant when to do so with regard to this cause would not be necessary. (Cheers.) They saw at this moment the beginning of the end, and the limit of the sacrifices they had had and would have to make. His view of the situation was that the Government had attained the climax of its hold on power; the exposure of the Parnell libel was a fatal blow from which it would never recover. (Hear, hear.) It was of no use saying, as he had heard it said in the lobby, that after all it was of no importance whether Mr. Parnell's

letters were forgeries or not—the whole system and policy of the party had been built and based upon that substructure. As far as Liberals were concerned, it had produced this effect upon their minds, that they would now go for a dissolution. (Cheers.) He had for some time regarded the present House of Commons with supreme indifference. It was a hopeless House of Commons, but there was one ray of hope. It consisted of a Tory majority and a Tory Government and the Liberal Unionist party, who were bound to their chariot wheels for the sake of preserving their political lives. Under those circumstances, the time having arrived when they felt that they were beginning to go, and that the tide was rising in favour of the Liberals, the latter should give their opponents no peace, but assault their position in the House of Commons, and force them to make an appeal to the country, which he believed would result in favour of the Liberals. (Hear, hear.) The whole policy and the whole action of the Unionist party was a fraud and an imposture from the beginning to the end. That was a broad, and to some minds, perhaps, an audacious proposition. But, first of all, was not the twenty years of resolute government an imposture? Did the Tories believe in it themselves? Did any sane human being think that Great Britain would allow any Government for twenty years to rule Ireland as Ireland is being ruled now? ("Never.") Every sane being must see the impossibility of a conception of that kind. Therefore that policy was *ab initio* an imposture. But it was an imposture in another sense—those who started it never meant it. They did not mean twenty years of resolute government—they meant the term of one Great Old Man's life. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) They were not capable of a bolder or more generous policy than that of combining together to hold power by virtue of the Septennial Act. The Coercion Bill was an imposture. They pretended to direct it against crime, when crime was non-existent. Crime had vanished with the success of the Constitutional party, after the olive branch held out by the hand of Mr. Gladstone. (Cheers.) It was an imposture to say it was directed against crime—it was directed against political enemies and offenders. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Their statesmen and lawyers had been so false to the noble science of jurisprudence which they ought to respect as to say that this Bill created no new crime, but directly it was passed reporting in and the selling of newspapers and other acts which were lawful in this country became unlawful in Ireland on the mere *ipse dixit* of the Lord-Lieutenant. It was the merest quibble, disgracing the great lawyers who had stooped to it, to say that it created no new crime, and if they said it was simply a matter of procedure it sank them still deeper in the mire.

But they said it was done in the great cause of the Union—a sacred name prostituted for a dishonest purpose. There was no such thing as a union which was not based upon the free consent of peoples—a union not so based became mere subjection. (Cheers.) In their endeavour to crush out the spirit of the Irish people the party in power had thrown over all political honesty. The so-called Unionists were Coercionists or Separatists, and their policy led them either to the permanent existence of coercion or to separation, and they were, in fact, in unconscious alliance with the party of violence and dynamite. In the House of Commons they had been considering a proposal for a great increase in the expenditure on the navy, and Mr. Goschen had explained that the sum suggested was £21,000,000. All this money was to be spent on the navy, but there would also be an increase on the expenditure on the army; and the fact was an attempt was being made to occupy and absorb the public mind with foreign affairs. The Tory policy was now expenditure; but he thought the expenditure of twice the proposed money would not conduce so much to the safety of this country as her reconciliation with Ireland. (Hear, hear.) If war were to be declared this very Government would offer Home Rule to Ireland, for they would have no option but to do so. The most condemnatory part of the present policy of the Government was its administration of the law in Ireland, and its conduct in relation to matters which were now being sifted before a special tribunal. But worst of all was the alliance of the Government with *The Times*. Did any one doubt that alliance? How was it possible for reasonable men to doubt it? Look at the questions poured upon Ministers day after day, and look at their shuffling answers. They had placed everything they could at the disposal of *The Times*; they had gone into the same boat with *The Times* and Mr. Pigott. (Laughter, and hear, hear.) It has sometimes said how foolish *The Times* had been to be so easily taken in by one of the greatest liars and scoundrels on the face of the earth. But he (the speaker) wished to say that no mere folly could account for it. There was something more than folly, and he would tell them what he believed it to be, namely, that the minds of those who had allowed themselves to be duped were so depraved and misguided by prejudice that they were led to use any weapon against the men and the cause to which they were opposed. (Cheers.) It was in some measure the unscrupulous insolence of a conscious superiority of race and class. How could there be justice where there was neither the sense of brotherhood or the sense of human equality? Did not history and philosophy teach us, did not religion teach us, that there was no such thing as justice which was not based either

upon the conception of the sentiment of equality or upon that which was better still—the brotherhood of man? What sentiments of equality had our ruling statesmen towards the poor peasants of Ireland, who for generations had been oppressed and starved? There was one thing which they hated even more than the determination to be free of the Irish people, and that was the determination to make them free of the greatest statesman of our time. (Cheers.) Almost at the close of a career of unexampled brilliancy, with nothing to gain and everything to risk, he discarded all questions of personal advantage. He saw a wrong to be righted, a people to be emancipated and freed; he saw that he could do it and said, "I will do it yet." (Cheers.) Mr. Gladstone would do it yet, and the Liberal party were determined to help him do it. (Applause.)

Mr. COLMAN, M.P., seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. P. W. CLAYDON moved :

"That this meeting of the Home Rule Union expresses its thanks to the Executive Committee for their past work, and especially approves of the continued monthly publication of the JOURNAL, and the institution of travelling literature vans."

Mr. COSTELLOE seconded the motion, which was at once agreed to.

HOME RULE UNION—ANNUAL REPORT.

WHEN the year 1888 opened, Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, who had been acting as the agent of the Home Rule Union in Ireland, was in prison, and the Home Rule Union was engaged in making an appeal, under the title of the "Blunt Defence Fund," to help to defray the legal expenses of his trial and subsequent action. Including the amount appearing in last year's account, and after paying all expenses of collection, a sum of £200 was handed over to Mr. Blunt's solicitors. A complete list of subscribers appeared in the April number of the JOURNAL. Although the resident magistrates, of course, sentenced Mr. Blunt to imprisonment, and the jury who tried his civil action did not agree, still the work Mr. Blunt did on behalf of the Home Rule Union in Ireland, and the sufferings he underwent there, had an important influence on the progress of the Home Rule cause in Great Britain.

The Annual Meeting of the Union was held on February 18th, in the Conference Room of the National Liberal Club. The Right Hon. James Stansfeld, M.P., occupied the chair, and there was a full attendance. After the routine business of the meeting was finished, the following resolution was proposed by Sir Wilfred Lawson, M.P., seconded by Mr. J. A. Picton, M.P., and carried

unanimously : "That this meeting protests against the tyrannical conduct of the Government in Ireland, and expresses its sympathy with Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, who is now suffering imprisonment for having asserted the right of the Union to hold public meetings in Ireland."

Early in February the Home Rule Union united with the London Liberal and Radical Union and the Metropolitan Radical Federation to undertake a public reception of Mr. William O'Brien, Mr. T. D. Sullivan, and other Irish members of Parliament who had recently been released from Irish prisons. The reception took the form of a procession in the streets and a demonstration in Hyde Park on February 13th, on the evening of which day Messrs. Sullivan, E. Harrington, A. Blaine, and Patrick O'Brien were entertained at a banquet at the Criterion Restaurant. The management of the banquet was undertaken entirely by the Home Rule Union, and the Chairman of the Executive Committee presided. A special feature was the presence of ladies as well as gentlemen at the banquet. Three hundred and forty-nine persons altogether sat down to dinner.

In the month of May the Union applied for a stand at the Irish Exhibition. The application was refused. At the time it was made coercive cartoons of an offensive character were displayed; but the Union succeeded in obtaining their suppression.

The organisation of the Union has been extended, and twenty-one new branches have been formed.

The character of the Union as an educational body has been maintained, and its work has been greatly extended. One hundred and thirty-six lectures on the original system were delivered during the year; and, in addition, eighty meetings were held at which the chief or only speaker was supplied by the Union. Besides this, 209 addresses were given in connection with the vans, as will be hereafter explained, making a total of 425.

The work of education has, however, been carried on during the past year more by literature than by lectures. Five thousand copies of Mr. Lough's lecture, entitled "Glimpses of Early Ireland," were printed and published by the Union, and a thirty-two page pamphlet was published jointly by the Home Rule Union and the National Reform Union, setting out completely the case of Mr. John Mandeville. It was written by Mr. Sydney Hallifax, and contained the private papers laid by him before Mr. Gladstone.

In the month of March the Journal of the Union was started—10,000 copies of the first number, and about 4,500 copies of each succeeding number, have been circulated.

But the growing interest in the Home Rule

THE HOME RULE UNION.

Income and Expenditure Account for Year ending 31st December, 1888.

1888.	RECEIPTS.	1888.	PAYMENTS.
Jan. 1—		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Balance brought forward	197 6 6	
Dec. 31—			
To Donations and Subscriptions	1,186 3 5	By Travelling Expenses of Honorary Lecturers (excluding Lecturers with Home Rule Vans) ... 136 1 6
" Affiliation Fees	6 17 6	" Literature, Printing, and Stationery ... 301 0 4
" Sale of Literature	53 1 1	" Advertising ... 108 16 8
" " Coupons	26 10 9	" Salaries and Wages ... 227 19 4
" Receipts on account of Lectures	6 6 0	" Postage and Telegrams ... 92 8 0
" " " Banquet (<i>contra</i>)	182 0 6	" Payments on account of Banquet (<i>contra</i>) ... 204 8 7
			" Cost of Vans, Horses, &c, ... 182 0 6
			Lecturers' Expenses with Vans ... 85 9 0
			Cost of working Vans, including Drivers' Wages, Fodder, Horse-hire, &c. ... 168 16 1
			" Balance carried forward—
			Bank ... 21 6 8
			Petty Cash ... 0 1 0
			Less Due to Treasurer ... 21 7 8
			10 0 0 11 7 8
			<u>£1,658 5 9</u> <u>£1,658 5 9</u>

We have prepared the above Cash Account from the books and vouchers submitted to us, and certify that it is in accordance therewith.

23, Sr. SWITHIN'S LANE, E.C.,
March 5th, 1889THEOBALD BROS. & MALL,
Chartered Accountants.

Question has rendered necessary a complete change in the methods of instruction. The greatest difficulty now felt in spreading political information is that of reaching the individual electors of country districts. That difficulty has never yet been attacked by any other political body, but it may be truly said that the Home Rule Union has solved it by its institution of travelling literature vans. The first of these was started on the 16th of July, 1888, and spent three weeks in the Chesterton division of Cambridgeshire. During that time it passed through every important village in the constituency. The driver distributed, by house-to-house visitation, about 10,000 leaflets a week, a rate which has since been far surpassed. At the doors of isolated cottages that he passed on the road he handed in small selected bundles of five or six leaflets, and sold at meetings and elsewhere pamphlets, maps, cartoons, &c. Every evening the van arrived at some village, where it was drawn up in some suitable place, and an open-air meeting was held, addressed by a speaker specially sent down by the Union. The vans pursued the same method day after day, until December 22nd.

Immediately after leaving the Chesterton division the first van spent three weeks in the Buckrose division of the East Riding of Yorkshire; from thence it travelled southwards through the Eastern counties to Essex, spending three weeks on the way, and it then proceeded to travel through the villages of the Saffron Waldon, Malden, South-easter, and Epping divisions of Essex, South Huntingdonshire, and East Herts. A second van was started on October 13th, at a great open-air meeting in Reading, which was addressed by Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P. About 10,000 persons were present, and an organised attack was made on the van; after a stiffish fight the opponents were so effectually beaten off that order was secured at subsequent meetings throughout the constituency. This van completed tours in the Newbury division of Berkshire, and the Stratford-on-Avon, Rugby, and Nuneaton divisions of Warwickshire. A third van commenced in Devonshire, on November 12th, and completed tours in the Tavistock and Ashburton divisions. The accounts that have been received from all these constituencies of the success of the vans have been most encouraging.

As already stated, 209 meetings have been held in connection with the various vans; upwards of half-a-million of leaflets have been circulated to the best advantage, all of them to constituencies which are neither safe nor hopeless for the Home Rule cause, and in such a way as that no two leaflets of the same kind are left in the hands of any one person.

The representatives of the Union with the vans met, on one occasion, with great courtesy from a

Conservative clergyman; but their experiences were generally of a less pleasant, though, perhaps, more interesting, nature. Country vicars refused them the use of schoolrooms when the weather prevented open-air meetings, on the ground that "no respectable person could be a Home Ruler." County magistrates publicly suggested the nearest horsepond as the proper destination of the van. Tory farmers expressed the opinion that our lecturers ought to be shot, and displayed the most unaccountable tenderness for Irish landlords.

A more serious attack was made from a higher quarter. The first driver of the van was Patrick Murray, who had been a member of the Royal Irish Constabulary, but left, professing reluctance to take part in eviction duty. He left the service of the Home Rule Union, owing to ill-health, on August 3rd. About a week after, Sir John Colomb, M.P., asked a question of the Chief Secretary as to whether Murray's assertion was true. Mr. Balfour replied ambiguously, but in such a manner as to cast imputations on Murray's character; and these attacks were afterwards reiterated by some of his followers in this country. Murray's story was confirmed by his priest, and the highest character was given him by all who knew him. He had, however, gone to America before he had become aware of the attacks made upon him, and so no legal action could be taken.

Those interested in the Home Rule cause who have seen the vans at work speak in the highest terms of their usefulness. The Secretary has been informed by local Liberals that an amount of interest has been created by the van which nothing but a Parliamentary election had previously been able to stir up, with this difference—that all the advocacy was on the Home Rule side. The increase in the work here set out has necessitated the taking of larger and more capacious offices, and increasing the joint staff; and the whole cost of circulating through the fourteen constituencies visited by the vans last year was borne by the Union, and, consequently, as will appear from the Treasurer's report, a debt has been incurred.

It is not alone the work of the vans that is being crippled from want of funds. According to the original plan of the lecture scheme the lectures were to be published. The Union has only published one, though several are ready for the printer's hands, and a more extensive set of leaflets, maps, &c., ought to be prepared for distribution by the vans. All this has been prevented solely by want of means.

The Committee, therefore, make an urgent appeal for funds to enable them to carry on the work, and cope with the vigorous efforts which are being made in support of the Government policy.

In conclusion, the Committee desires to tender

its grateful thanks to all the lecturers and speakers who have given their services gratuitously, and to the Irish Press Agency for their generous gifts of leaflets and pamphlets for distribution by the van.

HOME RULE UNION—REPORT OF THE LADIES' COMMITTEE.

IN the month of June, 1887, the Executive Committee of the Home Rule Union invited several ladies to form themselves into a committee to assist in promoting the objects of the Union. In response to this and subsequent appeals more than a hundred ladies joined a Provisional Committee, which held frequent meetings at the offices of the Union, under the presidency of Mrs. Bryant, D.Sc. On the 20th of October, 1887, a working committee of the following twenty-one ladies was elected by the members of the Provisional Committee by ballot: Mrs. Bryant, Mrs. Allen, Mrs. Beesly, Mrs. Chapman, Miss Cobden, Mrs. Costelloe, Miss Crawford, Miss Hagemann, Miss Lawrence, Mrs. Lough, Miss Macdonell, Mrs. Maitland, Miss Mander, Miss Monck, Mrs. Picton, Lady Plowden, Mrs. Prentice, Mrs. Reid, Mrs. Shore-Smith, Miss Thomas, Miss Orme.

It was resolved that these, and the remaining members of the Provisional Committee, should form a council, which could be appealed to from time to time for advice or help as occasion arose.

At the close of 1887 three vacancies occurred on the Executive Committee of the Home Rule Union, and the Ladies' Committee was invited to nominate persons to fill them. The Ladies' Committee accordingly suggested the names of Mrs. Bryant, D.Sc., Mrs. Beesly, and Miss Monck, who were forthwith elected.

The Ladies' Committee has attached very great importance to the widest possible distribution of carefully selected literature on the Home Rule question; and with this object several letters and circulars have been issued to the secretaries of Women's Liberal Associations and others, urging the necessity for such distribution, and explaining in detail the nature of certain publications, with particulars as to price. While the committee is satisfied that these efforts have not been unavailing, it is anxious to record its conviction that much remains to be done, and that women earnest in the cause should exert themselves to their utmost to distribute, both by sale and gratuitously, the JOURNAL and the various leaflets published or recommended by the Home Rule Union.

The committee regret that in consequence of the refusal of the managers of the Irish Exhibition to allow a stall for the sale of Home Rule literature, several ladies, who were willing to

serve, were precluded from carrying out this very valuable work.

In the collection of funds to support the expenses of the Home Rule Union, both in separate subscriptions and by the sale of coupons, the Ladies' Committee has taken an active part. At the same time strict economy has been observed in postage and other small expenses necessary to the operations of the committee. The receipts and expenditure of the Ladies' Committee are included in the general cash statement of the Home Rule Union annually submitted to the general meeting of the members of the Union.

Several Women's Liberal Associations have affiliated with the Home Rule Union since the formation of the Ladies' Committee, and it is hoped that a still larger number will do so when the advantages of affiliation, both to the Home Rule Union and to the affiliating associations, are more fully understood. A leaflet on this subject has been issued by the Ladies' Committee, which will be found useful to secretaries and other workers.

Several lectures and meetings on the Home Rule question have been promoted and arranged by the Ladies' Committee in the following places among others: Clapham, St. Pancras, South Kensington, Hampstead, and Hammersmith. On the occasion of the important meeting held in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, in November, 1887, when Sir Horace Davy, Q.C., presided, and the right of public meeting was considered in relation to the proceedings at Woodford, the Ladies' Committee took an active share in the organisation of the meeting. The committee was also privileged to assist in arranging the banquet held last April, at the Criterion restaurant, in honour of Mr. T. D. Sullivan, M.P., and other released political prisoners. The Ladies' Committee has from time to time considered the current topics of the day in relation to the Home Rule question, and has passed resolutions recording its opinions, which have been published in the daily papers and forwarded to the persons concerned.

As a means of enabling many women to help in political work who cannot attend meetings at a distance from their homes, district centres have been formed in the suburbs of London, wherever an efficient body of workers has been found. The following ladies are at present acting as secretaries to local centres: Miss Mallet, 6, Pembridge Place, for Hyde Park North; Mrs. Cameron, 7, Alma Terrace, High Street, Kensington, for Hyde Park South; Mrs. Rae, 4, Addison Gardens, for Hyde Park West. There is also an active centre in Hampstead, and several persons in various parts of London have undertaken the duty of selling the HOME RULE

UNION JOURNAL, and keeping in their houses a stock of Irish Press Agency leaflets and other Home Rule literature.

During the autumn vacation the hon. sec. of your committee and other members of the ladies' branch attended the meeting held at Waterford, on the occasion of the freedom of that city being conferred on Mr. Wm. O'Brien, M.P. and Mr. T. D. Sullivan, M.P., and they took the opportunity of joining some other English ladies in presenting an address of sympathy to those gentlemen, and signing it as members of the Home Rule Union. The address was cordially received by the large Irish audience present, and acknowledged with great feeling by Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Sullivan.

In conclusion the members of the retiring committee desire to express the pleasure they have experienced in doing what they could as a branch of the Home Rule Union to promote the great cause of the better government of Ireland. They record their gratitude for the hearty co-operation of many friends, and their earnest hope that no effort will be wanting in future to make the Ladies' Committee an economical, judicious, and an effective branch of the Home Rule Union.

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* * * Communications, &c., relating to the supply of the JOURNAL should be addressed to the Hon. Treasurer; other communications to the Editor of the JOURNAL, 17 & 18, Chambers Palace Bridge Street, Westminster.

CLONGOREY.

BY MR. G. G. A. MURRAY (Oxford).

ON March 26th and 27th, seventy-five persons were evicted at the village of Clongorey, in Kildare, and in the night thirteen houses were either burned by the police and emergency men with torches and petroleum, or, in a few cases, levelled to the ground with axes and crowbars.

The history of the estate is roughly this. It is situated in the great bog of Allan; the land is low, and impossible to drain; the soil, such as it is, is artificial, having been brought long distances and spread on the top of the bog; the houses are mud cabins with thatched roofs. Everything—soil, drainage, fencing, houses—is the work of the tenants.

The Government valuation is £584; the rent over £800. In 1882, seven tenants went into the Land Courts; but the reductions were so small, and the expenses so great, that no others

followed their example. The fact is that in Ireland generally, up to 1884, judicial rents were a great deal higher than the land could pay. In 1886, Clongorey was devastated by a flood. The mud cabins, the crops, the artificial soil itself, were all swept away and destroyed. The tenants were reduced to extreme destitution. A relief fund was started in the neighbourhood, to which the landlord did not subscribe. The fund was insufficient, and the houses and farms have never been allowed to recover from the havoc of that year. For instance, one man evicted last March had been living since 1886 with his family in an "asshed," while the ass inhabited the ruins of his old house.

Since the flood there have been constant difficulties between landlord and tenant. From time to time settlements were almost agreed upon; but in each case the trustees who manage the estate refused concession at the last moment. Father Kinsella attempted frequently to get the matter arranged by arbitration; the tenants and the League were willing to do so, but the agent invariably refused. The tenants adopted the Plan of Campaign, demanding (1) 35 per cent. reduction on non-judicial rents, and 25 per cent. on judicial; (2) or eighteen years' purchase of the Government valuation, which in this case has been kept up to date; (3) or arbitration.*

* Some of the above statements are in direct contradiction to Mr. T. W. Russell. I have

It may be remarked that on every estate about which I have been able to get information, arbitration has been offered by the Plan. The system of arbitration is this. The tenants choose one man; the landlord chooses another; these two co-opt a third; and the three form a committee of arbitration.

The first evicted house I saw was John Conolly's. He held three acres of bog, reclaimed by himself. The house was seriously damaged by the flood, and one wall was wanting. The open end was patched up with wood. He was one of the seven who went into the Land Court. Old rent, £3 5s.; judicial rent, £2 7s.; valuation, £1 5s. And this man only asked 25 per cent. reduction! He was evicted on Wednesday morning, March 27th. He took refuge in a hovel close by. In the evening, about 10.30, when he was in bed, he was awakened by a noise and a smell of smoke. At the same moment the door was burst open, and a man he had never seen before shouted to him, "Get up; your house is on fire." He jumped up; saw the house blazing; picked up a bucket, and ran for water. But before he could throw any on the flames he was seized by two policemen, and held still while his house was burnt before his eyes.

The fact was that the emergency men and police, driving on the same cars, set out about 10 p.m. to burn the evicted houses, and carried on the work systematically, with petroleum, till 4.30 a.m. The petroleum was kept secretly by the police in the barracks till it was wanted. Mr. Balfour, who denied this in the House of Commons, must have been misinformed.

Two incidents deserve mention. One is the burning of Mary Kelly's house.

always given his letters full consideration, but have found reason to think him misinformed, and very seriously misinformed, on all the estates where I have been able to track him: Clongorey, Coolgreany, the Clanricarde, and the Olphert.

This house stands next to Anne Kelly's, an old woman suffering severely from heart disease and dropsy, evidently with only a few more weeks to live. When Mary Kelly's house was fired, the flame and smoke were blown on to Anne Kelly's house. The sick woman told me she was nearly stifled by the smoke. I can at any rate vouch for the fact that her roof was set on fire, and the neighbours had some trouble in putting it out. It is significant that the house of Patrick Fox, which stood near the landlord's haystack, was destroyed with crow-bars, but not burned. The evictors would not run the risk of firing a haystack; they did not mind the danger of setting light to the house of a dying woman who was not to be evicted.

William Brophy is a tenant who has paid his rent. He told me he was roused at 4.30 a.m. by an emergency man with an axe, who shouted that his house was on fire. Brophy got up in alarm. Wherever he could see, to the south and west, he saw the flames of burning houses rising in the air. "Good God! what has happened?" he asked the man who had called to him. The answer was a rough curse, bidding him put out his own flaming roof. It took him, he says, an hour-and-a-half to do so. The house had been accidentally set alight by the fiery fragments blown from Patrick Keogh's house just over the way.

A rather curious instrument of law and order was employed at these evictions—an emergency doctor. Certain of the tenants being ill, their solicitor, Mr. Hurley, during his temporary absence from gaol, had brought a physician to see them. Some of them were certified to be unfit for removal. When the evictors came round on the Tuesday, these certificates were produced; everyone thought the sick people were safe for the time being. Not at all. Next day the evictors returned with a stranger who said he was

a doctor, examined cursorily the sick people, certified they were fit for removal, and when asked by Mr. Hurley to give his name or show his diploma, refused to do either!

I may add that the general impression I received of Clongorey is more distressing than I can well express. The village is a waste of charred and smoking ruins ; when I kicked the ashes they broke into flame. A strong force of police were encamped in huts that had been spared for the purpose. More than one woman to whom I spoke burst into tears when she described the sufferings of that night. The temper of the evicted men appeared to me more wildly indignant and desperate than I have seen anywhere in Ireland. I believe that one rash word from any of the Nationalist agents would have caused a murder there, or an attack upon the police. But no such word has been spoken. Mr. Malone, the League agent, went round with me to some of the houses, and I was much struck by the simple and kindly way in which he contrived to cheer and encourage men who seemed on the brink of despair. The Plan of Campaign huts are being built. I saw privately the man on whose ground they are. He quite realizes that he is sending himself to prison, to the unwholesome food and the plank bed ; but he said, quite simply, that he did not mind much, nobody would think the worse of him for being in prison, and any of the others would do the same for him.

This is the noble side of the land war, the widespread self-sacrifice which makes one hope great things of Ireland. But I cannot forget, in thinking of Clongorey, two figures that I saw there : one a woman prostrate with long weeping, in a field by the ruins of her cottage ; one a man who was sitting in blank despair, silent and motionless, on a stone by the way-side, his head buried in his hands.

AN EASTER HOLIDAY IN KERRY.

BY MISS ORME.

Of all the estates in Ireland upon which the Plan of Campaign is now being carried on, by far the most interesting is the Kenmare estate. And this is so for several reasons. First, the estate is very large, with over two thousand tenants, who are nearly all joined in the organised combination to get justice. "One and All" is the watchword, and the experiment is, of course, the more valuable the larger the number of individuals acting together. Secondly, Lord Kenmare's estate is in Kerry, where Mr. Balfour with his policemen, and the moonlighters, have so far had it pretty much their own way. If the tenants bear the petty persecutions of Jack-in-office without losing self-control, it will, indeed, be a triumph for the Nationalist party, who have only come in at the eleventh hour to suggest a better mode of warfare than the old-fashioned shooting of landlords and maiming of cattle. Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., is now suffering imprisonment for the wise and statesmanlike advice he gave the Kenmare tenantry, which was to combine instead of to break the laws of civilized people. The absurd parody of law sought to be enforced by Mr. Balfour and his singularly incompetent police we do not include in the general term "law." But Mr. O'Brien's advice, expressed in a few words, really amounted to this :—"Keep the Ten Commandments, and form yourselves into a strong trades union to hold your own against Lord Kenmare's tyranny." This advice over 2,000 tenants are now doing their utmost to follow, but they have against them the dark traditions of Kerry outrages and the fact of the National League being exceedingly weak, or altogether absent, in this part of Ireland. Thirdly, the Kenmare Plan is particularly interesting because Judge Curran has virtually declared for it ; and the recent events in the Killarney court-house are most remarkable evidence against the landlord class in Ireland, showing their absolute recklessness as to the peace and prosperity of the human beings who have hitherto supplied them with means to live in useless, luxurious idleness. Many people have not the energy to find out for themselves whether the Plan of Campaign is a reasonable combination or a lawless fraud. But the Kenmare Plan recommends itself to the acting magistrate. He declares the offer for arbitration to be reasonably made by the tenants, and consents himself to act as umpire. Without going into the general question at all, John Bull may safely take this particular case with Judge Curran's recommendation ; and therefore I say to the average Englishman, the Kenmare estate is especially interesting. Lastly, we find on this estate all sorts of tenants combining together.

Some are strong men who could go on paying exorbitant rents, if they chose to make half-yearly presents to his lordship. Of course the rent would not be produced from the holdings; but we know the men who sneer at American dollars when they go to the National League pocket them readily enough if they are offered as rent. A tenant with several children well placed in the Colonies, or with an independent industry, refuses to pay an unjust rent, not because he has not got the money, but because it is unjust, and by joining the Plan he helps his poorer neighbours. Just as our water companies have been fought and beaten by men who could have paid the overcharge without feeling it, but who went to law in the interest of the public. Such strong, unselfish pioneers are to be found now "on strike" on the Kenmare estate, and they are well worth knowing. On the same estate are to be found all the other grades until we come to the very small tenants living in townships on the bare mountain side. Strange little village communities, with habits and customs of the mediæval ages, but in some respects harassed and spoiled by the harsh administration and heavy costs of modern English law. A careful study of all the different classes of people on this estate is sufficient to give a kind of bird's-eye view of Irish society. From Lord and Lady Kenmare, in their costly palace on the shores of Killarney, to the blue-eyed child going bare-footed over the mountain from her mud cabin to the convent school, there is not a human being living in this bit of Ireland from whom something cannot be learned by conscientious people who want to know what is best for "the most distressful country that ever yet was seen." It needs no further apology, I think, for offering for publication in your JOURNAL an account of some of the points of special interest I noticed during a short stay this Easter in the neighbourhood of the Kenmare estate.

Whenever one has a friendly chat with a native in these parts, and the talk turns on old days, old houses, old inhabitants, the story turns out to be one of cruel wrong on the part of a rich Englishman, or at any rate one of the class supported by the English, practised against some unprotected peasant and his family. In an English village the treasured tales are various in character. We hear of good old squires with wicked young sons—of good landlords and hard landlords, and very seldom indeed of any grave injury left unpunished, if not by the law then by the unanimous expression of public opinion, with sanction quite as severe. But in Kerry the tales are all of one sort, and revenge still exists, because the injuries have been so often left quite unpunished. I heard the stories of men who had voted against landlords' candidates in the old days before the ballot,

and had suffered eviction in consequence; of men who had reclaimed bog, and been removed from the improved holding up the mountain, to reclaim more bog, while they had to see new tenants from England and Scotland put upon their lost property; of men who had quarrelled with the agent for some trivial cause, and had in consequence been prosecuted or rather persecuted over and over again for pretended offences, until periods of imprisonment and law costs made them bankrupt. This is the past as told in chimney-corners from parent to child, and it makes a very unwholesome chapter in the education of an Irishman.

Another thing I was particularly struck with was the hopeless circle into which a peasant gets when once he becomes entangled with his landlord in legal proceedings. The witnesses against him are of course the police, and the quality of their evidence is sufficiently well known. Who is the judge who weighs this evidence? for of course there is no jury. The magistrates are the landlord and his boon companions, very often including the agent, to whose malice it is due that the tenant is a prisoner at all. How can any justice be hoped for under such an arrangement? Take one case I came across. Two men are arrested on suspicion of shooting a neighbour's horse. They declare they know nothing of the outrage, and their friends and relatives are morally certain of their innocence, for these accused men and their equally destitute neighbours will be taxed to pay compensation for the horse at a fancy value, and their whole interest is against the outrage being committed. The police drag them from their homes and from their daily industry, and bring them before the magistrates. They are remanded for a week, because the police believe that within that time they will have obtained evidence against them. So far there is no evidence against them. Again and again this abominable system is repeated, until after three weeks' detention the two men are allowed to go home again. Where is the compensation to them for loss of time, injury to health, trouble of mind? Where is the punishment for the negligence of the policemen who take up anyone without just cause on the bare chance of scraping together evidence after he is in prison? There is no compensation of any sort to be claimed by these peasants, and no punishment or even reprimand for the police. The vicious system is one which we ought not to tolerate for a day in any part of the English Empire. No landlord or agent ought to be allowed to sit in judgment on his own tenants, and the conduct of the police should be constantly under the eye and influence of independent critics.

But, if the past is dark and the present irritating, the future, supposing Mr. Balfour's plans to continue, is hopeless enough. Through-

out the great Kenmare estate there are scarcely any living creatures left, except the human beings who have refused to be driven off. Everywhere stories are told of the distress of cattle under the harshest circumstances; sometimes in spite of promises to the contrary made by the agent; sometimes actually illegally, as by breaking open the dwelling-houses where the cattle had been hidden away. By whatever means it has been accomplished, no one who visits the estate will doubt for a moment that the cattle are gone. The butter market will have very little interest for these tenants if they remain under their present masters. As for the condition of the homes it is almost impossible to describe it to those who have not seen Irish cabins. Wet, muddy floors, bedsteads with a little hay for bedding and a torn cotton coverlet. Mud walls and the damp earth heaped up at one end to support one of them. Poultry in the house and under the bed, and roosting on a beam over one's head. No windows and very often the peat smoke issuing from the low doorway much more than from the hole intended for a chimney. Of course some tenants live in better homes than these. I saw well-built little houses on the Kenmare estate and neat fixings and nice furniture. But an enormous majority live in mud cabins not fit for any living creatures. It is strange to those unaccustomed to Irish ways to hear, after a day spent in visiting such homes, that Lord Kenmare spent some £150,000 in building his own home—Killarney House. With such homes, and with the cattle gone, what future is there for these tenants? Thank God, an answer, and a hopeful one too, has been found by the promoters of the Plan, and I believe the tenants, even these in moonlighted Kerry, know of it at last.

We spoke to many of the Campaigners of the settlement on the Vandeleur estate in the neighbouring county Clare. What a comfort, in looking at a house beaten down by the crow-bar brigade, to remember that the Vandeleur tenants, similarly treated, will see new houses built at the landlord's cost. What a comfort, in talking to an evicted family, now crowded for shelter into some charitable neighbour's cabin, to know that every evicted tenant on the Vandeleur estate is now reinstated in his own dearly-loved home. These things are good to think of and to speak about, and they afford the strongest possible incentive to the suffering tenants to disownenance outrage in every form, and to stick to the Parliamentary leaders and the Plan of Campaign.

One more remarkable thing I have to mention, and that is the absence of English politicians. A few English visitors were attracted this Easter to Gweedore, but even there only one English Member of Parliament appeared. Every Liberal Member or candidate not already instructed by

personal investigation ought to visit Ireland, and they can go to no more interesting or useful place than the Kenmare estate. The Irish people want the encouragement of seeing that the English are awakened on the subject of their struggle, and it is very certain the English people want the sort of stirring-up they will get by visiting these men and women, and hearing on the spot and from the sufferers themselves the terrible story of wilful wrong and stupid blundering. The electors in England should insist upon the men who ask for their support going to Ireland before the next election, and the subject should be included in resolutions passed by Liberal associations. We know that the Irish Members attend Parliament at Westminster with wonderful diligence, and also conduct the organisation in Ireland in a manner that fills the English agitator with envy and admiration. They also find time to attend numberless public meetings in England. Yet, when there is a pause in Parliamentary engagements, scarcely any English members have the sense, or energy, or good feeling to go to Ireland.

The visits of English women are much appreciated by the hospitable and enthusiastic Irish, and even those who cannot go can do almost as much good by collecting and sending over to the Campaign estates and congested districts bales of clothes for the use of those who are at present prevented from earning their own living. Of course we should all be better pleased to see industrious Irish peasants earning food, clothing, and schooling independently; but this is impossible during the struggle. An evicted tenant only gets odd jobs to do, and is perhaps at heavy cost for litigation and housing. Good warm clothes may preserve him and his wife and children, not only from great discomfort, but from illness. I have seen poor, crippled creatures in Ireland suffering from the effects of rheumatism caused by harsh eviction many winters ago. Then, to be tidy in appearance is good for the spirits and the moral character of parents and children. The parents cannot go to chapel nor the children to school if they have no clothes to wear. For these reasons it is not pauperising them to send them clothes. It is merely giving them a fair chance to hold on, and it prevents deterioration of mind and body during the long time of waiting which an obstinate landlord requires before he sees reason. I hope the women of England who are on the side of the tenants will remember that this is no time to slacken work. Everywhere in Ireland where I came across those who had received bales from Bradford or elsewhere, I was convinced by what I saw and heard that they had been successful in giving real help to deserving people, and also in persuading the tenants that the English are at last

in sympathy with them. It would be a mistake in my opinion to send clothes or money to individual tenants. The leaders, or persons appointed by them, are willing to receive the bales, distribute the clothes, or lay out any money that may be sent, and it is through them that the relief should come. The need is great in Gweedore no doubt, but I earnestly hope the Kenmare tenantry will not be forgotten. The thing for which Mr. O'Brien is now in prison is establishing what he calls "the unconquerable Plan" in Kerry. While he is prevented from helping himself, we cannot do better than support his work by aiding the Kenmare tenants to follow his advice. For this purpose I ask any ladies who can collect warm clothing, old or new, for men, women, or children, to apply for instructions as to transmission to the Ladies' Committee at the office of the Home Rule Union.

The Kenmare estate is situated in the most lovely corner of Ireland, near the famous lakes of Killarney. In the town of Killarney there are comfortable hotels—some fashionable, some quiet; and in the neighbourhood there are many houses suitable for tourists to lodge in. Why should not English visitors stream over there in holiday time, and alternate pleasure trips on the lakes with sympathetic visits to the tenants who stand in such need of a kindly, hopeful word? Money is sorely wanted in this nearly bankrupt country, in spite of Balfour's boasts. Let the wealthy English paterfamilias spend his guineas there for once, instead of at Brighton or Scarborough. Tory candidates will find it a hard thing to address the electors, if a good many of them have seen Ireland for themselves. Mr. Russell, M.P., cannot tell his fairy tales about well-to-do farmers and gardens of Eden to any one who has been to the places he speaks about. If English Liberals choose they can win a certain victory at the next general election by making a proper use of their holiday time now.

NOTES FROM IRISH CORRESPONDENTS.

DUBLIN.

I AM not able to send you any particular items of local news, having been absent from Dublin the greater part of the month. Sir Charles Russell's speech, needless to say, has been the chief subject of conversation and congratulation in Nationalist circles.

The Commission has proved a veritable boomerang.

The historical portion of Sir Charles's speech was, of course, familiar to students of the Irish land question, but the Commission supplied the means, for the first time, of placing our side of

the question before the general mass of the English people, making even the Conservative press a channel of enlightenment, a result hardly foreseen by the coercionist party, and the value of which is keenly appreciated in Ireland.

The *Freeman's Journal* of April 19th, publishes the names of the principal landowners, the purchase of whose properties has been sanctioned under Lord Ashbourne's Act, extracted from a return ordered last Session at the instance of Mr. John Ellis, M.P. The following are some of the more important sales:—

Proprietor.	Purchase-money.
Marquis of Bath	£290,504
Duke of Abercorn	267,604
Duke of Leinster	244,365
Marquis of Waterford	118,700
Sir T. B. Lenard	109,678
Salters' Co.	230,502
Fishmongers' Co.	117,844
Skinner's Co.	103,492

The Tories frequently ask why is Lord Ashbourne's Act objected to? The short-sighted policy of the Act is obvious. Apart from the creation of interests likely to raise complications in the way of a general settlement of the land question, the Act benefits the large owners rather than the small and encumbered, and facilitates the sale of the good lands, on which practically the land question does not exist, instead of the poor and highly rented lands where the clash of the landlord's and tenant's interest is most acutely felt. The sole security for the advance of the purchase-money being the land and the ability of the tenant to pay the instalments, the Commission charged with the administration of the Act refuse to sanction sales where they are not satisfied that the land affords good security for the repayment of the purchase-money. Again, the small landowners, who are in general heavily encumbered by mortgages and family charges, are practically excluded from the benefit of the Act. The reduction of rents by the Land Commission extinguished their margin of profit, and since the rent forms the basis for the calculation of the purchase-money, they would, should they sell, have to hand over the whole purchase-money to the mortgagees, &c., and would not put a penny in their pocket by the transaction. It is plainly their interest to hold on to the property as long as they can. As long as they do so they present a hard case and claim upon the Government, and have some advantages incidental to residing on their property. In short, the Act is not compulsory, and appears admirably designed to further complicate a question already almost hopelessly complicated. But the most scandalous feature about the sales under the Ashbourne Act is that the London companies, who possess large estates in the north of Ireland,

should be aided by public funds to sell their estates and walk off with the money. It will be noticed in the above list that three of these wealthy corporations have sold property amounting to half-a-million of money. The lands granted to these public companies in Ulster were given in trust for public purposes. It was provided in the grants that they should found schools, churches, &c., and generally develop the country, and, even aside from this, it is a cruel thing that the richest country in Europe should take from the poorest these large sums of money, which would, under self-government, constitute a considerable fund for the promotion of technical instruction, and development of industries in the poorer parts of Ulster. The matter demands the prompt attention of the Irish members in Parliament, and furnishes a striking comment on the interest shown by the Ulster Unionist members in the welfare of their province.

Mr. T. A. Dickson, M.P., is unfortunately absent, having gone on a trip to South America with his daughter, but will, we hope, be back in time to raise the question of the legality of these sales.

By-the-way, with regard to Lord Salisbury's reference at Watford to the compensation clause of the Land Act of 1870, disposed of in your last issue, there is a matter touching Lord Salisbury's public character which should not be overlooked. Lord Salisbury introduced his reference to the Act of 1870, for reading a clause from which he apologised on the ground that the matter was "so important," with the statement:—

"It is quite true that the Irish tenant generally does perform the improvements on his farm, but it is not true that any landlord has the power, or for the last nineteen years has ever had the power, to rob him of the value of those improvements. By an Act passed in 1870, so far as that clause is concerned, passed with the general consent of all parties in Parliament, he was given the right in case of eviction for non-payment of rent, or anything else, *the absolute right to the value of the improvements which he or his predecessors in title had made upon the farm.*"

He then read the clause giving compensation. I do not like to use strong language, and will only say that when Lord Salisbury made that statement he ought to have known that the Report of the Bessborough Commission, 1881, turned mainly on the failure of the particular clause he quoted to protect the tenant's interest in his improvements. The following passages (page 13) are conclusive:—

"The restrictions which the Act (1870) imposes on compensation for improvements have prevented the tenants outside the Ulster tenant-right from receiving a fair equivalent for the results of their industry." The Commissioners then specify instances in which the Act is inoperative, and con-

tinue, respecting the words of Lord Salisbury I have italicised:—"Most injurious of all has been the result of decisions as to the construction to be placed on the words 'Made by himself or his predecessors in title,' which have been interpreted to exclude from benefit all tenants whose continuity of possession and title has been broken by any change in their legal tenancy since the improvements were made. This has opened many easy ways to evade the section altogether." Among other instances the Commissioners state that a change in the rent was held to constitute a new letting, and thus to break the continuity of title.

BELFAST.

The poor peasantry of Donegal, now about to be exterminated, belong to a race widely different from those of the rest of Ireland. In Keith Johnston's ethnographic map, the people of Tyrconnell are classified as the *Erse Scandinavian*—a people of Norse origin, and closely related in racial and moral characteristics to the Skye crofters and people of the Western Highlands of Scotland. The two races living on opposite sides of the North Channel are essentially akin, and both have had for centuries to endure nameless horrors at the hands of exterminating landlordism. Descended from a hardy Norse race that settled on these coasts in the eighth and ninth centuries, their patient industry and unremitting toil have enabled them to eke out a bare existence on the wildest and most barren coasts of these islands. Always patient, peaceable, and honest, by fishing and various domestic industries, and money earned in the harvests of England or the coal-pits of Scotland, they have tried to live and pay rent never produced by the barren soil of their native bogs and mountains. They have struggled on, always on the verge of famine, until, overwhelmed by changes of seasons and prices, they have at last succumbed, and are now threatened with two terrible evils long dreaded—the workhouse or the battering-ram. The love of their little homes—common to all men of Gaelic races—is intensified among these mountaineers. Hence the determined resistance offered here about the same time that the victims of the petroleum can at Glenbeigh were tamely submitting to the carrying out of the death sentences. They built their walls of granite boulders across the roads, broke down the bridges, and in every way tried to stay the hand of the evictor. Hence the state of siege in which their little cottages are now found—the police and military trying to starve them out, and an Englishman (Mr. Harrison) arrested for trying to supply them with bread.

Occasionally here also, in the past, "the wild justice of revenge" has demanded its victims. The old Norse blood has taken to ancient Norse methods of ridding itself of oppression. In

the dreadful time that followed the famine year, from 1848 to 1853, this poor, defenceless people stood at bay, confronted by the crowbar brigades of greedy and unrelenting landlordism. Then, as now, wholesale evictions were the order of the day. Mr. T. P. O'Connor, in his "Parnell Movement," has given an extract from the *Derry Standard* of that time, describing the outrages then perpetrated on a peaceable, harmless, and industrious people. Adam Grierson, a shepherd under John George Adair, of Glenveagh Castle, was murdered, and Mr. Adair determined to evict whole townlands and parishes, just as Mr. Wybrant Olphert would now do. For years the fight went on. Sadness and the silence of death sat on the dreary hill-sides, where once were heard the busy hum of rural industry and the merry laugh of childhood. Twice they burned Glenveagh Castle to the ground. The war of extermination had done its worst. Mr. Adair ended his days in a state of moping or moody melancholy. The charred and blackened ruins of his once beautiful residence attest to all passers by how terrible a revenge time brings on those who abuse the position which rank and wealth confer on them. It is possible to crush individuals, but not to wage a relentless war of extermination on a whole country side, much less on a whole nation. The treatment of the tenants on Colonel Vandeleur's property in the south, and those of Mr. Wybrant Olphert in far Donegal, point a moral that will not be lost on Ulstermen.

To aid this Mr. Olphert in turning out poor peasants from homes made by their own industry, martial law prevails throughout the district. It is thus designed to terrorise a simple and ignorant peasantry. Every man must have his police pass. Strangers, even members of Parliament, are shadowed and watched, lest they might interfere with the people, or ask too many inconvenient questions. English members of Parliament, who have come over to see for themselves and inspect the now famous £40 police 'battering-ram,' find themselves insulted, denied access to the homes of the people. Cordon of police shut out all outsiders—even the representatives of the press—from heartless, cruel, and terrible scenes of eviction. Clergymen, women, and even children are trampled under the feet of enraged policemen running amuck in their brutal baton charges. The reign of law is at an end.

A deputation of Englishmen representing the Liberal Associations in and around Manchester, recently passed through Belfast *en route* for Gweedore, commissioned to bring relief to the starving people, learn all the facts for themselves, and report in true English fashion to those that sent them. The more deputations of this sort from England to our province the better. We want in Ulster men of the first rank of English

and Scottish Liberals, at this crisis, to address the people here in great public meetings assembled. We are badly served by a so-called Liberal press, which has latterly taken to what is, after all, the natural result of its false position, as the ally of Tories, defaming the Irish people and their leaders on every possible occasion, and even justifying the very vilest performances of harsh and evicting landlords. This is not the true Ulster opinion, the farmers especially, smarting under judicial rents actually raised by the operation of the Act of 1887, are cursing Balfour, Chamberlain, and T. W. Russell, by whom they have been, they say, shamefully deceived and bamboozled, and are beginning again to look with some of the old feeling of gratitude towards Mr. T. A. Dickson, M.P., and the men who aided Mr. Gladstone in passing the Act of 1881. At the time of the appearance of the rent schedules in January last, a crisis began not yet ended. In almost every northern Union, the aristocratic chairmen who for years have sat there "Monarchs of all they surveyed" have been confronted by the representatives of the irate farmers. But in few cases were the farmers permitted to discuss these extraordinary rent schedules; chairmen like Sir Henry Bruce at Coleraine, Lord Castlestuart, and Wybrant Olphert, refused to admit the right of the guardians to discuss the schedules sent down by the Land Commission. Strong feelings have been aroused over this business. The rural guardians are in revolt, and but slight encouragement would develop an agitation that could only end in depriving these men of their ancient hereditary right to boss these boards by the aid of *ex-officios*, relying on ancient custom and any amount of "cheek."

It must be remembered that these Boards are the only ones where the voice of the people's representatives can be heard, and if the free expression of opinion be stifled now, a sound and healthy public opinion cannot exist on any great public question. And we must remember it was this policy in the South and West which first gave to Mr. Parnell his present commanding influence over the hearts of the people of Ireland. It was not until the National party had secured the election of their own chairmen at the public Boards that their power was fully established. And if Ulster is to be won to sanity on the great question now to the front, this is the first step to win it, and now is the time to do it. There is one Board, that of the Ard, in county Down, that was emancipated long ago from the domineering influence of Mr. Brownlow, Lord Londonderry's agent. They made the Board too hot for him. Now an intelligent farmer fills the chair with great efficiency and no lack of dignity; and they have recently elected a Catholic magistrate, Mr. Murray, J.P., to the vice-chair, and next year he will be chair-

man of this Board. Lately the advantage of this method was seen when Lord Londonderry evicted a poor tenant called Barr under most distressing circumstances. The guardians passed resolutions condemning the conduct of the landlord, and the eviction campaign was then ended. And the rapid growth of the Ard Farmers' Association, and the decided stand it has taken as the leading association of its kind in Ulster, has been due to the public spirit developed by the discussions at this Board of Guardians. Mr. M'Cartan, M.P. for South Down, knows well the spirit of the Ards-men; and it is just this spirit that must be extended to the rest of Ulster if the wounds of the past are to be healed, and Ulster men are to reap to the full the benefits of recent legislation, and fall into line with the rest of Ireland. The conductors of the Unionist press here well know the change that is passing over public opinion in Ulster. T. W. Russell also knows it, and dares not appear before his Tyrone constituents. They know they have been egregiously deceived by him and his judicious juggling of temperance and tenant-right. No man is at present better hated in Ulster than this redoubtable champion of Unionism. Having driven a thoroughly wise, experienced, and honest politician, Thomas A. Dickson, from public life, after having faithfully, for twelve years, served the interests of the tenant farmers here, he and his shoddy, temporising, and time-serving Unionist party have outlived the momentary popularity they acquired in the panic of 1886. They are now thoroughly discredited leaders without any backing of solid voting power.

NOTES BY THE WAY.

Cheering Mr. O'Brien.—A young man, named Eugene Sullivan, appears to have one evening cheered for Mr. William O'Brien. He was brought before Captain Massey, R.M., one of those gentlemen of whose legal knowledge the Lord-Lieutenant (if nobody else) is satisfied, and was charged with disorderly conduct. So far as the report shows, the only evidence of the disorderly conduct was the cheering:—

"Constable James Moncton was called to prove the offence. He stated that on the night of February 21st, as he was passing up William Street, he heard the defendant shouting out loudly.

"Captain Massey: Did he make use of any particular expression?—He did, sir; he called out for cheers for William O'Brien.

"Captain Massey: How many times did he cheer?—About seven or eight times.

"Mr. Moran said the defendant was unavoidably

absent, and even if he were present he would not deny having called for cheers for William O'Brien.

"Captain Massey said the case was one that could have been brought under the *Crimes Act*, under which the defendant would be liable to six months' imprisonment. He would fine him £1 and costs."

The learned R.M. is perfectly right; for if the *Crimes Act* is not to be used for such cases, what is the good of it? Why, if a man gets off with £1 and costs for cheering Mr. O'Brien—seven or eight times, too—Ireland will soon be in a state of anarchy. The Constabulary must be more careful.

Not a State Prosecution after This!—In the House of Commons Mr. Balfour was asked by Professor Stuart whether, in November, 1888, a circular in the following terms was not issued by the Irish Divisional magistrates to the constabulary:—"Very secret! Agrarian crime! Please let me have, as soon as you can, the particulars asked for on the opposite margin regarding all Leaguers convicted of agrarian crime since September, 1879. Of course 'Leaguers' include members of the Land League as well as of the National League. Be very discreet in collecting this information. From the local knowledge of the police no difficulty is apprehended in the performance of this duty. (A.) Where tried, and offence. (B.) Names of persons, addresses of witnesses generally, and what each can prove. (C.) Names and present addresses of persons who can produce records of each conviction as entered. (D.) Remarks showing nature of evidence given, and any point of interest showing connection between the League and offences." Mr. Balfour declined to answer. We may therefore take it that the circular is genuine. If it is, we can hardly say which is the more infamous—the circular itself or the attempt to make the country still believe that the Government and the *Times* are not in the same boat.

Sir Charles Russell's Speech.—We hope that every one will do what he can to ensure a wide circulation for the published edition of Sir Charles Russell's great speech in opening the defence for Mr. Parnell, or, rather, for the Irish people. Probably an abridged and very cheap reprint may also be issued, which, for the purposes of distribution, would be still more useful. In the meantime let those who desire to help the cause study the speech, and then do their best to spread the new ideas and illustrations with which it will furnish them. Let English electors learn how Mr. Parnell has laboured to bring the Irish people out of the ways of violence into constitutional agitation, and how, so far from being the lawless leader of a criminal party, he has been the chief supporter of law and order, and we need

have little to fear from any other argument against Home Rule.

A Case of Conversion.—A correspondent of the *Methodist Times* tells the following incident:—"Some of the ladies who have joined the ranks of the Liberal speakers are extremely eloquent and forcible in their election speeches. Particularly is this the case with Miss Orme, who did good work at Enfield last week. In one case her persuasive eloquence and wide acquaintance with the facts of the Irish question so impressed a Tory elector who was listening that he then and there announced his conversion, called at the Liberal Committee Rooms on his way home for a supply of Liberal bills, and with these he quickly posted the walls of his house, which but a few hours before had been literally covered with Conservative posters." We wish that there were more such speakers and more such Tories.

Mr. Davitt's Irish Woollen Company.—The Irish Woollen Manufacturing and Export Company, which was formed by Mr. Michael Davitt about two years ago for the encouragement of the Irish woollen trade, held its half-yearly meeting in April, and the report showed that the career of the company has been up to the present a most prosperous one. A dividend of seven per cent., free of income tax, on the paid-up capital of the company was declared. Mr. Davitt, who presided, said in addition to their work in America and Ireland, they had invaded Scotland, and intended in a short time to establish an agency for England and Wales.

Lord Salisbury's Fear of a Hostile Ireland.—In one of his speeches at Bristol, Lord Salisbury warned his hearers against the danger in which we should be placed if, after giving Home Rule to Ireland, we should be plunged into a war with some European power. "Is there anything to prevent the Government of an independent Ireland, or an Ireland practically independent, from placing those splendid harbours which lie opposite to you here at the disposal of a foreign fleet?" To which the answer is two-fold. Firstly, the cause of Irish hostility to England has been this fact: that England has been the worst enemy of Ireland. The Irish people have been in perpetual revolt against the unsuccessful efforts of English politicians to manage Irish affairs. Give to the Irish people the management of their own affairs, and the cause of quarrel with England will be gone. Thenceforth the interests of the two countries will not only be, but will be acknowledged to be, the same. Why should the hostility continue when its cause is gone? Why should a self-governed Ireland open her ports to a foreign fleet? Secondly, let us think how we should

stand if we were plunged into a European war with the claims of Ireland unsatisfied. Imagine how it would be if the good feeling between the two peoples which Mr. Gladstone's policy has brought about were to be transformed by Lord Salisbury's efforts into the old distrust, disaffection, and hatred. How should we then stand in case of war? The cause of hostility would remain, and the effect might very well take the form which Lord Salisbury fears. A hostile, because a disappointed Ireland might then place her splendid harbours at the disposal of a foreign fleet, and could be prevented from so doing only by our wasting a great part of our available strength in guarding the Irish coast. We shall do well to press home Lord Salisbury's point; and, admitting the possibility of a European war, we insist that it is safer to have Ireland a friend than an enemy.

DIARY OF THE MOVEMENT.

MARCH.

March 1.—House of Commons.—Mr. Gladstone supports Mr. Morley's amendment to the address on Irish administration.—Arrest of Dr. Tanner in the Westminster Palace Hotel.—Suicide of Pigott in Madrid.

March 3.—Soldiers attending chapel ordered by officers to leave on reference being made to agrarian difficulty.

March 4.—Crimes Court at Galway sentences four men who were in a crowd that attacked some police, to one to five months' imprisonment with hard labour.

March 5.—House of Commons.—Important questions re Nally's evidence at the Commission asked.

March 6.—Sir G. O. Trevelyan speaks at Cambridge on the treatment of Irish political prisoners.—At Killarney Petty Sessions Carey, a reporter, was charged with being one of a disorderly crowd at Killarney Station, and refusing to satisfy the magistrates with a "slight expression of regret," or to find surely to be of good behaviour for twelve months, is sentenced to six months' imprisonment. The magistrates afterwards thought over the sentence, and reduced it to one month.

March 7.—Father McFadden and thirty-four others brought before Hamilton and Beresford, R.M.S., at Letterkenny, charged with Martin's murder, and are remanded.—Bodkin and Considine R.M.'s, sentence Dr. Tanner to three months for speaking, on the 7th October last, against taking evicted farms.—Annual meeting of the Home Rule Union addressed by Mr. Stansfeld, M.P., and Mr. Bryce, M.P.

March 8.—Earls Spencer and Rosebery and Mr. Parnell at the Eighty Club.

March 10.—Great demonstration on Tower Hill, London, protest against the Government's Irish policy.

March 11.—Women's Liberal Federation at Prince's Hall, London, condemn the Government.—Barnsley election. Return of Earl Compton.

March 13.—Conference of National Protest Committee at the Memorial Hall. Great demonstration in the evening at St. James's Hall, attended by Mr. Morley and Mr. Parnell.—Sir William Harcourt at Ely, on the charges against Irish members.—Lord Hartington at Islington, on the Unionist Policy.—House of Commons : Debate on Irish prison treatment.—Parnell Commission. Close of the *Times*' case.

March 14.—Liberal demonstrations at Reigate (Mr. H. Gladstone, M.P.) and Croydon (Mr. J. G. Shaw Lefevre, M.P.)—House of Commons : Debate on Mr. O'Brien's prison treatment.

March 15.—Kennington election. Liberal gain.—Mr. Lockwood at York, on the Commission.

March 16.—Grand Jury at Lifford pass presentment for £4,000, to be levied on the county, on behalf of Mrs. Martin, widow of the murdered District Inspector.

March 18.—St. Patrick's Day celebrations.—Earl Spencer at the Holborn Restaurant, on Ireland.—Conlan, proprietor of the *Carlow Nationalist*, sentenced to two months for publishing reports of the Luggacurran branch of the National League.—Conflicts with police in Londonderry, after demonstrations on release of the Falcarragh prisoners.

March 19.—Evictions on the Stoddart Estate.—Sir William Harcourt at Lambeth, on "The Great Conspiracy."—Lord Salisbury at Watford, on Home Rule and a dissolution.

March 20.—Sir G. O. Trevelyan at Holloway, on the Liberal Programme.—House of Commons : Debate on the Government and the *Times*.—O'Mahony, editor of *Tipperary Nationalist*, sentenced to two months for publishing an "intimidating" article.

March 21.—Eviction of five families at Ballincurry, co. Sligo. One of the tenants was an old man of eighty years, and the father and five children of another family were ill of fever.—House of Commons : Mr. Morley opens debate on the Chief Secretary's salary.

March 22.—Gorton election : increased Liberal majority.—Lord Hartington, at 31, Great George Street, Westminster, on "Liberal Unionism still Living."—House of Commons : Attorney-General defends himself.

March 23.—Father McFadden again before the magistrates, and again remanded.—House of Commons : Sir Charles Russell points out inaccuracies in the Attorney-General's statement of the previous night.

March 27.—Death of John Bright.—Sir William Harcourt at Bradford on the Attorney-General and the Government.

March 28.—Father McFadden and the others charged with Martin's murder again before R.M.'s Hamilton and Beresford.—Pitiful scenes at evictions on the Rosscarberry estate.

March 29.—Arrest of Father Farely at Arklow.—Revs. Michael Morris and John Cunningham before Gardiner and Evanson, R.M.'s, for urging their parishioners not to pay rent.

March 30.—Father McFadden and the others committed for trial for the murder of District Inspector Martin.

APRIL.

April 1.—Mr. T. Harrington, M.P., visits his brother at Tullamore Jail, and is refused admission.

April 2.—Parnell Commission : Sir C. Russell opens the defence.

April 3.—Dinner to Mr. Broadhurst at the National Liberal Club. Sir William Harcourt speaks on the Liberal Policy.—Professor Stuart speaks on the London Liberal programme.

April 4.—Sentence of three months' imprisonment on Dennis Kilbride confirmed at Kildare Quarter Sessions.

April 5.—Lord Rosebery at the Croydon Liberal Club on the Dissentients and Liberal prospects.—Mr. Cox, M.P., has his sentence of four months reduced to six weeks, and is ordered the treatment of a first-class misdemeanant.

April 8.—Issue of the Second Report of Irish Land Commission.—House of Commons : Introduction of Local Government measures for Scotland.

April 9.—Sir G. O. Trevelyan speaks at the Victoria Hall on general politics.—Mr. Sheehy's sentence of ten months reduced to one of five months.—Sir Charles Russell accepted as arbitrator between landlord and tenant on the Vandeleur estates.—House of Commons : Debate on Scottish Home Rule.

April 10.—Great demonstration held by the Home Rule Union in St. James's Hall. Sir Wm. Harcourt and Mr. Sexton speak on the Irish question.—Judge Curran reduces Mr. O'Brien's sentence by three months.—Fathers Cunningham and Morris sentenced to two months' imprisonment by Messrs' Gardiner and Evanson.—House of Commons : Mr. Crilly's Agricultural Tenants Bill thrown out.

April 11.—Determined resistance at evictions on the Olphert estate.—Daniel O'Keefe and John Moynihan sentenced to six months' imprisonment for cheering the Plan of Campaign and Mr. O'Brien, thus taking part in "a disorderly crowd."—House of Commons: Debate on the state of Donegal.

April 12.—Parnell Commission: Conclusion of Sir Charles Russell's speech.—Lord Rosebery at Norwich on Ireland, and Sir Charles Russell at Birmingham.

April 13.—Renewed disturbances at Falcarragh.—Kenmare tenantry having been refused the terms which Judge Curran considered fair, hold a meeting in furtherance of the Plan of Campaign.

April 14.—Evicted tenants take possession of their homes at Falcarragh.

April 15.—Birmingham election.—Rev. John Maher sentenced to two months' imprisonment under Crimes Act at Maryborough.—House of Commons: Budget statement.

April 16.—Rochester election, Liberal gain.—Mr. Tener, Lord Clanricarde's agent, takes formal possession of fourteen farms on the Woodford estate.—House of Commons: Debate on Donegal evictions.

April 17.—Arrest of Mr. Harrison for supplying food to the besieged tenants at Falcarragh.—Plan of Campaign terms accepted on the Vandeleur estate.—Lord Hartington in Sunderland on coercion and the forged letters.

April 18.—Further disturbances and arrests at Falcarragh.—Sligo Corporation unanimously congratulate Mr. Parnell on his vindication before the Commission.

April 19.—A number of persons, charged with groaning at emergency men, bound over to keep the peace at the Arthurstown Petty Sessions.

April 20.—Continued disturbances at Falcarragh.—Proclaimed meetings successfully held at Templetown, South Kilkenny.

April 22.—Mr. Morley on Industrial politics at Newcastle.—Proceedings initiated at Falcarragh against Mr. Conybeare, M.P.

April 23.—Lord Randolph Churchill writes to the papers explaining the Tory-Unionist contract in Birmingham.—Commencement of the Donegal prosecutions.—Lord Salisbury at Bristol on the Government.

April 24.—Evictions on Colonel Tottenham's Ballykerogue estate.—Mr. Morley replies to Lord Salisbury.—Mr. Chamberlain addresses the Unionists in Birmingham.

April 25.—Lord Selborne addresses the Liberal Unionist Conference in Birmingham.—Mr. Courtney at Liskeard on the forged letters.

April 26.—Sir William Harcourt speaks at Southampton on the political situation.—Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain address a meeting in Bingley Hall, Birmingham.

April 29.—A proclaimed meeting successfully held at Inniscarra, co. Cork.

April 30.—Parnell Commission; Mr. Parnell in the witness box.

THE RECORD OF COERCION.

FOR the three weeks ending April 16th the weekly record is as follows:—

Week ending.	Prosecuted.	Convicted.
April 2nd	29	19
" 9th	11	5
" 16th	8	8
Total	48	32

Looking to the nature of the so-called offences, we find that, as usual, most of the charges relate to resistance to eviction, conflicts with police, unlawful assembly, conspiracy and intimidation. For this last-named offence two priests were condemned to two months' imprisonment each at Nenagh on April 9th, and another priest received a similar sentence at Stradbally on April 13th. The alliance of the British Government with the Pope does not appear to have been so effective in depriving the Irish people of the aid of their priests as the British Government would probably desire.

We also note that at Rathmore, on the 11th, two prisoners were indicted for the serious offence of cheering for the Plan of Campaign, and were bound in bail for six months with the alternative of the same period in gaol. These are small matters as compared with the "Reign of Terror" in Gweedore, but they should not escape notice.

The analysis of the record is as follows:—

	Prose- cuted	Con- victed	.
Class I.—Agrarian offences...	10	7	
" II.—Public meetings, &c., including 4 for conflicts with the police, and 2 for cheering the Plan of Campaign	33	22	
" III.—Conspiracy and In- timidation ... 5 3			
	48	32	

The appeals heard reach the unusually high number of 24. Of these 8 were confirmed, 13 reduced, and 3 reversed.

HOME RULE UNION.

MEETING IN ST. JAMES'S HALL.—The Home Rule Union held a most successful meeting in St. James's Hall, on April 10th, Professor Stuart, M.P., in the chair. The hall was crowded, and

Mr. Holiday's cartoons were again a striking feature. Sir W. Harcourt and Mr. Sexton, the Lord Mayor of Dublin, and others addressed the meeting. The speech of Sir. W. Harcourt, which dealt very vigorously with recent incidents in Ireland, we should gladly report, if our space permitted. He dwelt on the absolute failure of the Government policy at every point. The Government defended Mitchelstown, but they have never dared to repeat it. They jeered Mr. O'Brien; but his protest has made them alter the prison rules. He related the attempt of Judge Curran to arbitrate between landlord and tenant, described in last month's JOURNAL, and announced the refusal of the landlord to accept the arbitration. His description of the famous or infamous battering ram deserves his own words :—“ In view of the Olphert estate evictions, there reached there an iron-headed spiked battering ram to be used in carrying out the evictions. Now that is resolute government—that is the government of Ireland by Great Britain in the nineteenth century. Why, really, gentlemen, when you read of these things they are like the pictures one sees of the Siege of Jerusalem—of the implements which the Latins called *tormenta*. We are familiar with them in old mediæval castles. You find instruments called ‘The Scavenger’s Daughter,’ and ‘The Maiden,’ and other implements of that character. I think this last pattern or ram of Mr. Balfour’s might be called ‘The Unionist’s Daughter,’ or it might be christened ‘Balfour’s Maiden.’ But not to deprive the Liberal Unionists of their share we might call it ‘Chamberlain’s Tenants’ Protector.’ I think, Mr. Stuart, the Home Rule Union indulges in cartoons. I would suggest following accurately the description in the Tory newspaper of this engine as the subject for a cartoon, which should clearly show that it was the outcome of ‘resolute government.’ This machine is going to be paid for out of the money of the English taxpayer.”

THE WORK OF THE UNION.—By an oversight an extremely important item in the Treasurer’s Report read at the Annual Meeting of the Home Rule Union on March 7th, was omitted from our last issue. This was the statement that against the balance at the bank of £11 7s. 8d. shown in the certified accounts on December 30th, 1888, there were then outstanding liabilities amounting to £324 14s. 9d. The Vans had run us £300 in debt.

This has naturally influenced to some extent our efforts during the present year. We, of course, resolved at all hazards to allow no halt in carrying on the work of the Union. This we have done, and by rigid economy we have also succeeded in paying off by now (April 30th) about £150 of the debt. To effect this we have had to restrict the tours of the Vans to those con-

stituencies which are willing to pay the cost of the horses and the wages of the conductor.

In spite, however, of this disadvantage, we have not only continued our work but increased its scope, and the first four months of this year show a considerable increase in the work done over the corresponding period of last year.

During the first four months of 1888, 105 meetings were held, at which the lecturers and principal speakers were supported by the Union, and this represented its whole work during that period. During the first four months of 1889, 123 similar meetings were held; but this by no means represents all the work done. Sixty-two of these meetings were held in connection with tours of the Vans through the South Molton and Barnstaple division of Devonshire, North and South Herefordshire, the Blisworth division of Northamptonshire, and the Enfield division of Middlesex. During these tours the Vans have distributed nearly a quarter of a million leaflets from house to house and at the meetings held every evening.

Besides this the Union organised the great meeting of its members and friends, addressed by Sir William Harcourt and Mr. Sexton, at St. James’s Hall, on April 10, and the whole of the work of the National Protest has been carried out by ladies and gentlemen all of whom are members of the Home Rule Union, and the great majority of whom are active members either of the Executive or the Ladies Committee. The offices and organisation of the Union were lent for the purpose.

Our work in the future seems likely to increase still further. Our first Van is at present at work in North Monmouthshire, after which it is engaged to circulate through the Wellington and Bridgwater Divisions of Somerset. The third Van is about to commence tours in the Harborough and Melton Divisions of Leicestershire, and we are in communication with nine other constituencies which are making arrangements to take the Vans.

As has already been announced, the continuation of the National Protest has been handed over to us, and we have already held, or have arranged to hold, a considerable number of Protest meetings in different parts of the country.

The policy we have adopted during the past four months we shall continue. The work of the Union will be continued and increased, and the greater part of our subscriptions will be used for future work; but, by living within our income, we shall gradually pay off the remainder of the debt that is still hanging over us. Want of funds, now as always, alone stands in the way of the almost indefinite extension of the educational usefulness of the Home Rule Union.

A MEETING of the Executive Committee was held on Tuesday, March 5th, at the offices of the Union, when there were present—Mr. T. Eccleston Gibb (in the chair), Mrs. Bryant, Miss Monck, Mr. J. Allanson Picton, M.P., Dr. Bernard O'Connor, Mr. Lough, and the Secretary. It was decided, on the motion of Mr. Picton, to print as a leaflet the latter part of the recent speech delivered by Mr. Parnell in the House of Commons, under the title of “Ireland’s Moderate Demand.” The details of the approaching meeting were settled.

A meeting of the Executive Committee was again held on Friday, March 15th, when there were present—Professor Stuart, M.P. (in the chair), Mr. J. Allanson Picton, M.P., Mr. G. H. Pickersgill, M.P., Mrs. Beesly, Miss Monck, Mr. Lough, and the Secretary.

It was proposed by Mr. Morton, seconded by Professor Stuart, and carried unanimously, that Mr. Holiday be elected to fill the vacancy on the Committee. It was proposed by Professor Stuart, seconded by Mrs. Beesly, and carried unanimously, that the Executive of the Home Rule Union is willing to take over the work of the National Protest Committee, and act for that purpose in conjunction with those members of the Executive of the National Protest Committee who are not members of either the Executive Committee or the Ladies’ Committee of the Home Rule Union, and who are willing to serve. It was decided to invite Mr. Sexton to address the meeting at St. James’s Hall on April 10th.

A meeting of the Executive Committee was held on April 2nd, when there were present—Dr. Bernard O’Connor (in the chair), Mrs. Bryant, Miss Monck, Messrs. Boyd, Holiday, Lough, Macdonell, Summerhayes, Spalding, and the Secretary. It was decided to communicate with Messrs. Cook, with a view of ascertaining whether they were willing to organise new routes through Ireland at a cheap rate to persons who apply through the Home Rule Union, and if they consent, arrangements to be made to organise political correspondents along the routes. At six o’clock the Committee was reinforced by the presence of the Ladies’ Committee and the Protest Committee—viz., Mrs. Amos, Miss Case, Miss Lawrence, Miss Macdonell, Miss Orme, Mr. Laurence, Mr. Santley, Capt. Hugh Luttrell, Mr. Percy Bunting, and Mr. Holiday.

Mr. Holiday took the chair. It was decided to continue the collection of signatures to the National Protest, and to this end correspondents should be obtained in every constituency in the country, and the Home Rule Union Vans and meetings should be utilised for the purpose of collecting signatures.

A meeting of the Executive Committee was

also held on Tuesday, April 16th, when there were present—Professor Stuart, M.P. (in the chair), Mrs. Beesly, Mrs. Bryant, Miss Monck, Dr. Bernard O’Connor, Messrs. Lough, Spalding, and the Secretary.

The Secretary reported that Messrs. Thomas Cook & Sons had expressed their willingness to provide members and friends of the Home Rule Union with tickets for circular tours in Ireland, and that they were in communication with the railway companies with a view of arranging a circular ticket for a route through the Gweedore district.

It was proposed by Professor Stuart, seconded by Mrs. Beesly, and carried unanimously, that a hearty vote of thanks be presented to Miss Raven and Mr. Holiday for their beautiful gift to the Home Rule Union of the banner “Britannia and Erin.”

It was proposed by Mr. Lough, seconded by Mrs. Bryant, and carried unanimously, that the Secretary be instructed to offer the use of the Van at present in London, for open-air meetings in London, to any Liberal Association which will supply a horse and capable driver.

MR. P. H. SNELLING.

We have been requested to insert the following appeal:—

“Mr. P. H. Snelling, a London working man, went as a delegate to Ireland in February, 1888, and for exercising the right of Free Speech on Irish soil, was sentenced by Cecil Roche and Captain Welch, two of Mr. Balfour’s Removables, to two terms of imprisonment—viz., one month and six months with hard labour. On appeal the latter brutal sentence was reduced to two months, so that Mr. Snelling has endured three months’ imprisonment as a common felon, the longest term yet undergone by an Englishman. As a result of his imprisonment Mr. Snelling was out of employment for eight months, and being a working man, this has imposed upon him a heavy pecuniary sacrifice. All Home Rulers are respectfully solicited to assist in making this appeal a success. Mr. Wm. Saunders, of 177, Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, Westminster (Gladstonian Candidate for Walworth), is the treasurer of the Fund, and Mr. R. Hanmer, of 3, Courtneill Street, Bayswater, the hon. sec.”

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Adams, A.	£1	0	0
Adkins, W. R. D. (for Van)	9	1	5
Ager, R. Stride	0	5	0
Agnew, Mrs.	0	5	0

Alexander, J. G.	I	I	O	Elwell, Henry (2nd donation)	O	2	0
Andrews, A. S.	...	...	...	I	I	O	Evans, Miss K. F.	...	O	10	0
Anonymous	...	...	...	I	I	O	Eve, H. W.	...	I	I	O
Archer, H. M.	...	...	...	O	5	O	Falding, Rev. F. J., D.D.	...	O	10	0
Bairdsmith, Mrs.	...	...	...	O	15	O	Falding, Mrs.	...	O	2	6
Baker, W.	O	10	O	Fallowes, Miss C. F.	...	O	5	0
Barfield, Geo. (for Van)	I	8	6	Firth, Mrs. Thos.	...	I	0	0
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Barratt, Francis	I	I	O	Foreman, W. H.	...	O	5	0
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Bawtree, J.	O	5	O	Fox, Joseph H.	...	I	I	O
Beeton, J. W.	2	0	O	Fuddle, H. H.	...	2	2	0
Bird, W. S.	O	10	O	Gill, John	...	O	2	0
Blagg, J.	...	...	...	O	1	O	Gladstone, Rev. Stephen E.	...	I	I	O
Boam, Henry	...	...	...	O	10	O	Goodman, W. E.	...	O	5	0
Bond, D.	...	...	...	O	2	6	Grainge, S. E.	...	O	5	0
Bond, J.	...	...	...	O	10	O	Grey, Mrs. Wm.	...	I	0	0
Bowley, W.	...	...	...	O	2	O	Griffin, Miss Geraldine	...	O	5	0
Bowring, W. B.	...	...	...	I	0	O	Gwyder, D., M.A.	...	O	10	6
Bradley, —	...	...	...	O	2	6	Hall, Miss S. E.	...	O	5	0
Brady, Mrs.	...	...	...	O	10	O	Hargrove, C.	...	O	10	0
Brisbane, J. D. M.	...	...	...	I	I	O	Harris, Edward	...	2	2	0
Brough, Edwin	...	...	...	I	I	O	Harris, Thos.	...	5	0	0
Bryant, Mrs., D.Sc.	...	...	...	I	I	O	Hatton, Edward	...	O	5	0
Buss, Mrs. Septimus	...	...	...	O	10	O	Hawkins, W. M.	...	O	5	0
Buss, Miss	...	...	...	O	10	O	Hawkey, B. F.	...	2	2	0
Carter, Wm.	...	...	...	2	2	O	Hayter, Sir A. D.	...	I	0	0
Carryer, Rev. Thos. H.	...	...	...	O	2	6	Heap, W. J.	...	I	0	0
Case, Miss E. M.	...	...	...	O	15	O	Heligan, D.	...	O	10	0
Case, Miss Janet	...	...	...	O	2	6	Hepworth, Lieut.-Col. D.	...	I	I	O
Case, Miss Mabel	...	...	...	O	2	6	Hertz, W. D.	...	O	10	6
Cavan, Rt. Hon. the Earl of	...	...	...	I	I	O	Hill, J.	...	I	I	O
Chapman, H. F.	...	...	...	I	I	O	Hind, R. D. Archer	...	O	10	0
Cheney, Rev. Hy.	...	...	...	O	2	6	Hodgkin, J. B.	...	I	0	0
Clark, C. Beatson	...	...	...	O	10	6	Holyoake, G. J.	...	O	2	6
Clark, Henry	...	...	...	O	10	O	Hood, Rev. A.	...	O	2	6
Clark, Michael	...	...	...	O	10	6	Howard, W.	...	I	I	O
Cleaver, Rich.	...	...	...	2	2	O	Hudson, Frank	...	O	10	0
Cobb, Edward	...	...	...	O	10	6	Illingworth, Mrs. Alfred	...	5	0	0
Cochrane, Chas.	...	...	...	I	I	O	Illingworth, Henry	...	5	0	0
Collett, Miss A.	...	...	...	O	5	O	Do. (for Protest)	...	5	0	0
Collier, J. T.	...	...	...	O	2	6	Jacobs, Rev. E.	...	O	5	0
Common, Andrew	...	...	...	I	I	O	Jenkins, H. W.	...	O	2	6
Cookson, J. H.	...	...	...	O	10	O	Johns, G. W. (collected by Coupons)	...	O	5	0
Cotton, Mrs.	...	...	...	I	O	O	Johnstone, J. W., C.C.	...	O	3	6
Cowan, David	...	...	...	O	5	O	Jull, J.	...	O	2	0
Craggs, Miss Edith J.	...	...	...	I	O	O	Kay, Mrs. M. E.	...	I	I	O
Currie, B. W.	...	...	...	IO	O	O	Keiller, Wm.	...	2	0	O
Dakyns, H. G.	...	...	...	O	10	6	Kendon, J. J.	...	O	5	0
Daniel, Henry	...	...	...	O	10	O	Knight, C. N.	...	I	0	0
Debenham, Frank	...	...	...	2	2	O	Laing, S.	...	5	0	0
Dendy, Walter	...	...	...	O	10	6	Lake, J. H.	...	I	I	O
Denham, Henry	...	...	...	O	10	6	Langford, R. S.	...	O	5	0
Dilke, Lady	...	...	...	I	I	O	Lee-Warner, H.	...	I	0	0
Diver, B.	...	...	...	O	4	O	Lister, Walter V.	...	I	I	O
Dobson, T. W.	...	...	...	O	10	O	Lough, Mrs. Thos.	...	2	0	O
Duggan, Chas.	...	...	...	O	1	O	Lucas, Alfred	...	I	I	O
Eames, Alfred	...	...	...	O	5	O	Luff, Arthur P.	...	O	5	0
Easton, John	...	...	...	O	2	O	Macintosh, Alex.	...	O	10	0
Elwell, Henry	...	...	...	O	2	6	Mackay, Rev. A. M.	...	O	2	6

Majolier, E., jun.	...	...	I	I	O	Simpson, John	...	...	...	O	10	O
Marks, Mrs. M. A. M.	...	...	O	10	6	Skegg, Rev. H. C.	...	...	...	O	2	6
Marsh, A.	...	...	I	I	O	Smith, Rev. E. Wilkes	...	...	...	O	2	6
Marshall, D. H.	...	...	O	2	6	Smith, Wm.	...	...	...	I	0	6
Martineau, David	...	...	I	I	O	Smithson, Mrs.	...	...	...	I	0	O
Mason, H. E.	...	...	I	I	O	Sorrell, Rev. J.	...	...	...	O	7	O
Massey, C. C.	...	...	5	0	O	Stables, Mrs. J.	...	...	...	I	0	O
Maude, J.	...	...	2	2	O	Stainer, J. S.	...	...	...	O	5	O
Maurice, Miss	...	...	I	0	O	Stanton-Blatch, Mrs. H.	...	...	...	O	10	O
McIntosh, D.	...	...	O	2	6	Stephen, E.	...	...	...	I	0	O
McKettrick, Thos. C.	...	...	O	10	O	Stevenson, C. B.	...	...	...	5	0	O
McKie, Thos.	...	...	I	0	O	Strutt, The Hon. F.	...	...	...	I	1	6
Mewburn, Wm.	...	...	2	2	O	Sullivan, M.	...	...	...	O	10	O
Mockler, Rev. J.	...	...	O	2	6	Swain, R. T.	...	...	...	5	5	O
Moore, Right Rev. H. E.	...	...	O	5	O	Tackley, R.	...	...	...	O	5	O
Moss, Mrs. J. C.	...	...	O	8	O	Taylor, Miss M. M.	...	...	...	O	5	O
Moss, Nathan	...	...	I	0	O	Tenison, Dr. E. R.	...	...	...	I	1	O
Muir, M. N. Pattison	...	...	O	10	6	Tennant, John	...	...	...	I	0	O
Murray-Smith, Miss S. J.	...	...	2	0	O	Thatcher, Henry	...	...	...	O	10	O
Neobard, Jas.	...	...	O	5	O	Thomas, J.	...	...	...	O	10	O
Newcombe, S. P.	...	...	O	10	O	Thompson, A.	...	...	...	I	1	O
Nottingham, W. L. A., by Miss Renals	...	...	O	5	O	Thompson, E. H.	...	...	...	I	0	O
Orr, Rev. I.	...	...	O	2	6	Thorp, J.	...	...	...	I	1	O
Osborne, C. T.	...	...	3	0	O	Todhunter, Mrs. M. A.	...	...	...	I	0	O
Parker, E. R.	...	...	O	10	O	Townsend, Mrs.	...	...	...	O	10	O
Parkinson, W. C., L.C.	...	...	O	10	O	Tryon, Rev. A. W.	...	...	...	O	5	O
Payne, W. Spencer	...	...	O	2	6	Turner, Mrs. C.	...	...	...	I	0	O
Peak, H.	...	...	O	10	O	Tweedie, G. R.	...	...	...	5	0	O
Pearce, J. D. M.	...	...	I	I	O	Unwin, T. Fisher	...	...	...	O	10	O
Pearson, Rev. S.	...	...	O	5	O	Volckmann, Wm.	...	...	...	I	1	O
Peters, G. D. (for Van)	78	0	O	Walford, Rev. H.	O	10	O
Pike, C.	O	10	O	Walker, Hugh Wm.	O	10	O
Plummer, S.	O	10	O	Walker, John	O	10	O
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Prentice, Mrs. Ridley	I	I	O	Watson, James	O	0	6
Price, Miss Rebecca K.	O	10	O	Watson, Mrs.	O	10	6
Prideaux, Miss	...	...	O	2	6	Weale, Rev. F. L.	...	...	...	O	5	O
Provost, B. W.	...	...	O	5	O	Wedderburn, Sir W.	...	...	...	2	0	2
Radford, Geo. H.	...	...	2	2	O	White, J. W. R.	...	...	...	O	2	6
Ramsay, Rev. D. S.	...	...	O	10	O	Wildsmith, W.	...	...	...	O	5	O
Raven, Miss J. A.	...	...	I	I	O	Wilkinson, Rev. J. Frome	...	...	...	O	10	6
Read, Alfred	...	...	5	0	O	Williams, J.	...	...	...	O	5	O
Riches, Ralph	...	...	O	10	6	Williams, W. H., J.P., D.L.	...	...	...	2	2	O
Roberts, C. G.	...	...	O	5	O	Williams, Miss	...	...	...	I	1	O
Roberts, R.	...	...	I	0	O	Wilmer, Rev. G. Newman	...	...	...	O	10	6
Rooke, Rev. T. G.	...	...	O	10	O	Wilson, H. J., M.P.	...	...	...	2	0	O
Sale, Rev. E. T.	...	...	O	2	6	Winter, Ambrose, Junr.	...	...	...	O	10	6
Sandland, Henry	...	...	I	0	O	Wood, W. Martin	...	...	...	O	10	6
Saunders, Wm.	...	...	2	2	O	Wooderson, H. F.	...	...	...	I	1	O
Say, Mrs. Marcia	...	...	O	5	O	Wynam, C.	...	...	...	I	1	O
Schach, Mme.	...	...	O	5	O	Young, David	...	...	...	O	10	O
Scott, C. P.	...	...	I	I	O							
Scott, J.	...	...	O	10	6							
Scott, W. C.	...	...	I	0	O							
Shanp, J.	...	...	O	5	O							
Sharpe, D. Radford	...	...	I	I	O							
Shore-Smith, Mrs.	...	...	5	5	O							
Short, Rev. G.	...	...	O	10	O							
Sidgwick, Arthur	...	...	3	0	O							

Subscriptions to the Home Rule Union should be sent to the Secretary, 17 & 18, Palace Chambers, Westminster. Annual Subscribers of Five Shillings and upwards to the Home Rule Union will receive the Monthly Journal free.

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* * * Communications, &c., relating to the supply of the JOURNAL should be addressed to the Hon. Treasurer; other communications to the Editor of the JOURNAL, 17 & 18, Chambers Palace Bridge Street, Westminster.

ANOTHER PILL TO CURE THE IRISH EARTHQUAKE.

LORD LONDONDERRY has at last succeeded in forcing upon the Government his resignation of the Viceroyalty, and feeling, no doubt, that he has solved the Irish Question (for that has been the tenor of his Viceregal speeches), he returns to the more congenial pursuits from which a hard fate had torn him away. After many askings and many refusals, a successor has been found in Lord Zetland, of whose achievements we must confess to have been hitherto ignorant, and of whom even now we can gather little more than that he, too, is "a familiar figure on the turf." The resignation and the appointment are not in themselves matters of very great account. Whether it be one hereditary nonentity or another

who is for the time being deputed to insult the Irish people can hardly excite interest in any rational human being. It is only one more of the oddities of English rule in Ireland that Newmarket is henceforth to be the training ground for Tory governors. Lord Londonderry's resignation, however, has been made the occasion for renewing the old proposal of abolishing the Viceroyalty altogether. A number of Irish Peers and Members of Parliament, every one of whom might boast that he had done something for the misgovernment of his country, waited on Lord Salisbury the other day to urge upon him the advisability of replacing the Lord-Lieutenant by a Secretary of State. As the question is of some importance, and as the proposal seems to many people plausible enough, it is worth while to give the reasons for the change as stated in the memorial of the deputation. They were as follows :-

" 1. The existence of the Viceroyalty encourages the idea that the complete union between Great Britain and Ireland has not taken place.

" 2. The circumstance that the Lord-Lieutenant is not, like a colonial governor, above the strife of party, but is obliged to assume the double position of representative of the Sovereign and member of the Irish Executive Government, places the holder of the office in an anomalous position.

" 3. The saving of money effected by the abolition of the Viceroyalty could be

employed for the purpose of maintaining a Royal residence in Ireland.

"4. The discontinuance of the Vice-royalty, and the transfer of the executive duties now performed by the Lord-Lieutenant and a Chief Secretary to a Secretary of State and Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Ireland, would assimilate the administration of Ireland with that of the rest of the United Kingdom. It should be remembered that the Act of Union makes no reference to the existence or maintenance of the Lord Lieutenantcy; that during the first half of the present century the opinion of many of the most distinguished statesmen of the age was expressed in favour of its abolition, and that when in 1850 Lord John Russell introduced his Bill to effect the change, it passed the second reading of the House of Commons by a majority of 225 votes (395 to 170). We submit that while no valid reasons can be produced against the abolition of the Lord Lieutenantcy, there are many reasons of imperative importance in its favour."

As the memorial states, the proposal is an old one, and was formerly regarded with a considerable amount of favour. It was in contemplation when the Act of Union was passed, and was even regarded as a necessary part of the arrangement; but the favourable occasion for carrying it out never arose. Several times it came before Parliament, but no Government was ever found to take it up with any show of vigour. Even Lord John Russell's Bill of 1850 (the introduction of which is said to have been in fulfilment of a promise made to Lord Clarendon on his accepting the Viceroyalty), though the second reading was carried by a large majority, was forthwith dropped, and no more heard of. It was renewed by Mr. Roebuck in 1857 and 1858, but without result; and since that time it has dropped out of sight. As it is an old proposal, so the reasons for it are very old too. Every one of the considerations

pressed upon Lord Salisbury was pressed upon Parliament by Lord John Russell.

At the first blush the scheme looks very plausible. We keep denouncing the Castle and all its works, and fortify ourselves in doing so by a most useful comparison drawn from the unrevised speeches of Mr. Chamberlain between Castle government and the rule of Russia in Poland. We would abolish the Castle; why, then, should we not begin by abolishing the Viceroy? Why should we not take the Unionist peers at their word, and spare the Irish people the insult of having to go to the English turf to find their governors?

Plausible as it may be, the proposal would be a thoroughly mischievous one if there were the slightest probability of its being carried into effect. A little consideration will show why this is so. There may be room for difference of opinion as to the particular form which Home Rule should take; but there is room for none on this point—that we must once and for ever put an end to the notion that any English minister, however wise or well-meaning, can so govern Ireland as both to maintain her position in the English Parliament and to satisfy the Irish people. Nothing is more plain than that Westminster is not the place to discuss Irish questions; for at Westminster they are discussed, not from the point of view of Irish needs, but from the point of view of English political necessities.

Now, if the abolition of the Vice-royalty means anything, it is a step towards an even closer assimilation of the two countries than exists at present. The proposal is frankly made with this intention, and is a simple, logical consequence of Unionism. If English ideas are to prevail in the government of Ireland, by all means do away with an institution whose existence is a standing declaration that Ireland occupies a peculiar position. If we are to make

Cork like York (to use Mr. Roebuck's phrase) the continued maintenance of the Viceroyalty is an absurd anachronism. To us, however, the policy of assimilation is a foolish, discredited, and fatal policy, which it is our duty strenuously to resist. The more we try to make Cork like York the more shall we increase the disaffection of the Irish people. Let us, therefore, leave the Viceroyalty alone. With all the ignoble associations which have gathered round the institution, it is, nevertheless, a permanent protest against the policy which would make Ireland conform to English ideas. There is a vital difference in the circumstances of the two countries, and we need to be reminded of the fact.

We have quoted the reasons which have been given for the proposal. Let us set against them the following brief considerations:—1. If the existence of the Viceroyalty encourages the idea that the complete union between Great Britain and Ireland has not taken place, so much the better; for, in point of fact, that complete union has not taken place. 2. If the position of the Lord-Lieutenant is anomalous in the way described, the remedy is easy: we can place him above the strife of English political parties by removing Irish affairs from the sphere of English politics. 3. It is too late now to think of effacing the Irish feeling of nationality by maintaining a Royal residence in Ireland. 4. Just because the discontinuance of the Viceroyalty would be a step towards the assimilation of the administration of Ireland with that of the rest of the United Kingdom, do we consider the proposal to be retrograde and dangerous.

A PARALLEL TO IRISH LAND-LORDISM.

THE original of the following extract can be found in Tourguenéff's "Mémoires d'un seigneur Russe." The book appeared in 1852; since then

the emancipation of the serfs has lessened their burdens.

To see unfriended peasants suffer cruel wrong at the hands of absentee landlords and their agents, need involve neither a journey to Russia, nor much burrowing among past records. The picture here presented gives but a heightened version of grievances nearer home, and more recent, than it is agreeable to contemplate.

The situation is clear; Arcadi Pavlytch, a non-resident landowner of callous disposition, takes an acquaintance (the narrator of the incident) to visit his estate, concerning whose management by the bailiff, Sophron, he has expressed himself in terms of unmeasured praise.

Here is what happened as we passed out of the shed containing the machine. A few steps from the door, near a pond where some ducks were swimming and flapping their wings, stood two peasants; the one, an old man of seventy, the other a lad of twenty, both clad in patched and pieced shirts, both girt with a rope in lieu of belt, and bare-footed. The local ædile, Fedocéitch, was making himself mighty busy all round, and would probably have induced them to move on, had we remained much longer in the shed; but seeing us come out, he quickly assumed a military erectness, his vehement gesticulations subdued to a statuesque frigidity. Close by, the overseer was likewise pulling himself together, with mouth agape, and fists perplexedly working. Arcadi Pavlytch knit his brow, bit his lips, and walked up to the group. The two peasants prostrated themselves at his feet.

"What do you want?" he asked, in a stern and slightly nasal voice. The poor creatures glanced furtively at one another, unable to proffer a single word; they blinked as though something had dazzled them, and their breath came quick.

"Well, what's the matter?" began Arcadi Pavlytch again; then turning to Sophron, "What family do they belong to?"

"The Toboleïf family," answered the bailiff slowly, adding—"Come now, what is the matter? Have you no tongue, eh? Speak, old man, what is it you're wanting? Don't be frightened, you fool." The old man craned forward his bronzed and wrinkled neck, lifted a blue appealing lip, and in a tremulous voice said:

"Come to our rescue, my lord."

Again he bowed his forehead to the ground; the young fellow did much the same. Arcadi Pavlytch gazed severely at their bent necks, then shifting his position and raising his head, he asked: "What's all this about? Of whom do you complain? Let us hear."

"Mercy, my lord; breathing time. We are tortured. . . . We"

"Who is there here to torture you?"

"Sophron Iakovlitch, the bailiff." "Your name," said my travelling companion, after a pause.

"Anthippe, my lord."

Arcadi Pavlytch again relapsed into silence, twisting his moustache the while; then he resumed :

"Well, in what way has he tormented you so grievously?" and he cast upon the poor wretch very lofty glance from between the points of his moustache.

"My lord, he has utterly beggared and ruined us. He has, contrary to regulation, given two of my sons to the conscription; and now here he is wanting to deprive me of the third. Only yesterday he took away my last cow; and his grace the overseer, who is verily a son of his blood, has beaten my housekeeper. Ah! my good lord, do not suffer him to wreck us utterly."

M. Péenotchkine was greatly embarrassed; he coughed several times, then, with an air of annoyance, and lowering his voice, he inquired of the bailiff what he was to think of such a charge.

"He is a drunkard, sir," answered the bailiff glibly enough, "a drunkard and an idler; he does no work, he has been in arrears these five years, sir."

"Sophron Iakovlitch has paid for me, my lord," interposed the old man. "This is the fifth year that he has paid in my stead; and, as he pays for me, he has made me his surety, his very slave, my lord, and . . ."

"But all this does not tell me what has caused the deficit," said M. Péenotchkine, sharply. The old man's head dropped down. "It is because you drink, eh? and frequent public-houses. . . ." The old man made a movement, as if to explain.

"I know your ways," pursued Arcadi Pavlytch. "You pass your life boasting and sleeping in the chimney-corner; and it's the hard-working peasant who assumes your burdens, who . . ."

"And he is insolent into the bargain," added the bailiff, without fear of being himself thought insolent for interrupting his master.

"Insolent! that is a matter of course; it's always the way. I've noticed that times without end. An idler gives himself up all the year round to reckless living, to evil courses, and then, one fine day, he throws himself at his master's feet."

"My good lord," exclaimed the old man, in a tone of despairing anguish, "in the name of God come to our rescue. He has the face to call me insolent! Ah! I tell you, in the hearing of God, the means of livelihood are no longer mine. . . . Sophron Iakovlitch has a grudge against me, wherefore God alone can say; but he has ruined me, overwhelmed me, destroyed me. . . . Here is my last remaining child. . . . and now. . . ." A tear rolled down the old man's

yellow, furrowed cheek. "In the name of God, my good lord, come to our rescue. . . ."

"And it is not us alone whom he persecutes," put in the young peasant.

Arcadi Pavlytch grew wrath at the poor lad's intervention; up to this point no word had been uttered by him.

"And you! who asked for your opinion, I should like to know? If you are not questioned, how dare you to speak? What does all this mean? Hold your tongue, hold your tongue! By God, but this looks like a mutiny! Ah! but with me it doesn't answer to mutiny! I . . ."

Arcadi Pavlytch was on the point of yielding to some impulse, whose violence he might afterwards have regretted, but probably he once more became mindful of my presence, for he restrained himself, and thrust his hands into his pockets. Then, addressing me in French, he said:

"Excuse me, my dear fellow"; and, in an undertone, with a forced smile: "This is the seamy side of the cloth, the reverse of the medal." Then, speaking in Russian, he continued, turning to the peasants, but without looking at them: "All right, all right, I shall take steps . . . all right now, you can go." (They did not move.) "Well, don't you hear me say that it's all right . . . be off then . . . I shall give orders, I tell you; go!" Arcadi turned his back upon them, murmuring: "Always some fresh annoyance," and made off in haste for his bailiff's house, followed by that personage. . . . The supplicants, after a few minutes of complete stupor, looked at one another, and retraced their homeward way without casting a glance behind.

. . . As I walked along with Anapadiste, I spoke a few words to him about M. Péenotchkine and the Chipilovka peasants, and asked him if he were acquainted with the bailiff of that district.

"Do you mean Sophron Iakovlitch?"

"Yes; what manner of man is he?"

"He is no man, he's a brute; and such an unmitigated brute that you would not meet with the like of him between this and Koursk."

"Is that really the case?"

"I tell you, sir, Chipilovka belongs only in appearance to—to that—bah! what signifies his title?—Péenotchkine; that gentleman is not the proprietor; the true proprietor is none other than Sophron."

"You really believe it?"

"He has made Chipilovka his own domain for life. Just consider that there is not one peasant there who is not up to the eyes in debt to him, so that he holds them all within his grasp; he uses them as he may choose, sends them whithersoever he may wish, does as he pleases with them. They are his victims." . . .

"Why don't the peasants complain about him to their real master?"

"Ah, sir, that master gets his rents; they are regularly paid; he is satisfied. Should complaint be made, what does he do? He says to the complainant: 'Get away, get away, go, or he will . . . Now then, be off, away with you, or he will treat you as he did so-and-so and so-and-so.'

This recalled to my mind Anthippe and his son, and I briefly recounted what I had that morning witnessed.

"Well," said Anapadiste, Sophron will eat up that old man; he will suck him to the very marrow. . . . He knows where he can make his bed; he doesn't go attacking rich old men, with nails and teeth and money, and sons and nephews; but here he can get good sport. You know that he has sent two of Anthippe's sons to the army, execrable scoundrel that he is, without regard to the conscription regulations."

Then we went off to hunt.

NOTES FROM IRELAND.

OUR Dublin correspondent writes to us:—

"DUBLIN, May 25th.

"The Protestant Home Rule Association held a most successful meeting the 9th May. The meeting was important, coming shortly after Mr. Balfour's speech to the Nonconformists, also as taking place during the annual sitting of the Protestant Church Synod in Dublin.

"The Rev. Prof. Galbraith occupied the chair. At the very outset the keynote of the meeting was struck in a vigorous letter from Dr. Kidd, an ex-president of the College of Physicians, who, apologising for his absence, wrote: 'I can only regard the policy outlined in Lord Salisbury's recent speech, and in the scheme of Local Government that has been hinted at, as a policy for keeping up sectarian strife and dividing the Irish people, that they may be more easily governed.'

"The Chairman was not less emphatic. 'In his opinion, this mode of distributing the local management (that proposed by Mr. Chamberlain) would be absolutely disastrous to Protestant interests.' Ulster was not altogether a Protestant province; the Protestants were to the Catholics but as twelve to eleven in Ulster. Outside Ulster the Protestants in the other three provinces would be in a small minority. 'Therefore this proposal, so far as the Protestants were concerned, would not be acceptable at all. It would be far better for them if they were to consider their interests as adverse to those of the Catholics, but they were not adverse to them'—(applause)—'to meet them in common assembly in that city. . . . And the Protestants being

only about one-fourth of the whole population of Ireland, he and his friends on that platform would far sooner meet the opposite party—if they were to consider them as opposite—on a common floor, and do the best things they could by their eloquence, and wisdom, and common sense, than surrender themselves to this patchwork business of four councils.' But perhaps the most effective point was made when Prof. Galbraith quoted from a speech by Mr. C. C. Colby, delivered in the House of Commons, Ottawa, on the Jesuits Estates Act (26th March). Efforts have been made to represent the Jesuits Estates Bill as an act of aggression on the part of the Catholics of Quebec, and as indicating what may be expected in Ireland under Home Rule. The good sense of the Dominion Legislature has not, however, been influenced by the threatening language of the Toronto Orangemen, and the action of the provincial Assembly of Quebec has been ratified by the Dominion Parliament. Mr. Colby is a Protestant and representative from Quebec. His speech deserves to be printed as a Home Rule leaflet, and could not fail to do much towards laying the Rome rule bogey so unscrupulously paraded by our opponents.

"I need not apologise for the length of the following extract:

"I believe there is nowhere in this dominion a body of Protestants more willing to vindicate their rights, more willing to make sacrifices for the preservation of their rights, than are the Protestants of the Province of Quebec. I do not believe they are disloyal to Protestant ideas. But the Protestants of the Province of Quebec have lived for many years in close relation and in close contact with their fellow-citizens of a different religion, and many prejudices which the one might otherwise feel against the other have been worn away by contact. The Protestants and the Catholics of the Province of Quebec, so far as I know their relations, live happily together upon mutually respecting terms, each respecting the other's rights, each respecting even the other's sensibilities and prejudices, and co-operating together, working together, for what they believe to be for the common interests, without jealousy, without friction, without over-sensitiveness, recognising the good things in each other; if they differ, quietly differing, and not making themselves obnoxious to each other. These are the relations which have grown out of long years of personal contact, living together side by side, meeting and knowing each other. That is a happy condition of affairs, but it is an actual condition of affairs in those parts of the Province with which I am personally acquainted. That is not a condition of affairs that the Protestants of Quebec desire to have disturbed. The Protestants of Quebec, and I think I fairly voice their sentiments,

acknowledge the fact—if they do not acknowledge it to be so, it is a fact—that there never was a minority in any country treated with more justice, with more liberality, with more generosity than the Protestant minority of the Province of Quebec have been treated, irrespective of political parties. They have always had the control of affairs that most concerned them, those matters connected with education and other matters concerning which the Protestants were most interested as Protestants, and they have had as much control over such questions as if they had had an entire legislature of Protestants; they have not been meddled with, they have simply been permitted to manage their own affairs, and they have not felt that they were in a minority in any instance that I recollect."

"On the 23rd we had a meeting of a rather different sort. Mrs. Fawcett addressed a Unionist gathering in the Ancient Concert Rooms, under the joint auspices of the Primrose League and the Women's Liberal Association. The attendance, judging from the list of names published, does not appear to have been quite as representative of 'wealth and intelligence' as usual. The speeches were characteristically devoid of thought, its place being supplied by that cheap kind of debating society smartness which ruffles the surface of great questions.

"Mrs. Fawcett had been but a few days in Ireland, yet she assured her audience 'she had seen enough to convince her of the truth of every word in the description given of boycotting in the life of the late Mr. Forster.' Then followed a blood-curdling extract. But we are not surprised that Mrs. Fawcett should have had such deeds of darkness to recount. She certainly saw some strange things in her two days' visit to Donegal. And 'could not help being struck by the very substantial comfort and well-to-do condition of the peasants of the country (Donegal) compared with the condition of the agricultural classes of Suffolk and Wiltshire.' But why go so far down the agricultural scale as Suffolk and Wiltshire? For, as Mrs. Fawcett subsequently tells us, she saw many of the Donegal 'peasant women wearing excellent stout skirt cloth dresses, with a deep band of velvet at the bottom, and other clothes she saw elaborately trimmed with velvet.' 'True,' she says, 'in some districts they saw some working in fields who were dismally arrayed in rags; but then some allowance must be made for the national custom in this respect.' This last remark is worthy to rank with 'Hottentots' and 'black man,' but it passed this audience of Irish Unionists without a murmur. The explanation of Mrs. Fawcett's wonderful experience is simply that she was 'personally conducted' in her visit to Donegal. As she naïvely remarks: 'The friend who was driving her, and who knew the

district all his life, said there was no such thing as a starving peasant in Donegal.' This, as the Americans would say, is rather too thin—unless, after the Balfourian method, a peasant with an ample supply of seaweed, not to speak of Indian meal at times, cannot be accurately described as starving.

"A sufficient commentary on the prosperity of Donegal is furnished in the refusal of the Irish Land Commissioners to sanction the sale, under Lord Ashburn's Act, of a portion of the Drapers' property in Derry, a neighbouring county, and one of the prosperous counties of Ulster. The Commissioners refused on the ground of the irregularities in the agreements for sale entered into between the company and their tenants. The following extract from a letter addressed by the Secretary of the Commission to the Drapers' Company (*Freeman's Journal*, May 25th) throws also some light on the independent position the tenants are supposed to occupy when entering into contracts of sale under the Ashburn Act. I have italicised a few lines:—

"Without entering into any question which might arise as to the impoverished condition of some of the tenants, the amount of arrears due, and the ejectment proceedings pending at the time of the execution of the contracts for sale, or to irregularities in the execution of two of these contracts, and without reference to the sufficiency of security, the Commissioners are not prepared to entertain applications for advances based on agreements so prepared, and entered into."

ARBITRATION OR THE BATTERING-RAM?

We have more than once called attention to the admirable efforts of Archbishop Walsh to procure the adoption of the method of friendly arbitration for the settlement of differences between landlords and tenants in Ireland. In the *Contemporary Review* for June he gives an account of the history and results of his efforts under the significant title of "Arbitration or the Battering-ram?" It is an instructive and sad story, and should do something to open the eyes of those who keep repeating that Irish tenants are irreconcilable. For nothing is clearer than that the resistance to a peaceful settlement has come not from the tenants, but from the landlords and their friends. The tenants have been ready to accept intervention; and the Nationalist press has counselled moderation, and seconded the efforts of the Archbishop. From the landlord party nothing has proceeded but delay, difficulties, and refusal. The Unionist press in Ireland and in Great Britain has sneered at the attempt to bring about peace, and has turned it to party

account as being an exhibition of weakness on the tenants' part. It seems incredible after all the highly moral protestations in which Unionists indulge, but it is nevertheless true, that, rather than abate one jot of their demands, they are prepared to leave Ireland in a state of turmoil and discontent. The Archbishop's article should be read by everyone who doubts that this is a true statement of the facts. Not attempting to summarise it, we shall give an excellent appendix which he has written in reply to a criticism in the *Evening Mail*. He had spoken of "peace with honour" as the end to be attained by arbitration; and "peace with justice" was suggested as a better combination. This is the Archbishop's reply:—

"The distinction is an obvious one. You are right in assuming that the phrase which I used was used deliberately. I purposely abstained from speaking of strict 'justice' as the issue to be hoped for in any feasible settlement of the Irish Land Question; for if action in this matter is to be postponed until a settlement on the basis of absolute justice to the tenants comes within the range of practical politics, we may as well at once make up our minds to face the prospect of endless strife in Ireland.

"Justice, in any proper sense of the word, to the tenants of Ireland means absolute ruin to the vast majority of the Irish landlords. I can answer for it that the tenants have never pressed for this. At any time within the past ten years settlement, satisfactory to them, though in many respects far short of the requirements of justice, could have been come to on the basis of 'Peace with honour.' Such a settlement would have enabled landlords as well as tenants to 'live and thrive.'

"I never, of course, at any time regarded the Land Act of 1881 as securing anything like justice to the tenants of Ireland. At the time of the passing of that Act through Parliament the Tory Party, no doubt, complained of it as giving too much to the tenants, and as taking from the landlords all that it so gave. Yet, in 1887, even a Tory Ministry felt constrained to recognise the justice of taking from the landlords, for the purpose of giving to the tenants, something, and, indeed, a good deal more. But there is no finality in the Act of 1887, as there was none in the Act of 1881. The provisions of the later Act, like those of its predecessor, are altogether short of what justice demands; and neither by the tenants of Ireland, nor by the representatives of their views in Parliament or in Irish public life, was either of those Acts, at the time of its passing, or subsequently, accepted as in any sense a settlement of the Irish Land Question.

"No possible 'tinkering'—the word is Lord

Salisbury's—with the Irish Land Question by a mere amendment of either of those Acts could result in a really just solution of the existing difficulties. But, short of justice, there is much that can be done.

"It seems rather soon to forget the noble words spoken by a great English orator and statesman in the debate on the second reading of the Land Bill of 1881:—

"Honourable members assume that we are giving a great deal to the tenant, and that we are taking all this, without compensation from the landlords. . . . If you complain that the Bill gives too much to the tenants and takes all that it does give from the landlords, I should make this answer:—

"If, at this moment, all that the tenants have done were gone, and all that the landlords have done were left—that is the sort of map I should very much like to see, for its publication would finish the discussion in five minutes. If that were to take place, if all that the tenants had done were to be swept off the soil, and all that the landlords have done were left upon it, the land would be as bare of house and barn, fences and cultivation, as it was in prehistoric times. It would be as *bare as an American prairie* where the Indian now roams, and where the white man has never trod.

"I believe, and I think I am within the mark, that nine-tenths . . . of all that is to be seen on the farm-land of Ireland—the houses, barns, fences, and whatever you call cultivation, or *freeing land from the wilderness*—have been placed there by the labour of the tenantry of Ireland, and not at the expense of the landlords."

"For my part, indeed, I am not inclined to go to the full length to which this memorable declaration of John Bright's, if pushed inexorably to its logical issue, would bring us. But, short of that issue, and in advance of the halting compromise embodied in our present Irish land code, there is a sadly wide margin. Within that margin it would not, I venture to say, be found impossible, nor even very difficult, to find a basis of settlement fully answering the description conveyed by the phrase which I have used in my article. In any such honourable settlement the tenants would willingly, and even gladly, acquiesce. When the prospect of such a settlement comes in view, no demand from the tenants for abstract justice will be found to block the way.

"You, I know, measure the justice of the tenants' demands by one standard, whilst I measure it by another. A claim may seem most just and reasonable when viewed from the tenants' standpoint, whilst it seems most unjust and unreasonable when viewed from that of the landlords. This is precisely the reason why I have so

earnestly pressed for recourse to arbitration. Arbitration is, in my view, the only available means of bringing about a working agreement between the two contending classes."

NOTES BY THE WAY.

Throwing up the Sponge.—Notes of despair are pretty frequent now-a-days among the ranks of the Unionists. The *never—never—never* style of oratory is dying out. Mr. Goschen's spirits must be at a low ebb when, even the close vicinity of his staunchest supporters on the festive occasion of a Liberal Union Club dinner fails to preserve him from discussing the possibility of his party's defeat. How will the Ulster Loyalists regard their outlook when they read that "Referring to the prospects of the next general election, Mr. Goschen expressed himself in the most hopeful manner of the chances of the Unionist Party; but even if the latter were beaten, he begged his friends in Ireland not to throw up the sponge or to lose confidence in their fellow-countrymen on this side of the channel, for they might be sure the latter would continue the struggle in the same spirit as before." Does this look as if the Unionists were winning? The signs of the times are not lost upon Mr. Balfour either, but he treats the situation in a spirit of schoolboy bravado. "If some one endowed with a perfect insight into futurity were to tell me that in three or four years' time, or whenever the next general election happens, a large Separatist majority would be returned, that that Separatist majority could be found to agree upon a Bill—that, having been able to agree upon a Bill, they were able to pass it through the House of Commons, that having passed it through the House of Commons they were able to pass it through the House of Lords, and that, therefore, in five years' time, or thereabouts, Home Rule would be established, I should require very special guarantees as to the credibility of my witness, although, if those guarantees were given me, no doubt I should have to believe him. But if I believed him I would not alter my conduct by one iota." Which utterance was greeted with vociferous applause, the audience rising to their feet and waving pocket-handkerchiefs. Did it not occur to any of those present that the utter lack of statesmanship which so expressed itself forms, and has ever formed, one of our main difficulties in dealing with the Irish question?

A Straightforward Declaration.—"We are told that it was our intention in this agitation of ours to subvert the authority of the Crown, and to organise an armed rebellion. Speaking for myself, I cannot admit, I cannot recollect, that I

have ever—certainly not in public speech, but even in my own mind—contemplated the contingency of failure of our movement, and I certainly never have contemplated what our action would be if that movement failed. But I will say to you, gentlemen, to-night, that if our constitutional movement were to fail—and I believe when I speak thus that I speak the opinions of my eighty-five colleagues in the House of Commons—I say if our constitutional movement were to fail, if it became evident that we could not by Parliamentary action and continued representation at Westminster restore to Ireland the high privilege of self-government, and of making her own laws in our own house at home, I for one would not continue to remain for twenty-four hours longer in the House of Commons at Westminster; and I believe, as I have said, that in that sentiment I speak the views of my colleagues; but more than that, gentlemen, I believe the Irish constituencies would not consent to allow us to remain, and that has been the view which our countrymen at home and abroad have always taken of our action. They don't believe that we come here as mere Parliamentarians to humbug and cheat the just expectations of our people at home. They know we come here to obtain this definite and one object, and if by the way we tried to obtain other concessions it was because we were anxious to do good to the humbler classes as we went along. We would not willingly lose any opportunity of conferring benefit upon humanity, or upon the oppressed wherever they were. But the most advanced section of Irishmen, as well as the least advanced, have always thoroughly understood that the Parliamentary policy was to be a trial, and that we did not ourselves believe in the possibility of maintaining for all time, or for any lengthened period, an incorrupt and independent Irish representation at Westminster. That was the position that we have always laid before the Irish people at home and abroad. I believe that that position was accepted by our countrymen everywhere as a just one, and as one which was worth a trial, and that Irishmen everywhere felt that by doing that they have not been, and are not likely to be, disappointed of the results. I can only say in sitting down, in reference to the many and so exaggerated, and so far too complimentary remarks of the Lord Mayor of Dublin and the several gentlemen who have addressed me, I do not in the least, and I never have thought of attributing to myself the great progress that has been made during the last few years. I have had many and faithful colleagues, courageous and true; how faithful, how self-sacrificing, and how true the public will never know. I have had behind me a country whose pulse throbbed in sympathy with our exertions, and upon whose confidence and support we could rely and feel strong

in ; and if at any time we were inclined to falter, we were quickened and invigorated by the knowledge that all Irishmen, wherever they were, were looking to us to press on, and to do for them and for our country everything we could do, in season and out of season, to reflect truly their wishes and their opinions here in Westminster, and on the platform in Ireland. Strong in the support, confident in the good esteem of our own countrymen, we have remained at our post, and I believe we are very near reaping that richest and highest reward of all in the realisation of those hopes which have always gladdened the heart of every Irishman, whether in times of trial, of suffering, or of martyrdom, that some day or other it would be possible for the public opinion of Ireland to assert itself freely, and to lead our country, our self-governing country, along the path of nation-hood."—*Mr. Parnell at the Westminster Palace Hotel.*

Land Purchase from the Landlords' point of view.—The opposition excited in Parliament by the Government proposal to extend Lord Ashbourne's land purchase scheme, receives an unlooked-for justification from a no less authority than the Land Commissioners themselves. In the case of the Drapers' Estate, co. Derry, the conduct of those responsible for its transfer has forced the Commissioners to refuse their sanction to the agreements for sale to the tenants. Namely, in making their agreements, there had been withheld the vital fact of an almost universal reduction of rent which the County Court Judge had fixed some time before. The Commissioners said that "in the agreements the old rents are inserted, and all information as to the existence of orders fixing judicial rents was withheld from the Commissioners, and, further, that at the date of the agreements, or subsequently, receipts were given by the Drapers' Company's solicitor to many tenants for arrears due before November, 1885, and for costs and also for interest to November, 1888, on definite sums of money described in the receipts as 'the purchase money,' and apparently calculated at eighteen times the original amount. The total sums of unpaid rent named in these receipts, when added to the purchase-money mentioned in the receipts as given for interest, appears to amount to the price named in the agreement of sale. Without entering into any question of the impoverished condition of some of the tenants, the amount of arrears, and the ejectments pending at the time of execution of the contracts for sale, or of irregularities in the execution of two of the contracts, and without reference to the sufficiency of security, the Commissioners are not prepared to entertain applications for advances based on agreements so prepared and entered into. The Commissioners

are further of opinion that, except in about two cases, the holdings do not offer adequate security for the advances applied for ; and in the excepted cases the agreements did not disclose the existence of judicial rents. The Commissioners therefore decline to sanction any of the advances, and having regard to the facts disclosed, before directing an inspection on another division of the estate, namely the Draperstown division, they desire to be informed if judicial rents have been fixed there."

The best of Rent-payers.—We have noted with surprise the absence of comment by the papers on the alacrity to pay rent which the Vandeleur tenants have been displaying since the settlement effected between them and their landlord. "During the past fifty years," says a Kilrush telegram, "there has not been such enthusiasm about paying rents as that exhibited for the past two days by the Vandeleur tenants. From early morning till late at night the tenants have kept up a continuous rush on the agent with the contents of the war chest of the Plan of Campaign. There will not be five tenants on the entire Vandeleur estate but will have paid their rents." To those who know the Irish this manifestation of feeling is nothing extraordinary. It is perfectly compatible with the sturdiest refusal to go on maintaining landlords out of the earnings of children and friends across the Atlantic, or yield them the entire produce of laborious days of battle with bogs and stones and the forces of nature.

Arrangements between Landlords and Tenants.—During the month of April no less than 1,635 agreements fixing fair rents were lodged with the Land Commissioners, besides ten that were lodged in the Civil Bill Courts. More than half these settlements have been effected upon the Marquis of Downshire's estate, agreements for judicial rents having been lodged in 898 cases. Upon that of the Earl of Dartrey, in Monaghan, there were 149 settlements; on the Earl of Wicklow's, 34. The reductions average about twenty per cent. "Yet," say the *Freeman's Journal*, "these landlords who thus admit that the old rents are excessive, do not scruple to exhort the worst members of their class to levy a war of extermination upon the tenantry."

Why there is an Irish Land Question.—The following incident is an illustration of the fact, to which we allude elsewhere in connection with Archbishop Walsh's article, that it is landlord obstruction—not tenant dishonesty—which prevents a settlement of the Irish Land Question. The report is from the *Daily News* of June 4th:—"At the Naas Quarter Sessions to-day, before

County Court Judge Darley, ejectments were heard at the suit of Mr. O'Kelly, of the famous Clongorey Estate, against eighteen tenants. Fifteen of the tenants who had not judicial leases served notices to have fair rents fixed, and all served notice of application for a stay of ejectment proceedings. Mr. Rutledge, the agent, was examined, and said he would allow 10 per cent. off the arrears; he would offer no reduction on future rents. The judge said in this matter he would follow the report of the court valuer, Mr. Barrington, an independent gentleman. This report was a vindication of the tenants' position. It dwelt on the poverty of the holdings. Many of the tenants could not live by the land alone if they had it for nothing; their incomes being derived from other sources. It was admitted that the houses, which were mud cabins, were built by the tenants or their predecessors. The report had appended to it a schedule of fair rents recommended by the court valuer. In the case of the fifteen tenants the total rent charged was £90 1s., and this was reduced to £69 4s. 6d. The judge said he would be very glad to deal with the arrears if he had the power. He would advise the landlord to take the arrears at the figure of the fair rent. The solicitor for the landlord said that this would not be done, and the judge gave a stay of proceedings. He must, he said, ask the landlord whether he would not wipe out these arrears altogether, as the tenants had built the houses and reclaimed the land."

History repeats itself.—On the 18th ult. the Dublin correspondent of the *Daily News* wrote as follows:—"At the Queenstown Petty Sessions to-day Father Barry brought under the notice of a large bench of magistrates a report which had appeared in a Belfast Orange newspaper to the effect that the premises of a Protestant tract shop in Queenstown had been wrecked by a gang of roughs on the night of the 6th inst., volley after volley of stones being thrown into it. The rev. gentleman characterised the report as a gross fabrication. Head-constable Courteney stated that he had made inquiries into the matter, and the only foundation for the story was that a little boy had broken one pane of glass with a stone. The magistrates thanked Father Barry for exposing the calumny. Subsequently, at a meeting of the Town Commissioners, the report referred to was unanimously condemned as an attempt to create bitterness between Catholics and Protestants in Ireland."

In a footnote on p. 260 of "Two Centuries of Irish History," we read:—"Mr. Baron Fletcher, in his charge to the grand jury of Wexford in this year (1814), quotes the following specimen of the exaggerated stories then current: 'Such is the

disturbed state of Ireland that one of the judges of assize upon the Leinster circuit, Mr. Justice Fletcher, in coming from Kilkenny to Clonmel, was pelted by stones in the town of Collan, and owed his safety to the dragoons that escorted him.' On reading this statement the judge made inquiry, and found a stone had indeed been thrown at his escort of five dragoons by a child of seven years old. This, he observes, was the entire outrage."

Coercion in Theory and Coercion in Fact.—On June 5th, Mr. Balfour, speaking at Portsmouth, declared that "the policy which has been falsely or foolishly described as a coercive policy simply consists in the providing of machinery by which the law—not law peculiar to Ireland, but the law which is universal amongst civilised nations—may be carried out." We extract from the *Freeman's Journal* of the same date (June 5th) the following illustration of "the law which is universal amongst civilised nations":—

"A Coercion Court at Miltown-Malbay was held to-day, the presiding Removables being Mr. Hodder and Captain Welsh, to hear a charge against a boy of fifteen years of age, named Thomas Clancy, of inciting to boycott cattle belonging to Mrs. Moroney. According to the evidence these cattle were sent to the fair by a man named Devitt, in the employment of Mrs. Moroney. When purchasers approached the cattle the boy interfered by telling them that they were boycotted, as they belonged to Mrs. Moroney. Mrs. Moroney stated in court that she had been boycotted since 1882, but she was able to get any goods she wanted. The court required the boy to enter into recognisances to be of good behaviour for twelve months, himself in £10 and two sureties in £5 each. He, however, refused to give bail, and was committed to Limerick Jail for a month." On the same day Mr. Cecil Roche and Mr. Macdermott thus distinguished themselves:—

"Mr. Cecil Roche, R.M., and Mr. A. J. Macdermott, R.M., sat to-day at Killarney to hear a charge against Michael Fleming of having boycotted cattle dealers at the May fair of Killarney. Half a dozen English ladies occupied seats in a gallery of the Court, and some of them took notes of the proceedings. Evidence having been given by policemen and the cattle dealers, two of whom swore that that they were not intimidated, Mr. Moriarty, for the defence, addressed the Court, arguing that there was no evidence at all of conspiracy. Mr. Fleming, who has been in custody since Saturday, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment."

An Invitation to Crime.—Proclamations have been issued "suppressing and prohibiting" the National League in three districts in the

Queen's County. What political purpose can be served by this we do not know, unless it has some connection with the fact that for Father McFadden's trial the venue is laid in Queen's County. It cannot have been intended, for it was not needed, in the interests of law and order, for Queen's County is among the most law-abiding places in Ireland. In the month of March Mr. Justice Holmes told the grand jury that "the cases to go before them were six in number, but only four of them related to offences alleged to have occurred in their county. None of these four were serious, and so far as the business that was to go before them was concerned, he could congratulate them upon the state of the county." If this is so, surely these proclamations are a pretty plain intimation to the inhabitants of Queen's County that they can gain nothing by keeping the peace. Men are in prison in Ireland to-day for incitements to crime less dangerous than these proclamations.

Boycotting the Home Rule Union Van.

—"We were rather surprised to find that the men who had charge of the Home Rule Van and their hard-worked horse were boycotted at Bishop's Lydeard. The men were denied refreshment, and the horse was denied a stable. The boycott was, of course, applied by the Conservatives, the very men who denounce boycotting in Ireland. The position was most instructive. In the end a lady purchased a loaf and a quarter-pound of butter for the men, and an arrangement was made for feeding the horse. When next the Bishop's Lydeard Tories talk about Ireland they must say nothing about boycotting. Satan reproving sin is not an edifying spectacle."—*Somersetshire Express*.

The Irish in America.—The address recently sent to Mr. Gladstone by the Governors of the States of Minnesota and Wisconsin contains the following passage, which gives valuable testimony to the capacity of the Irish people:—"Accustomed as we are to a system that guarantees to each State the right of local self-government without impairing the powers of an efficient general government, it is difficult for us to comprehend the fierce opposition to your proposal to allow a limited autonomy to Ireland. We look to the success of your policy as a great step toward the final settlement of the so-called Irish question on an enduring basis of justice. We feel that we have some right to give expression to our interest in such a settlement because of the presence amongst us of so vast a body of people of Irish birth or lineage. The Irish people in this country have shown their ready adaptation to our institutions, and in the course of a generation or two they become indistinguishable from other Americans, thus proving that

under natural conditions their conduct affords no warrant for the charge of their enemies that they are inherently unfit for self-government."

Misgovernment, and the meaning of Home Rule.—“The Chief Secretary for Ireland the other day used a remarkable expression. He said that every day and every hour in which they used the strong arm of the law to protect the weak against the strong—the weak against the strong, gentlemen!—was a day and an hour gained. Is he protecting the weak against the strong when he brings his battering-ram to bear against the houses of the miserable tenants in Donegal, when his officials arrest an Englishman for giving bread to starving tenants, or when he sends spies after every Englishman who visits unfortunate Donegal? I should like you to realise what these poor people in Ireland are like, and I hope you will find time to read the evidence now being given before the Special Commission—evidence from the mouths of priests and bishops—describing the condition of the people. The Bishop of Galway, speaking of the famine in 1846, said: ‘I have seen these people carrying soil on their backs and putting it into the bogs. I have seen the loam soil deposited by them, and I think I have seen it in baskets on their backs, and subsequently I have seen crops raised on these bogs. In the case of an eviction all that labour is forfeited.’ Well, but people may say, ‘What has Home Rule to do with the famine of 1846? Home Rule will not waken the dead, and bring to life the millions that have so miserably perished.’ No, but there is a lesson to be learned from these events. How came Ireland to be in that terrible condition? It came into it because the landlords had been allowed to use their own blind and selfish will, unchecked by public opinion; and that argument applies to to-day. Gentlemen, the broad proposition, if I am asked to put Home Rule against any one argument, is this simple one—that to govern a country without any regard to the public opinion of that country, without listening for a moment to a word which falls from those who know the condition of that country and its needs, and who must warmly sympathise with it, is misgovernment; whereas Home Rule means giving to Irishmen, who interest themselves in something beyond the recollections of their own dismal history, something to work for and something to call out the brains and energies of Ireland.”—John Morley at Shoreditch.

Home Rule for Scotland.—Mr. W. Mitchell, of the Scottish Home Rule Association, has sent us a pamphlet (Gardner: Paisley) containing a speech delivered by him at the National Liberal Club, which gives an excellent statement of the case for Home Rule for Scotland. Even

by those whose sole interest is in Ireland, the question should be studied, for it will be of considerable importance at the next General Election. "With a determination," says Mr. Mitchell, "which, if not respected, will surprise the Liberal party at the next election, Scotland is calmly formulating her claim to self-government. She insists upon having within her own borders a legislature and an executive responsible to their legislature which, in power and dignity, will be worthy of an ancient and independent kingdom, and which will attract to its councils the best of her people. She will not relinquish, however, her interest in the great colonial and Indian empire. Scotland recognises the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, and will be content with delegated powers, but she insists, for the dignity of Ireland, and in order to preserve her own, that the domestic affairs of the three kingdoms shall be, at the same time and to a similar extent, devolved by the Imperial Parliament upon subordinate national legislatures for England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, and that for Imperial purposes each of these countries shall meet in the Imperial Parliament upon the same level."

Sir Charles Russell's Speech.—Sir Charles Russell's great speech, in opening the defence before the Special Commission, has been published by Macmillan & Co. The volume is uniform with Bryce's "American Commonwealth." Various cheap editions, useful for distribution, have also been issued by different publishers.

THE RECORD OF COERCION.

NUMERICALLY, coercion is on the wane just now, so far as the doings of the Government officials under the Crimes Act are concerned. It is on the homes of the people at Falcarragh and Luggacurran that the attack is at present concentrated—and a bitter, heartless, cruel attack it is—but the resident magistrates are not kept so fully employed as of yore.

The numbers are as follows :—

Week ending.	Prosecutions.	Convictions.
April 30th	8	0
May 7th	4	3
" 14th	4	2
Total	16	5

Besides these a good many cases stand adjourned, and 14 appeals have been heard. Of these 10 were confirmed and 4 reduced.

On analysis of the charges it appears even more emphatically than usual how the struggle of the "Law" with the people concentrates itself round the question of the relation between land-

lord and tenant. Fourteen out of the 16 prosecutions, and 4 out of the 5 convictions, belong to the agrarian category. Among these are, of course, included the notable cases of Mr. Harrison and Mr. Conybeare, M.P., in which the real offence was, beyond all doubt, the supply of food to starving evicted families.

The analysis is as follows :—

	Prose- cutions.	Con- victions.
Class I.—Agrarian cases ...	14	4
" II.—Political, &c. ...	1	0
" IV.—Boycotting, &c....	1	1
Total	16	5

Probably the mind of the true coercionist sees in the diminution of "cases" the success of the "policy." Let us remind all such that the diminution of "cases" is an effect which may be due to any one of several causes, while the success of the "policy" is indissolubly bound up with the two objects of securing rack-rents for landlords and suppressing the national movement in Ireland. Does the rack-renter find more submissive tenants to-day than he did last year? Has coercion driven a single voter out of the Nationalist ranks? These are the two test questions to be asked month by month, and, if need be, year by year, as to the effects of Lord Salisbury's resolute government.

THE HOME RULE VANS.

By J. PAGE HOPPS.

Do London Home Rulers, who know so little about "the day of small things," sufficiently value the work done and do-able by the Home Rule Vans? From the first, it has seemed to me that these gun-boats are beyond all price. They can go where the big men-of-war cannot, and do a dozen things that otherwise would be impossible. For the amount of work that can be got out of them, they are inexpensive. What they do, they do in an almost perfect way, and with very little liability to miss fire or lose time. They make possible the holding of excellent meetings in the summer. They reach the unfriendly and the careless.

These were my opinions, as I have said, from the first, before I had so much as seen a Van; but having enjoyed two days with one last week, and another day this week, I can now speak from experience. Here is an instance. We held a meeting at a village within sight of, and entirely dominated by, Belvoir Castle (where, probably, a Liberal meeting had never been held, where, certainly, a room could not have been obtained),

and had more than a respectful hearing. I intended to speak for twenty minutes, but the extreme attention, gravity, and touching interest of the men entrapped me into forty minutes. There were about seventy men, half of them comfortably seated on a wall smoking; the rest standing on the grass between the wall and the road. At the close we took a vote, which was almost unanimous in our favour; and this process was repeated the next night at a village two miles farther on. Last night we had a most delightful gathering. The meeting was attended by a number of women with children in their arms, who remained to the very end, and who seemed to immensely enjoy a public conversation between the speaker and a clergyman. Again we carried a vote without a dissentient. The men present were grave, middle-aged, and elderly persons.

An important feature is that pamphlets can be and are distributed, and that friends are found (names and addresses taken), as the Van proceeds on its journey. It is of the greatest possible importance that speakers should be carefully chosen. These men in the villages are, to a considerable extent, thoughtful and serious, and they need thoughtful and serious talking to. Oratory (never of much use) is out of place with them. They want clear, simple, and earnest expositions and explanations. It is probably found that only a little arrangement is required in order to secure good local men. At the most, three speakers are sufficient; but two interesting men are better than three indifferent ones, and one really good man is better still. Surely all over England one such could be found and secured for each locality. The ideal is—a sufficient supply of vans to make possible a visit to each village twice a year—three times if possible.

HOME RULE UNION.

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.—A meeting of the Executive Committee was held on Tuesday, May 14th, at the offices of the Union, when there were present: Professor Stuart, M.P. (in the chair), Mrs. Bryant, Miss Monck, Rev. J. S. Jones, Dr. Bernard O'Connor, Dr. Summerhayes, Messrs. W. Martin Edmunds, Richard Eve, T. Eccleston Gibb, Henry Holiday, and the Secretary.

As application for the Van had been received from several constituencies in the county of Kent, it was decided that Mr. Martin Edmunds should ascertain whether it was possible to form a committee of residents in the county of Kent, to be affiliated to the Home Rule Union, which should take the matter in hand for the whole county; and, pending his inquiries, the further considera-

tion of the matter was adjourned to the next meeting of the Executive.

The Secretary reported that replies had been received from correspondents in about ninety constituencies *re* the National Protest, about sixty of which agreed to take the matter up.

An application from the Secretary of the "International Arbitration and Peace Association" for the use of the cartoon, "Britannia and Erin," at a Peace Demonstration to be held in St. James's Hall on Sunday, May 19th, was received and acceded to.

A meeting of the Executive Committee was again held on Tuesday, May 28th, at the offices of the Union; present, Dr. Bernard O'Connor (in the chair), Mrs. Beesly, Mrs. Bryant, Miss Monck, Mr. T. Eccleston Gibb, and the Secretary.

It was proposed by Mr. Gibb, seconded by Mrs. Beesly, and carried unanimously, that constituencies in the county of Kent be allowed to have the Van at a maximum cost of £4 a week, exclusive of the cost of speakers.

It was proposed by Mrs. Bryant, seconded by Miss Monck, and carried unanimously, that a circular be sent to every member of the Home Rule Union requesting them to collect or procure a sum of £1 during the month of June, towards a special fund for working the Home Rule Union Van this summer.

LADIES' COMMITTEE.—At a meeting of the Ladies' Committee, held at the offices of the Union, on May 30th, there were present—Mrs. Bryant (in the chair), Mrs. Scott Allen, Mrs. Beesly, Miss Hagemann, Miss Lawrence, Miss Lush, Miss Monck, Miss Orme, Mrs. Ridley Prentice, and Miss Holcroft.

The discussion was mainly concerned with the possibility of obtaining enough money to enable the Union to offer the Vans free to the Associations.

After some discussion it was decided to hold a drawing-room meeting for the purpose, and Miss Holcroft, Miss Orme, and the Secretary were appointed a sub-committee to carry it out. The following subscriptions for evicted tenants have been received:—R. Meade King, £1.; Hon. Mrs. Napier, £2 10s.; Miss Fanny Whale, 10s.

THE WORK OF THE UNION.—The month of May is usually not one favourable to the holding of meetings. In the year 1888 only thirteen meetings were held by the Home Rule Union during that month.

During the month that has just passed, fifty-three meetings were held by the Union, of which forty-one were held with the Van in country places, where meetings could otherwise be

scarcely obtained. An account of these tours of the Van will be found in another column.

North Monmouth, the Wellington division of Somerset, and the Harborough and Melton Mowbray divisions of Leicestershire have been visited by the Vans, two of which have been at work through the whole month.

The Union has arranged for deputations of English visitors to visit Gweedore and the inhabitants, as the chosen leaders of the people agree in the strongest expression of opinion that the presence of these English visitors materially checks the brutality and arrogance of the police. A party of four have been present at the Falcarragh evictions, and while the evictions were pending a deputation of working men from Ayr left for the scene of operations under the advice and with introductions from the Home Rule Union.

The Union is arranging to send a large quantity of clothing to the sufferers of Gweedore and those on the Kenmare Estate. The thanks of the Union are especially due to Messrs. Baldwin, Francis & McDiarmid, of Deal, who have most generously given large quantities of clothing material for this purpose.

CROYDON BRANCH.—The first soirée of this branch was held at the Public, Halls Croydon, on Wednesday, 22nd May. The large hall was specially decorated for the occasion, a great feature being the beautiful cartoons recently used at the Home Rule meetings at St. James's Hall, and which were kindly lent for the occasion. The stage was tastefully arranged with plants, flowers, &c.; and in the corridor, between the two halls, were exhibited various pictures, kindly lent for the occasion, of eviction scenes, prominent Irishmen, &c. The proceedings were varied, consisting of a concert, dramatic entertainment, speeches, and a dance till the small hours in the morning. Mr. Grimwade, the Liberal and Home Rule candidate, and Mr. Spencer Balfour, M.P., were among the speakers.

THE VAN IN LEICESTERSHIRE.—One of our Vans has been engaged in Leicestershire during the past month. It commenced a tour in the Harborough Division on Monday, May 6th, and meetings were held in connection with it at the villages of Swinford, North Kilworth, Mowsley, Hoxton, and Cranoe. The speakers at these meetings were local people.

On Monday, May 13th, it commenced a tour of a fortnight in the Melton Division. The speakers were Dr. Aubrey, of Croydon (Liberal candidate for the Horncastle Division of Lincolnshire), and

the Rev. Page Hopps, of Leicester. In the reports we have received the good done to the organisation of the constituency has had as much stress laid upon it as the immediate good done by the distribution of literature and the holding of meetings. Mr. Wills, of Nottingham, accompanied the Van on behalf of the Liberal Association for the division, and he was enabled to send in to the Association a report of the political condition of each village passed through by the Van, with the names of Liberal sympathisers who would carry on the work of Liberal organisation. The meetings were large and enthusiastic, and the interest which was felt in the subject and in the tour of the Van is shown by the large number of questions that were asked by people in the audience. A small amount of boycotting was met with. On one or two occasions the conductor of the Van could not obtain accommodation at any of the village inns, although want of room could not be fairly urged as an excuse.

The following were the villages at which meetings were held:—

Monday ...	May 13th,	Tilton-on-the-Hill
Tuesday ...	" 14th,	Sowerby
Wednesday	" 15th,	Wydmonham
Thursday ...	" 16th,	Scalford
Friday ...	" 17th,	Harby
Saturday ...	" 18th,	Long Clawson
Monday ...	" 20th,	Ashfordby
Tuesday ...	" 21st,	Queenborough
Wednesday	" 22nd,	Twyford
Thursday ...	" 23rd,	Houghton-on-the-Hill
Friday ...	" 24th,	Billesden
Saturday ...	" 25th,	Scraptoft

THE VAN IN NORTH MONMOUTHSHIRE.—The tour of the Van in this constituency commenced on Thursday, May 2nd, and for the first four days the meetings were addressed by the agent for the constituency, Mr. W. H. Hughes; on Tuesday, the 7th, Mr. George Coffey, of Dublin, addressed the meeting with the Van at Abergavenny, and continued with it till Tuesday, the 14th inclusive. During the last few days of the tour the campaign was carried on with additional vigour. Professor Swift McNeill, M.P., addressed the meeting at Blaenavon on Saturday, May 11th. Mr. Hamner went to Pontypool on Monday, the 13th, and he and Mr. Coffey addressed a large meeting in the market-field, the audience remaining until the darkness of night had overshadowed them, in utter disregard of the unfriendly rain, which appeared to be doing duty for the Tories, in a vain attempt to disperse the meeting. The itinerant "American Circus," which was pitched in the same field, failed to draw an audience that night, notwithstanding that the powers of the actors and actresses were supplemented by the

rattle of musketry, a worn-out barrel organ, and a harsh and discordant cornopean. On Tuesday the meeting-place was Abersychan, where the best of all the meetings was held. A local physician presided, and Messrs. Coffey and Hanmer were the speakers. Wednesday was a busy day. Two meetings were held, one in a mining village, at five o'clock, and the other at Aberbeeg, at seven. Both were well attended, the second one especially, which partook of a novel character. The spot selected was a mountain slope, the audience being seated. A Windsor chair, kindly lent by a neighbouring sympathiser, did duty for a platform, the Van being stationed in the valley below. Mr. Coffey having left, Mr. Hanmer was the speaker. It was highly suggestive of a meeting amid the wilds of Donegal, held on an elevation to evade the attentions of a too zealous police force. But the faces of the listeners betokened earnestness and determination, and if any sceptic regarding the good work done by the Van Mission could have been present a few minutes only would have sufficed to remove his doubts. All the meetings in the last week of the tour were organised by Mr. Hughes, the Secretary of the South Monmouthshire Liberal Association, and were in every way a great success.

THE GWEEDORE VIGILANCE COMMITTEE.

THE following list of the Members of the Gweedore Vigilance Committee has been forwarded to us for publication. The members of the Executive are indicated by an asterisk :—

- *Mrs. Sheldon Amos
- *Mr. Jacob Bright, M.P.
- *Mrs. Jacob Bright
- *Mrs. Bateson
- *Mr. Barry O'Brien
- *Mr. Cobden Sanderson
- *Mrs. Cobden Sanderson
- *Miss Jane Cobden, C.C.
- Mr. Councillor Costelloe
- Mrs. Costelloe
- *Mr. Charles Crompton, Q.C.
- Mr. J. H. Crossfield
- Mr. A. J. Ellis
- Mr. MacLeod
- Mrs. MacLeod
- *Mr. Fall
- Mr. Faulkner
- *Mr. Eccleston Gibb, C.C.
- Mr. Lane Fox
- Mr. Sydney Hallifax
- *Dr. Ernest Hart
- *Miss Halcroft
- Rev. J. Page Hopps
- Mr. James Heywood, F.R.S.
- *Mr. Henry Holiday
- *Mrs. Henry Holiday, Hon. Sec.
- *Mr. Thos. Lough
- Mr. Justin McCarthy, M.P.
- Mr. Meade King
- Rev. R. Meade King
- Miss Monck, Treasurer
- Miss Mander
- Mrs. Postlethwaite
- Dr. Pankhurst
- Mrs. Pankhurst
- *The Hon. Richard Grosvenor, C.C.
- Mr. Stuart Rendall, M.P.
- *Miss Raven
- *Mr. Shore Smith

*Mrs. Shore Smith	Mr. Handel Cosham, M.P.
*Mrs. Sickert	Margaret Lady Sandhurst
Professor Stuart, M.P.	The Rev. John Matthews
Mr. A. G. Symonds	The Rev. James Drummond, D.D.
Dr. Spence Watson	*The Hon. Mrs. Ashley Ponsonby
Mrs. Spence Watson	Mr. R. H. Causton, M.P.
Lord Wentworth	*Mr. S. D. Waddy, M.P.
*Mr. W. Woodall, M.P., Chairman	The Hon. Rollo Russell
Mrs. George McMillan	The Rev. Professor J. E. Carpenter, M.A.
*Mr. E. J. C. Morton, Sec. Home Rule Union	The Rev. H. R. Wickstead, M.A.
Mr. J. G. Shipman	Mr. E. W. Brooks
*Mr. H. E. Birn	
Mr. Alfred Pease, M.P.	
Mr. Jos. Rowntree, M.P.	
Mr. J. Brunner, M.P.	
The Hon. Bernard Coleridge, M.P.	
Mr. Wardrop	
*Mr. Sidney Buxton, M.P.	

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS SINCE LAST ISSUE.

Barton, Rev. J. ....	....	....	....	0	10	0
Bennett, Mrs. A. B. Fletcher ....	....	....	....	1	1	0
Benson, G. R. ....	....	....	....	1	0	0
Bird, Dr. G. ....	....	....	....	1	0	0
Brightman, E. W. ....	....	....	....	0	10	0
Brooks, E. W. ....	....	....	....	2	0	0
Busk, Miss E. ....	....	....	....	0	5	0
Claremont, A. W. ....	....	....	....	0	5	0
Clark, R. ....	....	....	....	2	0	0
Clayden, P. W. ....	....	....	....	1	1	0
Clayden, Mrs. P. W. ....	....	....	....	1	1	0
Coldstream, J. P. ....	....	....	....	1	1	0
Coleman, J. ....	....	....	....	1	1	0
Colbeck, C. ....	....	....	....	2	0	0
Coopey, G. ....	....	....	....	0	1	0
Crawford, Miss Sharman ....	....	....	....	1	0	0
Crossley, E. ....	....	....	....	5	0	0
Elwell, H. ....	....	....	....	1	1	0
Fry, H. W. ....	....	....	....	0	10	0
Fellowes, Rev. C. A. ....	....	....	....	0	5	0
Fellowes, R. H. ....	....	....	....	0	10	6
Gibb, T. Eccleston ....	....	....	....	10	0	0
Gibbons, C. ....	....	....	....	0	5	0
Godkin, Miss ....	....	....	....	1	1	0
Hageman, Miss ....	....	....	....	0	5	0
Hargroves, Mrs. ....	....	....	....	0	5	0
Hargroves, Mr. ....	....	....	....	0	2	6
Heath, C. A. ....	....	....	....	0	5	0
Hember, R. G. ....	....	....	....	0	10	0
Higginbotham, C. G. ....	....	....	....	3	3	0
Hilborn, F. ....	....	....	....	0	1	0

Hill, Mrs. Birkbeck	...	...	...	0	5	0
Hill, Miss Birkbeck	...	...	...	0	5	0
Holiday, Miss Winifred	...	...	...	0	10	6
Hopps, Rev. J. Page	...	...	...	1	0	0
Houston, Mrs.	...	...	...	1	1	0
J. H. D.	...	...	...	0	1	6
Lawrence, Miss R. E.	...	...	...	1	1	0
Lawrence, Miss E. E.	...	...	...	1	1	0
Lees, W.	...	...	...	0	10	0
Lindsay, Miss B.	...	...	...	1	1	0
Little, A. G.	...	...	...	0	10	0
Lough, W. R.	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mace, J. H.	...	...	...	1	1	0
MacAlister, D.	...	...	...	1	0	0
Macmillan, G. A.	...	...	...	2	2	0
Meredith, G.	...	...	...	1	1	0
Moorhouse, H. J.	...	...	...	0	10	6
Nodal, J. H.	...	...	...	0	10	0
Northbourne, Lord	...	...	...	10	0	0
North, J. W.	...	...	...	3	0	0
Norris, T. F.	...	...	...	0	5	0
Notcutt, Mrs.	...	...	...	0	5	0
O'Kelly, Rev. P. A.	...	...	...	0	10	6
Overton, J. W.	...	...	...	0	5	0
Parratt, W.	...	...	...	0	5	0
Payne, W. Spencer	...	...	...	0	1	6
Petch, Miss G. M.	...	...	...	0	2	6
Peterson, A. F.	...	...	...	5	0	0
Perris, G. H.	...	...	...	0	5	0
Phillips, Miss E. P.	...	...	...	0	10	0
Prentice, Hugh Ridley	...	...	...	0	5	0
Roberts, S.	...	...	...	0	5	0
Roberts, W.	...	...	...	0	10	0
Sandys, S.	...	...	...	0	5	0
Scott, Rev. T.	...	...	...	0	5	0
Sheil, W.	...	...	...	0	5	0
Smith, H.	...	...	...	0	10	6
Stansfeld, Right Hon. James, M.P.	...	10	0	0	0	0
Stocks, F.	...	...	...	1	1	0
Taylor, T. C.	...	...	...	1	1	0
Tebby, Miss	...	...	...	0	5	0
Thomas, Mrs.	...	...	...	0	5	0
Tisdall, Miss E. S.	...	...	...	1	1	0
Todhunter, J.	...	...	...	0	10	0
Walker, Christopher	...	...	...	10	0	0
Waller, Rev. H. P.	0	5	0
Warr, G. C.	1	0	0
Wiebbe, Miss M.	0	5	0
Wilson, D.	0	5	0
Wood, Rev. Canon	0	5	0
Yates, Mr.	0	5	0

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COMBINATION.

"I do not care how much tenants combine, or how much landlords combine. If I were a tenant in Ireland, and I found landlords in Ireland combining against me, I would combine against them. If I were a landlord in Ireland, and I found the tenants combining against me, I would combine against them. With all these combinations the Government have no more concern in Ireland than they have in England."

These are not the words of any wild agitator qualifying himself for admission to a prison cell. No less a person spoke them than the Right Hon. Arthur James Balfour. They are very sensible and wise words, and it is only fair to him, whose Irish sayings are seldom marked by sense or wisdom, that they should be recorded. In justice to him we shall do our best to prevent their being forgotten.

It is strange that this plea for combination should have been put forward

by the Chief Secretary in defending the arrest of Mr. W. O'Brien. Of course he distinguished and refined—there are combinations and combinations. Mr. O'Brien was arrested, it is said, for advising the tenants of Mr. Smith-Barry to adopt the Plan of Campaign, and the Plan of Campaign is illegal. Now, it so happens, as we gather from the reports of Mr. O'Brien's speech, that in this particular case there was no question of the Plan of Campaign at all; and further, if by "illegal" is meant "criminal"—if it is not, the argument is senseless—we decline to accept the proposition that to advocate the Plan of Campaign is, even in Ireland, necessarily criminal. It is a question of circumstances. There may be intimidation. There may be incitement to a breach of the peace. Other illegal means may be adopted. All this is possible, and criminality may thus appear from the character of the advocacy. It is a question to be decided on the facts of each particular case, not by any mechanical rule. And on the facts of this case we can find no trace of intimidation or incitement to break the peace, or any other illegal means whatsoever. We have simply an advocacy of tenant combination against landlord combination; and this, as the Chief Secretary admits, is a perfectly rightful thing.

Is there not good cause for Mr. O'Brien's advice? On the Ponsonby estate the dispute between landlord and tenant was in a fair way to a peaceful settlement, when in stepped Mr. Smith-

Barry and his landlord syndicate and cut the negotiations short. They have acquired the estate for the purpose of fighting the tenants, and of using the full power that the law allows them. When Irish landlords thus combine, what course is open to Irish tenants but to form a counter-combination? Why should not Mr. Smith-Barry's own tenants in Tipperary, believing his interference on the Ponsonby estate to be an act of aggression, join in the combination? And why should Mr. O'Brien be arrested because he advises them to join? The Archbishop of Cashel gives the same advice; the Government has not yet dared to arrest him. This is what he says:—

"If Mr. Arthur Hugh Smith-Barry can legitimately enter into an alliance with a certain greedy section of the exterminating landlords of South Munster, with the intent of obliging the tenants on a given estate either to pay what they know, from sad experience, to be an unfair, if not impossible rent, or to surrender their holdings, the aggrieved tenants on the same estate, and their numerous friends throughout the country who sympathise with them in their righteous struggle, may fairly claim the benefit, and practically have recourse to a similar combination. They may, therefore, as it seems to me, become members of any open and constitutional confederacy, forming, in fact, nothing more or less than a mutual defence association, the object of which would be to make common cause with each other in all agrarian emergencies, so that the acknowledged grievance of a tenant on an estate belonging to any of the confederated landlords should be regarded, and dealt with, as a personal grievance by each and every of the confederated tenants as well. This, as I understand your letter, is precisely what the Tipperary tenants of Mr. Smith-Barry have determined on doing, in the first instance, at least, and, in so far, I cannot but approve of their fraternal and sympathetic resolve."

The Archbishop adds that if Mr. Smith-Barry maintains his attitude (and his reception of the deputation which waited on him in London shows that he means to do so), the Tipperary tenantry may have to consider what further steps it may be right and advisable for them to take. We do not see that in point of

criminality there is much to choose between Mr. O'Brien and the Archbishop.

In short, what is Mr. O'Brien's offence but that he is advising Irish tenants to do what Mr. Balfour says he himself would do in the same circumstances? "*If I were a tenant in Ireland, and I found landlords in Ireland combining against me, I would combine against them.*"

A VISIT TO IRELAND.

BY WM. SUMMERHAYES, M.D.

SOME weeks ago I arranged with an agricultural expert—a tenant farmer in a large way of business in my own neighbourhood (East Sussex)—to accompany me to the locality of the Donegal evictions, but was, for various reasons, compelled to postpone my departure till—apart from the intense interest with which Father McFadden's trial is awaited—the scene of action—or of principal action, at any rate—had shifted from Donegal to Cork—from the Olphert to the "so-called" Ponsonby estate.

I say "so-called," for we soon found that the Hampshire baronet of that name had but a nominal interest in the landlord's campaign against the tenantry which is now being waged in the neighbourhood of Youghal; and, as this was the chief centre of operations during our stay in Ireland, it may be worth while to relate somewhat in detail the particulars of our experience of the conflict between the landlords' league and the tenants' combination in that quarter of Ireland.

My companion had never been in Ireland before, and my own acquaintance with the sister island was limited to the north-eastern third, comprising only that part of Leinster which lies north of Dublin, and the greater portion of the old province of Ulster.

The visit I paid to Ireland twelve years ago—immediately after the assassination of Lord Leitrim—had already opened my eyes to the altogether abnormal state of the relations then and still prevailing between the landholders and the small tenant farmers or cottagers, who form the bulk of the population outside the cities of Ireland, and had convinced me that the only remedy (so far as the land question was concerned) was the complete abolition of landlordism in that country. In order to reach the scene of operations as quickly as possible, we took the route from Paddington to Milford Haven, and thence to Waterford.

We were told soon after six a.m. that we were in Waterford Harbour, and on dressing hastily

and going to inspect the coast, as we imagined, we found ourselves in a delightful river-channel (the estuary of the Suir), running inland for many miles. In fact, it took us a good two hours' run, after getting inside the shore-line, to reach Waterford. The scenery was romantic, but not exactly beautiful. For some miles there were martello towers at intervals along both banks, which towers an Irish fellow-traveller informed us had been built by the Danes. As, however, the said towers were exactly like those seen along our own East Sussex coast, we were somewhat sceptical, and were relieved when, on continuing our course, we came across numerous old towers and forts, more or less ruinous, which were doubtless of Scandinavian origin, and dated back to the days when Waterford was, after Dublin, the chief seat of Danish power in the British Islands, long before the Danes had secured their hold on Oriental Britain, named by the Romans *Magna Britannica*, to distinguish it from its smaller sister to the west—Hibernia, Ivernia, or Ierne, whence Erin, the land to the west.

Waterford has had, perhaps, more names bestowed upon it by successive waves of immigrant conquerors than any other city in the three kingdoms. The earliest Gaelic appellation borne by it signified "The Haven of the Sun." It afterwards bore another Gaelic name, translated "The Valley of Lamentations," owing to the tremendous bloodshed during the struggle between the native Irish and the Danes; and by old Irish authors it is, from its shape, also called "The Port of the Thigh."

As it was Sunday we could not get on to Youghal by train, and, after inspecting the quay and the streets, we went into the Protestant Cathedral. The Church of England service was performed to a very scanty congregation of the most inattentive description. Here, as elsewhere, we found that those who attended service in the Episcopal Church consisted merely of the official class and their belongings, some officers and soldiers of English regiments on garrison, together with a few landholders and wealthy traders with their families. Slight interest was manifested in the various portions of the service—the churches appearing to be regarded as lounging places by the male sex, and as intended for the display of their best dresses by the ladies. One was reminded of the ordinary parish church of an English town forty years ago.

In the afternoon (declining the attractions of the pretty bathing suburb of Waterford, called Tramore) we visited the Catholic churches, and were struck by the contrast presented by the devout attitude and behaviour of the Romanists with the listless and nonchalant deportment of the Anglican worshippers. In the evening an amateur band played in the excellent public park,

finishing up with "God save Ireland." On the following morning we made the best of our way to Youghal, in compliance with the urgent request of Canon Keller, the deservedly famous and popular parish priest of that place, whose telegram I found awaiting me at Waterford.

In vain for some time did we search for the worthy Canon, who was fully employed outside the city making arrangements for the housing of the poor tenants whose eviction from the dwellings they themselves had built, and from the plots of land to which their labours alone had given a value, was daily and even hourly expected.

At Waterford the police apparently took no notice of our "coming and going," though we were a good deal astonished at the studied haughtiness and the aggressive insolence of their bearing and general demeanour.

Here, in Youghal, the swagger and strut—which we had already noticed as an unpleasant surprise—were still further accentuated. The insolence was more marked and intensified, and we soon found that we were ourselves the subject of whispered remarks, not, seemingly, of a friendly kind, and the object of threatening looks and gestures which were ominous of impending trouble. We heard that the great Mr. Plunkett (the magistrate whose telegram, "Don't hesitate to shoot," attained, some time ago, a world-wide notoriety) was in the town, and that serious work might be expected. On encountering Canon Keller in the street we found that quiet was not likely to be disturbed for that day, as the evictions had not actually commenced; but we were warned to be ready to receive "marching orders" next morning early.

At Youghal and elsewhere, I may say in passing that we had the opportunity of observing the character of Irish schools, and I was astonished and confounded by the unmistakable evidences of superior education, and of greater love of learning, encountered everywhere in Ireland over what I am accustomed to meet with in any part of England. The Irish Catholic schools conducted by the Christian Brothers are a model of what parish schools should be (apart from the religious instruction), and not only is every boy and girl efficiently instructed in general knowledge, but they are all taught a trade in addition. Whatever objection there may be to denominational teaching in National schools, there can be no doubt as to the value and importance of the secular training which is obtainable, and is, in fact, obtained by the large majority of Irish children in these schools.

I must return, however, to my friend, Canon Keller, whom we found, on emerging from our hotel, busily engaged, as ever, in relieving the anxieties of his flock. On coming up with the Canon, we were told that our appearance on the

scene, together with that of Mrs. Holiday and Mrs. Bates, and of Messrs. Dawson and Macaulay (representatives of Yorkshire journals), had had the effect of postponing the evictions for that day, and possibly for the whole week. We were therefore invited to go forth into "the highways and byways" of the Ponsonby estate, and to inquire for ourselves as to the real state of things and how far it was possible for the poorer tenants to pay the rents and arrears, for non-payment of which they were under notice of ejectment from their holdings.

A "cicerone" well acquainted with the localities was placed at our disposal, and we set out at once on what proved to be a most interesting and memorable visit to the tenants of the Ponsonby estate—*so-called*, as I before observed; but these tenants were really under suit of eviction at the instance of a syndicate of wealthy landlords and capitalists, most of whom are dissentient Liberals. With regard to this syndicate—inasmuch as it has a vital bearing on the present condition of things in that locality, and has contributed, more than anything else, to that feeling of exasperation which is uppermost in the minds of the Youghal people—we must premise that when a compromise between the claims of the landlord and the percentage of abatement asked for by the tenantry had been virtually concluded, there appeared on the scene, not in the interests of peace and harmony, but of war and bloodshed, first of all the "Landlords' Defence Union," who took over the estate with its assets and liabilities, and undertook to fight the Tenants' League; but money or courage failing them, they handed over their rights and liabilities to another "Association of Landlords," having their offices at Cork; and when these had carried on the warfare against the tenants as far as their power and credit would permit, they in turn handed over their "debts and credits" to the "Land Corporation of Ireland," having offices in Dublin, of which Mr. Penrose Fitzgerald, M.P. for Canterbury, was the moving spirit and visible head in Ireland. These also succumbed to inability or unwillingness to pay the rates and taxes, which had all this time been accumulating as against the estate; and now, last of all, Mr. Smith-Barry, M.P. for South Hunts, has taken up the game.

Mr. Smith-Barry, once a Liberal and, I believe, a Nationalist, is a rich Tipperary landlord, who has found allies and coadjutors in this noble work of spoliation among the Unionist landlords and capitalists of England with whom "property," in their sense and meaning of the term, is the only consideration.

The scenes of poverty and acute privation we witnessed in the tenants' houses were almost beyond belief. In more than one case the poor woman, mistress of the house (a mere cabin), had to pawn

her own blanket and underclothing at a time when she most had occasion for using them, in order to raise the money to the exact minimum which was requisite to save her and her small children from ejectment. To mention one or two instances of extreme distress, William Egan had a wife and ten children in a house of two rooms, besides an invalid sister who has returned lately from America, where, for several years she had earned sufficient money to remit home to them enough to stay eviction. The *only* food in this house was coarse maize meal, *so coarse* and gritty that my agricultural friend said he would not give it to his stock for fear of deranging their stomachs and spoiling their digestion. This is the common food and ordinary fare of most of these poor people, eked out occasionally by a few small potatoes, which we saw two big children in one house devouring ravenously, *skins and all*. The potatoes were evidently *a bonne bouche*. Edward Skully, also of Knockmonlea, Youghal, had a wife and nine children. His holding consisted of thirteen and a half acres of rough hill land. (*Statute acres* being the rule in this neighbourhood and not the large Irish acre.) He grows barley and oats, which he sells in the town near by. He has a cow, or rather had one till recently; this, of course, as usual, entered the house by the front door and took its meals (when it got any indoors) in the parlour with the master and mistress. This is so generally the rule that when I told one of the "jarvies" who was driving me in an outside cart that I was a doctor who had practised in a rural district where the conditions of life were like those in Ireland, he said at once that it must have been trying to my temper and patience if I attended the good woman in illness or labour to have the cow's tail constantly beating against my body, if not flying in my face, on such occasions. The rent here was ten guineas, and had been so for fourteen years, though the land, according to my friend, would not anywhere fetch ten shillings per acre in England. We then visited Mrs. Ellen Doyle, of Upper Burgess. This was the woman whom the landlord's agent tried to force into the bankruptcy court, but unsuccessfully, inasmuch as her son, a high-spirited lad, interfered in some way which prevented the messengers of the Court from serving the writ or summons, and then decamped off to America to avoid the punishment which would infallibly have been meted out to him. He has, however, the satisfaction of knowing that by his action he saved his mother from ejectment. This was also the case which led to Canon Keller's imprisonment for two months because he refused to divulge or to state in Court what he knew or had learnt in confidence as the spiritual and moral adviser of the family.

We visited two or three tenements where there

were emergency men in possession, protected in each case by two or more armed constables who are paid out of the pockets of the English people. We visited one where the battering-ram—generally known as “Balfour’s maiden”—had been used, and with effect; but even then the emergency men could not get in till they broke through the roof. On the whole of the Ponsonby estate there were only three Protestants, and of these only one had refused to join the Plan of Campaign. This solitary exception was accounted for by the fact that this tenant derives considerable pecuniary advantage by not joining, so that he cannot lay claim to being absolutely unselfish in the matter.

We then visited a Liberal Unionist gentleman—W. E. Jermyn, Esq., Bally-glassin House, Kilkeagh, whose brother, the former owner, was previously most popular with the people for miles around. The present owner of Bally-glassin House is not so popular, but he received us very well—made several admissions as to the bad treatment the tenants had experienced, and the absolute absurdity of supposing that the Catholics, under any system of Home Rule, would persecute or in any way interfere with the comfort of Protestants; and, on our asking why he had been partially boycotted (for his old servants—all Nationalists—had been allowed to remain with him), gave an account of some buying and selling transactions in which he had been engaged previously to the boycott which accounted for the action of the League.

We saw, also, several houses prepared for passive resistance to the onslaught of the much-hated bailiffs and emergency men, and at one of them we were introduced to a young woman, not over seventeen, I should imagine, who had given five policemen occasion to use all their force and skill to eject her from one of the tenements.

Last of all we visited a fine old gentleman of the name of Flavin, who had paid for years £104 for eighty acres of land, the Poor Law valuation of which, made before the Crimean War (which sent up prices all round, and especially of Irish land), was only £66 6s. This was on the Ponsonby estate, and was afterwards farmed by his son, who had now been evicted, and all the improvements, valued by experts at £341, and by himself at £400, had been confiscated by the landlord.

At the same time this same farmer rented another farm, on which he was then living, from a Tory landlord named Young, who not only did not evict him, or press hardly upon him when bad times came, but of his own accord reduced the rent, already less per acre than that of the farm on the Ponsonby estate, though the land was better in quality, and not only reduced the rent by 30 per cent. permanently, but afterwards, when he found

the bad season continue, took off an additional 35 per cent., and, moreover, took a six months’ bill on the Cork bank in payment, which he discounted at his own cost. For this landlord Mr. Flavin was full of love and veneration, although a Tory and not a Nationalist. Whilst talking with Mr. Flavin, one constable came round close to the back door of the room we were in, and as there was no process of eviction or summons of any kind out against him or any of our company, Mr. Flavin objected to the presence of the police and asked me to speak to them also, which I did, but without effect, except that I was not in anyway insulted, or answered—silence appeared to be the *mot d’ordre* of the constabulary, and for good reasons, I think. We returned to our hotel to dinner with the feeling that we had done a good day’s work, that we had seen the “bottom” of the Irish land difficulty, as well as the reason for the necessity and inevitability of Home Rule.

We found the whole people here as well as elsewhere practically unanimous on the subject. There was absolutely no thought of separation, on the contrary, there was made plain to me a very strong desire to claim and to exercise their full share in the direction of the Empire, either as it now exists or in “the grand federation of British people” of the future, which is already in the “offing,” if not in sight of port.

The religious difficulty was scouted on all sides—by Nationalists and Unionists, by Catholics and Protestants alike—though a very determined Protestant whom we met later on confessed that he did not like to see the part of Ireland he came from some twenty or thirty years ago now almost exclusively Catholic, whereas when he was a boy a Catholic was a *rara avis* in the vicinity. The Protestants had simply gone away to America or England to better themselves and the Catholics had filled the void thus created. We were sorry to leave Canon Keller and our capital quarters at Youghal, but there appeared to be no chance or danger of the eviction coming on whilst we remained there—so at least we were assured—because perhaps the police, not knowing who we were, took us for notabilities whom it would be unwise for them to molest or to allow to witness their usual methods of procedure at evictions.

We left accordingly for Cork, where we prosecuted our researches and inquiries amongst all classes of the community, as we did subsequently in Kerry and in Limerick, also in Galway, Connemara, and Mayo. Everywhere there was to be found the same consensus of opinion that separation was a bugbear, invented for a purpose; that the religious scare was totally unjustified and absurd in the eyes of Protestants as well as Catholics; that the landlords are practically powerless, and, unless strongly supported by English capitalists, must soon give up

the contest and capitulate, making the best terms they can with Mr. Parnell; lastly, that Home Rule is absolutely inevitable, and will, under perhaps another designation, be offered very shortly by the Tory Government itself; whilst when Home Rule has come there is no fear but that the Irish Conservatives will rally to Mr. Parnell, and fight an even battle with the more thorough Democrats, who will be led by Mr. Davitt. That the Irish landlords should suffer somewhat is perhaps inevitable, and possibly not to be deprecated on moral grounds: "Qui sentit commodum, sentire debet et onus." But I do not for one moment believe that under Home Rule the landholders will be either despoiled or unjustly treated in any way. They will only find their proper level.

NOTES FROM IRISH CORRESPONDENTS.

DUBLIN, June 28.

The fund being raised in Dublin in aid of the sufferers in the Johnstown disaster has already reached some £3,000. Not a bad contribution, considering the many home calls on Irish pockets of late years. The splendid generosity ever shown by America to Ireland could not, however, be forgotten in a time of such trouble, and though the terrible railway accident at Armagh has necessarily diverted attention from the calamity in America, we expect the subscriptions from Ireland will reach a goodly figure. Our Lord Mayor, Mr. Sexton, acted with admirable promptitude, instructing at once, even before a meeting was held, the Hibernian Bank to cable a sum of £1,000 to the Governor of Pennsylvania.

To turn to politics. Two cases under the "Crimes Act" have occurred during the month which throw an instructive light on the administration of justice in Ireland. Mr. John Fitzgibbon, shopkeeper, appealed against a sentence of six months with hard labour, passed upon him by Messrs. Brady and Purcell, R.M.s, for the boycotting of a man named Wynne. The appeal was heard before County Court Judge Morris, at Castlerea, Friday, 1st June. It was shown that the boycotting was of a trivial nature, and that Wynne was not in any sense deprived of the "necessaries of life." At the conclusion of the case the Crown solicitor, Mr. Burke, made the offer "that if Mr. Fitzgibbon now apologised for what he had done, and promised that it would cease for the future, he would be willing that he should be discharged." Mr. Fitzgibbon, of course, refused to apologise, and was accordingly marched off to prison. The Judge, however, reduced the sentence to two months.

The second case is that of the Rev. F.

McCarthy, P.P., on appeal from a sentence of four months for "inciting to violence and intimidation," heard at Clonakilty, co. Cork, the 26th instant. The County Court Judge Ferguson gave the reverend gentleman the opportunity of expressing regret, and stated that if he did so he would wipe out the sentence. Father McCarthy refusing to express the required regret, the full sentence (four months) was confirmed.

Your readers will, no doubt, have other similar cases in recollection. What is important in connection with these cases is that an apology is considered as equivalent to six months with hard labour! The punishment is here clearly not inflicted for a specific criminal act, otherwise apology would be absurd. Further, the Crown is more anxious to obtain an apology than to inflict punishment. The object is obvious. They thus hope to undermine the *morale* of a movement of which these men are local leaders, and see plainly that the clumsy Resident Magistrate method of six months with hard labour would not be nearly so effective for this purpose as a few words of apology from the men who, for the time being, carry the flag.

I do not know whether many people in England followed the proceedings of the annual meeting of the Ulster Liberal Unionist Association, held in the Ulster Minor Hall, Belfast, the 18th inst. By the way, there is something in a name this time. The *Daily Express*, the Tory organ in Ireland, a few days before, apparently unaware of the great demonstration preparing in Belfast, unwittingly spiked the guns of the meeting. In a leading article of unwonted candour, the *Express* thus exposes the nakedness of the land: "Liberal Unionism in England was a great power. Liberal Unionism in Ireland could never be anything but the shadow of the Liberal Unionism of England—a form without substance, and which could be only brought to the appearance of substantiality by delusive artifices. No cause can flourish by means of fictions and illusions, and one of the abundant fictions of the times is that Irish Liberal Unionism is a power in the land, and represents a great and influential party."

This article brought forth a remarkable letter from Mr. Johnston, of Ballykilbeg, in which occurs the following amusing passage:—

"When Mr. Chamberlain was in Belfast I wished to get a ticket for the banquet, and to attend the demonstration given to him in the Ulster Hall. I was told, possibly politely, that it was undesirable that so prominent a Conservative should appear in this way; so I had to explain to Mr. Chamberlain why I did not meet him, although I had refused an engagement in England in order to do so. At the same time, it was desired to fill the Ulster Hall—the body of it

—with Orangemen, who counted, for the occasion, as Liberal Unionists. I think this has gone quite far enough."

The Belfast meeting, though not important as representing Irish Liberal Unionism, is of importance from the tone of some of the speeches delivered at it. Of course, there was the usual amount of bitterness characteristic of Irish defamers of their country; but there were welcome indications in the speech of Mr. T. W. Russell that even he is at last coming face to face with facts. Referring to local government, he said, "Speaking for himself and many members of the Unionist party as well, he held that it ought to be dealt with during the present Parliament. It, too, was beset with difficulties. He could not help saying that in Ulster they sometimes took a view which seemed to ignore these difficulties. He was not enamoured of the way many corporations and boards of guardians conducted their business in the South and West. And, this being so, he might be asked why he proposed to extend these powers of mischief. His answer was plain. They could not help it. It was the question of the franchise over again. In politics they could not always have that which was best. There was that which was possible. Having equalised the franchise in the three kingdoms, they must take the consequences. That these people would job and blunder and fight went without saying; but they would be jobbing their own property, not the property of other people."—(*Northern Whig*, June 18th.)

Without going into the question as to the jobbing of boards in the South and West (though, on this matter, something might be said in comparison with the boards in the North, notably, in connection with the *Labourers' Cottage Act*), how does Mr. Russell make out that they would only have the jobbing of their own property? What about the minority scattered throughout the country outside Ulster, and what about the minority in the Ulster counties, and they comprise more than half the province, already in the hands of the Nationalists? It is clear Mr. Russell had this in view when he said that in Ulster they sometimes took a view of local government which seemed to ignore these difficulties, and that the phrase about jobbing only their own property was merely an attempt to gloss over facts, concerning which he is by no means easy in his mind.

For ourselves we welcome the introduction of a measure of local government. We believe it is only necessary to place such a measure before the country to convert many advocates of local government to Home Rule. It will thus become apparent that the only way of safeguarding the minority in Ireland, under a local government scheme, if at all possible, would be by increasing the centralised power of Dublin Castle and

making local boards answerable to a Castle department, with power to set aside their decisions if necessary. It is not necessary to discuss such a proposal. But, on larger grounds, it is evident that the attempt to force local government on Ireland is placing the cart before the horse. When the country has been brought into harmony with itself, and the sense of responsibility in government developed under a central legislative body, in which the different sections of our people will meet on common ground, and in which the influence of large interests, such as that of the Protestants, will not be dissipated by being split up throughout the local boards, but bear with its full weight as a national interest in the national council of the country, then local government can be conceded as devolving from the central authority, and under the supervision of that central representative authority. But to grant local government in the present state of Ireland is simply, as far as "Ulster" and the minority are concerned, to run all the risks of Home Rule without any of its safeguards, and to force a measure on the country which is not desired, and cannot, by the very nature of the case, satisfy the national demand.

BELFAST, June 26.

Attempts are everywhere made by the so-called Unionist Party to make it appear that there is a strong and numerous minority in the South and West of Ireland who are opposed to Home Rule, and that in the North of Ireland there is an overwhelming majority who hold the same position. The facts in neither part of the country justify the statements which are made. The minority in the South and West certainly exists, but relatively it is so small that it cannot return a member to Parliament, and can hardly elect a Poor Law Guardian. It consists mainly of an army of placemen, or men who are hungry for place; of landlords or persons connected with or under the influence of landlordism; of scattered Protestants who have been living among their Catholic neighbours as a separate caste; and of a very few Catholics who have lost touch with their co-religionists, and are out of harmony with them and with the nation generally on all subjects of living interest to-day. But, taken as a whole, the minority is small, and hardly to be considered as a factor in opposition to a sentiment that is inwrought into the very life of the nation. In the North the facts are widely different from the representations made by the Unionists. They might appear to have some justification some years ago, before the extension of the Franchise, for then the Orange party held the entire representation in their hands. The special classes had command of the position, and to all England it was made to appear that Ulster was Protestant and Orange. The extension of

the Franchise altered all that. The old ascendancy party was at once broken up, and a majority of Ulster Members was returned in favour of Home Rule. This great fact stands out so clearly that its significance cannot be hidden. It shows to all right-thinking men that when they speak of Ulster again they must recognise the fact that, constitutionally expressed, its sentiments are favourable to the national party. And this fact is no mere accident of political life. It is not a snatched majority. That majority will be maintained and *increased* at the next General Election. Only in one or two portions of Ulster is there a dominant ascendancy party, and Belfast is its headquarters. But even Belfast, with three Orange nonentities, sends the eloquent Thomas Sexton to Parliament. This is the very sorest blow that the landlord party have received in Ulster. Mr. Sexton's seat is safe, and in each of the remaining three divisions of Belfast there is a growing minority in favour of Home Rule. Those who go in and out among the people find a great modification of the old hostility to the principle of self-government, and an increase of kindly feeling among Protestants and Catholics. Just now a new Radical Association has been formed in Belfast, and its membership bids fair to be both large and representative. One of the striking facts it brings to light is the great number of young men—notably Protestant young men—who are in favour of Radical principles, and who place Home Rule for Ireland in due prominence on their programme. And another fact made manifest is the growing disposition of Protestants and Catholics to work together. He who looks carefully at the signs of the time cannot help but see multiplying proofs of the fact that Ireland as a nation is growing more compact and more united, and that Party feuds are dying out under the nobler influences called into activity by Mr. Gladstone and the other great leaders of the Liberal party of the United Kingdom.

THE CONDITION OF DONEGAL.

WE have received the report of a deputation sent by the North Ayrshire Central Liberal Association to visit Donegal, and more especially the scenes of the recent evictions on the Olphert estate, for the purpose of inquiring into the social position of the people, and the causes of the disputes between landlords and tenants. We extract the following passages from the report :—

An Irish Workhouse.—“The workhouse at Dunfanaghy is specially under the control of Mr. Olphert, he being chairman of the Board of Guardians, and Father Kelly at once accompanied us, and got us permission to make an inspection of the part of the workhouse inhabited by the

paupers. On entering the ward occupied by the female paupers, we were struck by the dull and hopeless looks on the faces of the poor inmates. A number of the bedridden inmates presented a sorrowful spectacle. The healthy and sick all occupy the same ward, which is a long, narrow, cheerless-looking apartment; the rough, unplastered walls are whitewashed, the beams and rafters of the roof are also whitewashed, there being no ceiling. The floor was paved with large blocks of a kind of blue whinstone, which even in the warm summer evenings were cold and chilly, and on these cold stone flags the poor female paupers walked barefooted winter and summer, the authorities allowing them neither boots nor shoes. The only heating apparatus in the ward was a peat fire in the centre of the room, right opposite the door, and which during the winter will be almost useless for heating the long, narrow ward. Round the fire were crouched a few old women with a dull, hopeless look on their faces, which had a most saddening effect. We then visited the male ward, which was in all respects similar to the female ward, the only notable difference in the treatment of the inmates being that all the men were supplied with boots or brogues by the authorities, while, as before stated, the women were left to go barefooted during both winter and summer. The old men—one of whom was a lunatic (lunatics sick and healthy are all in the same ward)—wore on their faces the same dull, hopeless look we observed on the faces of the old women, and we left with the impression that the words said by Dante to be written over the gates of Hades might be inscribed over the doors of the wards occupied by the paupers : ‘Abandon hope all ye who enter here.’ As a proof of the estimation the poor people hold the workhouse in we may mention that there are only twenty-five inmates in the workhouse, which is capable of holding 500, the people, as we were told, preferring death rather than enter the workhouse. At the largest and most commodious end of the buildings were quartered 200 soldiers (part of a regiment recruited from the slums of London), who had been brought to the district for the purpose of assisting the police if required ; and their shouts and cheery laughter, as they played at hand ball and other games in the court-yard, formed a marked contrast to the miserable paupers within, and was a stirring commentary on the present mode of administration of law and justice in Ireland, the landlords contributing a mere pittance for the support of the poor who had spent the best of their lives working for their especial benefit, and the Government spending immense sums in supporting soldiers and police for the purpose of terrorising the people and bolstering up the rack-renting landlords.”

The Condition of the People.—Visiting the

scene of the Falcarragh evictions, "we saw an old man working on his little holding of about two acres, and he at once agreed to show us all the houses from which the poor tenants had been cast out. The houses here were rather better than those in the Gweedore district, being mostly built of a rough kind of white granite gathered off the reclaimed land, the roofs being roughly thatched with straw, although inside they all presented a very sorry appearance; the floors were earthen, in some cases mixed with a little lime to harden them; the rude beams and rafters were bare and black with peat smoke, the fires of peat were all kindled on the floor, with a hole in the roof for the smoke to escape by. Our old guide told us in his own way some of the sad and harrowing scenes that had taken place at the evictions. On enquiry he also stated that the people lived principally on yellow Indian meal, and that they did not taste flesh meat of any kind more than once in twelve months. These statements we afterwards verified, for we discovered that in the Gweedore and Falcarragh districts the peasantry in bad years when the pototoes failed, as they did last year, lived on nothing but Indian meal the whole year through, and considered themselves very fortunate when they could get it. They make the meal into porridge or stirabouts as they call them, and sometimes they get a little milk, and failing that treacle, and for a change they gather cockles in the little bays of the district. After breakfast we proceeded to the Gweedore district in company with Father M'Fadden, who spent about five hours with us in showing us through the evicted districts, describing to us the stirring scenes that had taken place, and showing us into the huts, where we were able to judge for ourselves as to the real condition of the people. In the Glasherchoo district, where the most merciless evictions had taken place, thirteen houses, or huts, were left empty, and there was not a curl of smoke to be seen, nor any sign of life, except the police patrolling the district to prevent the people taking possession of their huts again. The doors and windows of the huts were barricaded with stones and stumps of tree roots from the bogs. In most cases the holes were to be seen on the roofs where the emergency men had torn off the thatch to force an entrance. In other cases they had torn down the walls—not a very difficult thing to do, as they were very loosely built. In the little bays in this district we counted twenty poor people, the greater number of them evicted tenants, wading up to the waist in water gathering cockles to save themselves from actual starvation, and yet Mr. T. W. Russell describes the people in his famous letter as being pretty well off, and not as badly off as they are in other places. In this district we met the old man whom Mr.

Russell interviewed, and he *denies most emphatically* that he made the statements alleged by Mr. Russell and is quite ready to state on oath that he did not. He states that Mrs. Russell whispered in his ear that if he and the other tenants did not be very careful of what they said and did that Mr. Olphert would evict the whole of them. Mrs. Russell chose a good subject to interrogate, for the poor old man seemed to us not to be very bright in the intellect, and we think might be easily persuaded to make statements that he did not know the full extent or meaning of, more especially if Mrs. T. W. Russell, who accompanied her husband in his now historic tour, whispered in the old man's ears the ominous words he alleges she did. We then proceeded on our tour of investigation in the Gweedore district, which is one of the bleakest, wildest, and most desolate regions conceivable. As far as the eye could reach, wild and bare hills and mountains of white and grey granite stretched out in all their rugged sterility without a single green shrub or tree to relieve the monotony of the scene. In the little valleys patches of peat-moss and bog-land, black and barren, added to the general gloom of the scene, and on every hand were to be seen signs of the wretchedness and poverty of the district. In a word, as one of our number expressed it, 'I do not think God ever meant human beings to live in this district,' and how they do live is a puzzle to those who know them best."

Conclusions.—“As the result of our inquiries and investigations we have ascertained the following facts:—

“1st. That, in the districts we visited, all improvements in reclaiming land and building houses had been done by the tenants without any assistance from the landlords.

“2. That, as the lands and houses were reclaimed and improved, the landlords raised the rents till in some cases they were more than trebled.

“3rd. That, in the district of Glasherchoo, now left tenantless, the total rents, within the memory of men now living, amounted to £12, and that they now amount to £61, for the non-payment of which the tenants were evicted, or, rather, for having fallen into arrears.

“4th. That at least two offers of arbitration had been advanced by the tenants through their accredited leaders, and that both offers had been refused by the landlord and his agent, and that no offer of arbitration had ever been made by the landlord or agent.

“5th. That there is much poverty and destitution among the peasantry inhabiting the highlands of Donegal, and especially is this the case on Mr. Olphert's estate.

“6th. That there is a widespread and earnest

desire amongst all classes of the community in that district for a measure of Home Rule being granted to Ireland, in the hope that patriotic Irishmen, who best know the necessities and grievances of the people, might legislate for the benefit of all classes of the people."

NOTES BY THE WAY.

The Judge and the Landlord.—County Court Judge Curran has again been speaking his mind about the unwillingness of landlords to meet their tenants half way. At Cahirciveen Quarter Sessions, on June 9, Timothy Connor appeared in court, with other tenants who, like himself, had been served with ejectment processes at the suit of Lord Lansdowne. Connor stated that he had paid two gales of rent every year for the past two, and expressed his willingness to pay at all times to the best of his ability. He now tendered in court one year's rent and costs, provided Mr. Mansfield, the sub-agent, allowed him the abatement of 7s. in the pound. Judge Curran asked Mr. Mansfield if he would accept the tenant's offer. Mr. Mansfield declined to do so, as he had no instructions. The Judge then advised the tenant to keep the money, adding that he would grant a decree, payable by instalments from the beginning. This would be a worse plan for the landlord. The Judge appeared quite indignant at the refusal to grant the abatement; he would no longer be a rent-collecting machine for landlords as heretofore. If, he said, he complied with what the agent wanted to be done, he would depopulate half the county. Judge Curran's opinion of the way in which Lord Lansdowne or his agent regards rent as something more important than the peace of the district is interesting because Lord Lansdowne is held up as one of the good landlords of Ireland. But the facts of the case are even more striking than appears in the above report. The Judge's statements excited much anger in landlord circles. He replied in a long letter to *The Daily Express*, and in the course of it he stated that Connor was sued for four years' arrears of rent, and that a portion of these arrears had accrued in the famine year of 1847. And this is one of the model landlords! It is well that now and then a judge should be found who has the courage of Judge Curran to decline to administer injustice. It was he, as will be remembered, who offered himself as arbitrator on the questions at issue on the Kenmare estate, an offer which the trustees rejected. The Kenmare tenants have again met to consider an offer made by the agent. They declare themselves unable to accept it; but on the advice of the priest they have once more expressed them-

selves ready to submit the matters in difference to arbitration. Archbishop Walsh is right. It is not the Irish tenant who is irreconcileable.

How Irish Rents are Earned.—Everyone will remember how persistently our opponents represented that Home Rule would mean the influx of Irishmen into this country, and the consequent lowering of the English wages. As an argument it was barely honest, but there is no doubt that it had considerable success. It is not put forward so often now: it is beginning to be found out; but there is no doubt that it lingers still in a good many minds. We should like every elector who has any fear of the result of Home Rule on his wages to consider what is going on to-day even under the blessed Union. In a *Daily News* telegram of June 14th we read:—"About a thousand harvestmen left Ballyhaunis to-day for England. There was so great a crush at the railway station, that one man named Waldron was killed. Nine hundred harvestmen are still left waiting for trains to take them on."

In a letter by Mr. J. H. Tuke on the condition of Donegal, which appears in the *Times* of June 29th, occurs the following passage:—"In the absence of paid labour at home, the migration during the spring and summer months, either to the east of Ireland, Scotland, or England, of nearly every man, boy, and girl able to work is, in several parishes of Donegal, resorted to. I was informed by one priest that from his parish, containing about 7,000 persons, nearly 1,000 boys and girls, of ages varying from nine to fifteen, go annually to the "Laggan" (a local term for the eastern portions of the province), and 800 to 1,000 men and boys go to Scotland and England, for the summer and autumn harvests. The total earnings thus brought home cannot in ordinary years be less than £8,000. In an adjoining parish the clearance during the summer is so complete that only those unfit for work are left behind—the number of these being so small that the chapels (always over-crowded in winter) are said to be almost empty during the summer months. In marked contrast to this, we find that in and around Glenties (which also adjoins the above) the number of migratory labourers is very small, owing to the large amount of wages (several thousands a year) paid by Messrs. M'Devitt for knitting, weaving, &c., which, with other work, proves a sufficient inducement to prevent the girls from going to the "Laggan." Another point important to notice is that the farms in the Glenties districts are somewhat larger than those in the other parishes referred to; hence some agricultural employment is given, and few of the men are compelled to go to Scotland for work, though a considerable number of single people emigrate to America.

The wages earned by the migratory labourers will average from £2 to £4 each for the boys and girls, and for the men from £5 to £8 each, for the season. If we take the number of migrants from each family at one man and one child only, the earnings would range from £8 to £12 for the summer work. In other families, two or even three children may seek employment, and thus add proportionately to the family earnings. The majority of the families will also possess and be able to sell annually a "small beast," two or three sheep, and usually two pigs, which together will realise a further sum of £8 or £10, and to these may be added £1 to £3 for the sale of eggs and poultry. There is also some earning from knitting and weaving. Altogether, from these combined sources, the money realised in ordinary years by the majority of the tenants cannot be less than, say, £15 to £25 per annum, in addition to the milk of the cow and the produce of from one to one-and-a-half acres of potatoes, the same quantity of oats, free turf, and more or less mountain grazing. These remarks are intended to apply to tenants who hold from three to five acres of arable land." This is one of the ways in which Irish rents are earned—on English, not on Irish land. Let English electors ask themselves whether a system of government in which the Irish people have confidence is not likely rather to lessen enormously than to increase Irish competition in the English labour market. Nothing will open up new fields of industry in Ireland but a settled state of society; and so long as we try to govern the country by force, such a state we can never have. Home Rule is an English as well as an Irish question.

A Novel Plea for Raising Rent.—Probably the oddest reason ever given for raising a tenant's rent was put forward before the Sub-Commissioners at Newtowndrums on June 11th. It appears that Hugh Ferguson, a tenant of Lord Londonderry, has expended £500 in building himself a house on his farm. Lord Londonderry's solicitor represented that a house of such extravagant magnificence would be a white elephant to the landlord if he resumed possession. It was too good for a farmer, he declared, and fit for a gentleman. We are not able to gather from the report what evidence the solicitor of the person who was some time Viceroy of Ireland offered to show that Hugh Ferguson was not a gentleman; but we note with much satisfaction the sensible decision of the court. Sub-Commissioner Green said he would not rent the tenant's buildings, and he for one wished he had a tenant who would increase the security of his rent by erecting even a mansion at an outlay of £500. One does not care to moralise on a claim of so childish a

character, but it forms very pretty commentary on the theory in which Unionists affect to believe that Irish landlords are eager to foster habits of industry among their tenants.

The Clan-na-Gael and the Irish in America.—In connection with the murder of Dr. Cronin, and the attempt which is being made to use it, by way of prejudice, against the Irish in America, the following passage from the *New York Herald* is of interest:—"It is not the Irishmen in this country who are on their trial, but a body of hot-heads, whose vulgar brutality would be condemned in every quarter of the civilised globe. The great majority of Irishmen, both in this country and in Ireland, are sensible people, who want what they are entitled to, but wish to obtain it by honourable means. The leadership of Mr. Parnell mean just that he and not the Clan-na-Gael represents the methods of which Ireland approves. He has had undisputed sway, and many hundreds of thousands of hard-earned dollars have been placed at his disposal, and he is unconditionally master of the situation. The Clan-na-Gael represents a small number of fire-eaters, and no one else. It does infinite harm to the cause of Home Rule, and is a serious obstacle in the path of its progress. It would be ungenerous to blame Irishmen for the folly and the crimes for which this secret organisation alone is responsible."

The Position of the Irish Tenant.—A very useful article on the position of the Irish tenant appears in the *Contemporary Review* for July, from the pen of Mr. J. J. Clancy, M.P., who has studied the subject with peculiar care. On a former occasion we quoted his statement of the law in reply to the grossly inaccurate statement made by Lord Salisbury, at Watford, that ever since the Land Act of 1870 Irish tenants have had security for their improvements. In the present article he gives a general survey of the tenants' position, showing how all our special legislation has fallen short of what the justice of the case demanded, and meeting the various misrepresentations made by the landlord party. We shall quote only one passage, relating to an important matter on which erroneous opinions exist, namely, the exclusion of tenants in arrear from the benefits of the Land Acts:—"It is habitually denied," he says, "that the Land Court is closed to such tenants, and, no doubt, no express prohibition exists against their appealing to that tribunal. Nor is it untrue to say that some tenants in arrear have gone into court and got fair rents fixed. But the great body of the class are shut out for an obvious reason, which was correctly stated, as follows, by the 'Unionist' member for South Tyrone, Mr. T. W. Russell, in

his speech on the 21st of March, 1888, in the House of Commons, on the occasion of the second reading of the Land Bill, then proposed by the Irish party:—‘By not dealing with these arrears the tenants were absolutely deprived of the very legislation passed for their benefit. They were never allowed to go into the court. They were threatened and bullied by the agent before they went in, and these arrears were held over their heads as a whip to prevent them going into court and getting the fair rent that the House designed and intended for them.’ Mr. Russell might have gone further, and stated that many tenants in arrear who went into court were in consequence evicted for non-payment of arrears before they could get fair rents fixed for the future, and that their fate was calculated to terrify thousands of others similarly situated from following their example, and similarly provoking their landlords to retaliatory measures. . . .

‘Better bear those ills we have than fly to others that we know not of’ is the reflection of the Irish tenant weighed down with arrears. If he does not apply to have a fair rent fixed, his landlord may not press for the arrears; he may even make abatement, and times may improve, or something else may happen to enable him to maintain his ground. If he does apply, the landlord may, and probably will, press for his arrears, and, at the very best, the relief he may get from the judicial tribunal appointed under the Act of 1887 to afford him relief will not be worth the name, and may even itself eventually hasten his ruin.”

Lord Spencer’s Faith in the Irish People.—We take the following short extract from an abridged report of Lord Spencer’s speech at Southport on May 29th:—

“He was far from saying that there was not considerable improvement in the social and political condition of Ireland within the last few years. Constitutional action had been taking the place of revolution and violence, and every day they hoped that revolution and violence were falling back, to disappear for ever from the face of Ireland. That was a change for which they all ought to be deeply thankful. It was a change of priceless value, and he believed that history would say that to two men in particular that change was due—to Mr. Parnell in the first instance, and to Mr. Gladstone in the next, for having courageously come forward to initiate this new policy for Ireland, which showed to the Irish that they had in the democracy of Scotland and England friends who would not allow them to be trampled under, and would see justice done to them. They were the men who would be pointed out as having driven away despair in the Irish and planted a hope in their breasts. He

trusted that nothing that the constituencies would do would prevent the realisation of that hope, and he was certain that as illegality and violence had disappeared in Ireland so the constitutional demand for nationality had been increasing at the same time. Now Mr. Chamberlain, in his speech at Bacup, had set forth the various forms of a government, and of course had strongly objected to that of independent self-government; but he (Lord Spencer) would like to know if nationality and independence were synonymous terms. He did not think so, because they might encourage the National aspirations of a nation without leading to separation. They might be sure that to give a kind of glorified vestries to Ireland, as was proposed by Mr. Chamberlain, would not satisfy the just aspirations of Ireland. They would only be encouraging what were called in the old days of reform normal schools of agitation. Was there really any danger in what Mr. Gladstone proposed? Lord Salisbury had said that in his view the Irish had an inveterate hatred towards England—that that hatred was unquenchable, and that if we gave them in any degree Local Government they would seize the first opportunity of turning and rending England, and that in the event of our being in serious trouble, such as being involved in a foreign war, they would hand their magnificent harbours over to the enemy. Well, he (Lord Spencer) did not believe it for a moment. He felt that the Irish had a rooted dislike to the English form of government, but they had no dislike to the English nation or people; and that if we once altered the present form of English Government in Dublin Castle, this feeling of dislike would disappear, and that they would become the warmest and best friends that England possessed. Why, from ‘82 to the Union, when they had a sovereign and independent Parliament, they very liberally voted supplies for the English army and English navy. They were lavish then in what they did in their desire to support the force of English arms, as they would be if they got Home Rule. But he would like to know whether it was a statesman-like view to nurture and keep up this feeling of hatred? If it existed now, was it not statesmanship to try and get rid of the feeling? Would it not be fatal for us to be shut up in the British Constitution with a people who hated us? He believed that if we went on as we were now going on in Ireland with the policy of the present Government, that we certainly should be increasing that hatred which the Irish had to the British Government, and he said it was want of statesmanship not to try and remove that hatred and modify it in some way.”

Literature.—A work on "Celtic Ireland," by Mrs. Bryant, a member of the Home Rule Union Committee, has just been published by Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co.—We have been asked to give particulars of a cheap edition of Sir Charles Russell's speech. The handiest edition for distribution appears to us to be that of the *Freeman's Journal*, price 3d. The type is not so very bad.

THE GWEEDORE VIGILANCE COMMITTEE.

Corrected list of the Executive Committee :—

Mr. William Woodall,	Miss Raven.
M.P., <i>Chairman.</i>	
Mrs. Bates.	Mr. Joshua Rowntree, M.P.
Miss Holcroft.	Mrs. Cobden Sander- son.
Miss Monck, <i>Treasurer.</i>	Mrs. Walter Sickert.
Mr. E. J. C. Morton.	Professor Stuart, M.P.
Dr. Pankhurst.	Lord Wentworth, and
Mrs. Pankhurst.	Mrs. Holiday, <i>Hon.</i>
Mrs. Ashley Ponsonby.	Secretary.

HOME RULE UNION.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.—At a meeting of the Executive Committee, held on Tuesday, June 25th, 1889 (present: Professor Stuart, M.P., in the chair; Miss Cobden, Dr. Bernard O'Connor, Messrs. W. Martin Edmunds, T. Eccleston Gibb, Thomas Lough, and the Secretary), the Secretary laid before the Committee a scheme for carrying on education on the Home Rule question in Birmingham.

It was proposed by Miss Cobden, seconded by Mr. Gibb, and carried unanimously, that Messrs. Charles Crompton, Q.C., Richard Eve, and William Woodall, M.P., be requested to attend the trial of Father McFadden and the other persons arrested in connection with the death of Inspector Martin.

It was proposed by Mr. Lough, seconded by Mr. Gibb, and carried unanimously, that a deputation to Ireland be organised by the Home Rule Union in the course of the summer or early autumn, provided the Irish parliamentary party approve.

WORK OF THE UNION.—For the first five days of June one van was completing a tour in the Wellington division of Somersetshire. On the 18th June one van commenced a tour in the Medway division of Kent, and another in the Stowmarket division of Suffolk. Dr. Bernard O'Connor and Mr. Hanmer have addressed some of the meetings, but a large proportion of the speakers have been supplied by the local Liberal associations.

Places at which meetings have been held are as follows :—

Medway Division of Kent.

DATE.	PLACE.
Tuesday, June 18th	Cliffe.
Wednesday, June 19th	Stoke.
Thursday, June 20th	Hoo.
Friday, June 21st	Upnor.
Saturday, June 22nd	Wouldham.
Monday, June 24th	Burham.
Tuesday, June 25th	Aylesford.
Wednesday, June 26th	Bearsted.
Thursday, June 27th	Lenham.
Friday, June 28th	Ulcomb.
Saturday, June 29th	Headcorn.

Stowmarket Division of Suffolk.

DATE.	PLACE.
Tuesday, June 18th	Enswell.
Wednesday, June 19th	Beck Row.
Thursday, June 20th	Freckenham.
Friday, June 21st	Moulton.
Saturday, June 22nd	Higham.
Monday, June 24th	Tuddenham.
Tuesday, June 25th	Icklingham.
Wednesday, June 26th	Flempton.
Thursday, June 27th	Fomham, All Saints
Friday, June 28th	Ingham.
Saturday, June 29th	Sapiston.

A large, enthusiastic meeting was held in the Town Hall, Dover, on Wednesday, June 5th, which was addressed by Professor Stuart, M.P., and Mr. E. J. C. Morton. Meetings were also held in the Westminster Temperance Hall and at Hereford; but this season of the year is unfavourable for meetings, otherwise than with the van. Altogether twenty-eight meetings have been held, as against nineteen meetings in June, 1888, the number in that case being unusually high owing to the fact that a large number of meetings were held by the Union in the Isle of Thanet Division of Kent on the occasion of the Parliamentary election.

DIARY OF THE MOVEMENT.

June 1.—Sub-Sheriff of Kildare, with five emergency men and forty police, proceeds to evict two families on the O'Kelly estate, Clongorey, but owing to the feebleness of the inmates the evictions are abandoned.—One hundred police and one hundred soldiers at an eviction in Major Banbury's estate, Tipperary.

June 3.—John Morrough, Nationalist, returned unopposed for S.E. Cork.—Judge Darley advises O'Kelly (Clongorey estate) to accept payment of arrears at the figure of the fair rent, but O'Kelly

refuses.—House of Commons: First reading of Irish Drainage Bills.

June 4.—Sentences of from fourteen days to a month passed on the Falcarragh tenants for resisting evictions.—Evictions on the Massereene estate resumed.—Captain Welsh and Mr. Hodder, R.M.'s, sentence a boy of fifteen to a month's imprisonment for attempting to boycott cattle.—Cecil Roche and A. J. Macdermott, R.M.'s, sentence Michael Fleming to six months for boycotting cattle dealers.

June 5.—Massereene evictions resumed.—Mr. Gladstone at Southampton on the "Liberal Party at the Polls."—Mr. Balfour at Portsmouth, on "Irish Policy."

June 7.—Mr. Gladstone at Romsey.

June 9.—Judge Curran protests in Court against being made "a rent-collecting machine for landlords."—Mr. Gladstone at Dartmouth, on the "Septennial Act and Ireland."

June 10.—Kenmare tenantry meet and ask for a reduction of 25 per cent. on rent and the re-instatement of evicted tenants.—Mr. Gladstone at Torquay, on the "Government Policy."

June 11.—Meeting of Massereene tenantry in Drogheda.—Earl Spencer at Blaby, on "Irish Affairs,"—Mr. Gladstone at Falmouth, on "Ireland."

June 12.—Mr. Gladstone at Truro, &c., on the "Liberal Programme."

June 14.—Mr. Gladstone at Plymouth, &c., on "Home Rule."

June 15.—At the Crimes Court, Youghal, eight men sentenced for three to six months for "unlawful assembly."

June 16.—Knockea National League Branch denounces the boycotting of a man in church.

June 17.—As a result of a secret inquiry, under the Crimes Act, Canon Doyle and twenty-four others summoned.—Mr. Gladstone at Gillingham, &c.—Earl Granville at Rochester, on the "Liberal Policy."

June 18.—Commencement of the Ponsonby evictions.—Twenty-seven tenants under notice of eviction on the College of Physicians' Waterford Estate agree to purchase under the Ashbourne Act.—Parnell Commission: Mr. E. Harrington, M.P., in the box.

June 19.—Nine evictions on the Clancarke Estate.—James McGinley, an Olphert tenant, sentenced to four months for resisting eviction.—Mr. Balfour speaks on "The Federal System."

June 20.—Police break up a meeting of Massereene tenants addressed by Mr. Redmond, M.P.—Parnell Commission: Examination of Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P.

June 21.—Ponsonby evictions resumed.—Midnight meetings in various places protest against the Government's treatment of Canon Doyle.—Mr. Herbert Gladstone in West Islington.—House of Commons: Debate on Irish evictions.

June 23.—Mr. William O'Brien speaks at a meeting at Tipperary to protest against the Ponsonby evictions.

June 24.—Before Messrs. Bowlby and Harper, Resident Magistrates at Longford, Messrs. Hood (Chairman of the Town Commissioners), Wilson (Chairman of the Board of Guardians), Farrell and Fenlon sentenced to terms of imprisonment, from six weeks to two months for intimidation.—Drawing-room meeting at 61, Princes Gate, to consider the position of the Home Rule Union vans.

June 25.—Enniscorthy Quarter Sessions grant decrees of eviction on twenty-two tenants on the Coolgreany Estate.

June 26.—Parnell Commission: Mr. Sexton, M.P., examined.—Sir G. O. Trevelyan, M.P., at Huddersfield.—Mr. Goschen at Stoke-on-Trent, on "Mr. Gladstone."

June 27.—Mr. O'Brien, M.P., addresses the Ponsonby tenants at Youghal.

June 28.—Roman Catholic Archbishops and Bishops at Maynooth pass a series of resolutions relating to the state of the Irish tenantry, and recommending the re-adjustment of arrears.—House of Commons: Debate on the Irish Estates of City Companies.

THE RECORD OF COERCION.

THE record was light in May, but it has been heavy enough in June, no less than 109 prosecutions and 96 convictions having taken place. The number per week are as follows:—

Week ending.	Prosecutions.	Convictions.
May 28th	... 13	8
June 4th	... 58	51
, 11th	... 0	0
, 18th	... 26	26
, 25th	... 12	11
Total	... 109	96

Of appeals 10 were heard, and of these 7 were confirmed, 1 reduced, and 2 reversed.

Political, rather than agrarian, "crime" has chiefly attracted the attention of the Resident Magistrates during the period under consideration. The large number of cases under the official heading "unlawful assembly," without even the addition of the simple word "riot," is very striking. The week ending June 4th yields the very heavy total of 58 cases, and some of these deserve special notice. At Youghal, on May 30th, four men—Cronin, Finn, and two Cashmans—were

punished for ploughing up the crops which the Ponsonby Estate tenants had themselves planted on the farms from which they were about to be evicted. This is a curious fact. Would it be unlawful for a Londoner, when about to yield up possession of a rented house and garden to his landlord in Midsummer, to carry off, or, if he saw fit, destroy the flowers and vegetables which he had planted at his own expense and labour in the spring?

At Miltown Malbay, on May 31st, eleven persons were prosecuted for illegal assembly. They had been guilty of the wickedness of playing a band, but they paid the penalty. Five were sentenced to three months', and four to two months' imprisonment; while two were placed under bail.

The whole twenty-six persons who were sent to prison in the week ending June 18th were "unlawful assemblers." Fourteen received their punishment at Quin on June 12th, and twelve at Youghal on June 15th; and the sentences ranged from one to six months' imprisonment. There is enough in these plain facts to call for a continuance of watchful attention on this side of the channel, even if the beloved leader, Mr. William O'Brien, had not once again been singled out by the Government for attack.

The analysis of the records shows the following particulars:—

	Prosecu-	Con-	victions.
Class I.—Agrarian ...	... 9	8	
" II.—Political, &c. ...	65	60	
" IV.—Boycotting and In-			
timidation ...	32	25	
" VI.—Refusals to give			
Evidence ...	2	2	
" VII.—Miscellaneous (as			
arms without license) 1	1	1	
Total ...	... 109	96	

The prospect darkens as the month closes. Mr. William O'Brien is once more arrested. The rack-renting landlords, failing to find salvation in the Government policy of making it "criminal" to combine against unjust rents, or even to protest against them in open assembly, have adopted the policy of combination among themselves. A counter move in the way of further combination among the tenants was inevitable. If Mr. Smith-Barry will combine with Colonel Ponsonby for the purpose of inflicting the latter's terms upon the Ponsonby tenants, then he must expect that his own tenants will feel it their duty to combine with the Ponsonby tenants, the better to enable them to resist the demand; and if one combination is legal so is the other. Such appears to have been Mr. O'Brien's view, and yet it looks just now as if it were for upholding that view in Tipperary and in Cork that the guardians of Irish "law and order" have for this third time laid their hands upon him.

THE VANS.

A DRAWING-ROOM meeting was held on Monday afternoon, June 24th, at the residence of Mr. Theodore Fry, M.P., 61, Queen's Gate. There were present Professor Stuart, M.P., in the chair, in the unavoidable absence of Lady Aberdeen; Sir Wilfred Lawson, M.P., Messrs. J. Wilson, M.P., Joshua Rowntree, M.P., J. J. Clancy, M.P., J. L. Carew, M.P., Caleb Wright, M.P., Theodore Fry, M.P., Mrs. Gladstone, Lady Holland, Lady Matthew and Miss Matthew, Lady Stevenson, Lady Mappin, Hon. Mrs. Hardcastle, Mrs. Schwann, the Misses Shaw Lefevre, Mrs. Wilson, Mrs. C. Hancock, Mrs. and Miss Holiday, Miss Sharman Crawford, Mrs. Williamson, Baron Stern, Messrs. B. T. L. Thomson, Stewart Wallace, Thos. Lough, Mrs. Lough, Miss Orme, Miss Mander, Miss Holcroft, Miss Macdonell, Mrs. Broadly Reid, &c.

Letters were read from Lord Granville, Lord Ashburnham, and others, including Mr. Arnold Morley, as to the great work the Vans were doing in the country districts.

Mr. E. J. C. Morton, the secretary, then made a statement as to the method of working the Vans, after which Professor Stuart, M.P., addressed the meeting. He said, what the Union wanted was money. What the Union wanted to do was to send the Van, free of cost, to such constituencies as were most in need of it, and who were unable to pay for it. Up to the present, they had not been able to accomplish this on account of the state of their finances, and they had been compelled to say, "No; you shall not have the Van unless you pay for it." The Van was to have been for the benefit of the poor, but like many other things, they had, up to the present time, only benefited the rich. It was in the agricultural districts that the work ought to be carried on, and it required a large amount of money to do that.

Mr. Joshua Rowntree moved: "That this meeting approves the action of the Home Rule Union in disseminating political information by means of their travelling literature Vans, and undertakes to support the movement." He said meetings had been held with the Van in villages where previously no meetings had been held. It was in such places that the Van did a work which could not be done in any other way.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. J. J. Clancy, M.P., who said he desired to speak as the official head of the Irish Press Agency, in which capacity he had come in almost daily contact with the Home Rule Union, and he could testify to the sterling character of its work.

Mrs. Gladstone, in a short speech, said she had been much interested in what Professor Stuart had said. There was a great deal to be done;

and, although circumstances sometimes made people poor, yet there were some who had rich friends, and they should work hard and get them to help so good a cause. She would impress upon them the necessity of collecting money for the Home Rule Vans.

Baron Stern then spoke, expressing sympathy with the movement; and, after short speeches from Sir Wilfred Lawson and Mr. Theodore Fry, the resolution was carried.

Subscriptions to the "Special Van Fund" should be sent to the Secretary, at the offices of the Union, 17 and 18, Palace Chambers, 9, Bridge Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

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JURY-PACKING IN IRELAND.

BY W. A. MACDONALD, M.P.

WHEN Sir James Hannon said, on the *Times'* Commission, that he had been put into a state of moral torture by the declaration of an Irish member that men had been condemned in Ireland for crimes of which the Government officials knew them to be innocent, he displayed a natural, though a deplorable ignorance of the way in which criminal prosecutions are conducted in that country. The complaint was not mainly or chiefly of the judges' charges, unfair and prejudiced as these often are, but of the way in which the juries have been manipulated by the agents of the Crown. Jury-packing is a term which is happily unknown in English courts of law, but in Ireland it has a terrible and a tragic significance. It means that the juries

which try men for murder or for conspiracy, instead of being indifferently chosen, are deliberately selected by the Crown prosecutors with a view to obtain convictions.

Speaking broadly, there are two ways in which juries can be packed. The jury panel may be irregularly framed, so as to exclude men who ought to be on it, or to include men who ought not. This was the way in which a conviction was obtained against the great O'Connell, and it was often resorted to in subsequent trials; but since the passing of Lord O'Hagan's Jury Act it has been found a difficult method to pursue, as there is always a possibility that the panel may be quashed. Accordingly, the plan now resorted to is different; but the result is equally disastrous to the prisoner, and equally fatal to the ends of justice.

To apprehend how this method works, the reader must obtain some idea of what the law enables Crown prosecutors to do. In cases of felony, the prisoner has, by law, twenty peremptory challenges; and after this he can only challenge for cause shown, but the Crown can go on ordering jurors to "stand aside"—that is, not to try the case without giving any reason at all to an extent absolutely unlimited until the entire list furnished by the jury panel is exhausted. But in lesser crimes, which are known as misdemeanours, the case is worse, because in these the prisoner has only six peremptory challenges, while the power of the Crown is, as before, practically unlimited.

In most respects the law of challenge is the same in England as in Ireland; but the administration of it is as different as light is from darkness. In England, unless there is the very strongest reason to the contrary, the first twelve men whose names come up are sworn to try the case; in Ireland, in every case which can in any way be supposed to have a political or an agrarian complexion, and in some cases which cannot, an unseemly contest goes on between the solicitor for the prisoner and the solicitor for the Crown to exclude names which either side dislikes, with a certainty that in this horrible game the dice are loaded, and the Crown can always keep out of the box a larger number of men than is possible to the prisoner.

To give an illustration. At the Queen's County Summer Assizes, held at Maryborough last month, two men were indicted for a murder which was due to a family feud and was in no way connected with land or politics. The solicitor for the prisoners challenged eighteen jurors, but the solicitor for the Crown, by his unlimited power of "stand aside," excluded twenty-seven. Everyone will see that this is unjust; but only half the iniquity has yet been disclosed.

The murder with which these men were charged was not committed in the Queen's County, it was committed in the remote county of Kerry, and the trial took place in the Queen's County only by virtue of a clause in the Coercion Act which authorises the change of venue from the county where an offence is committed to any other part of Ireland at the arbitrary discretion of the Attorney-General.

But even this is not all; for the Coercion Act provides that when the venue is changed, the offence, which in the ordinary state of things would be tried by a common jury, must be tried by the special jury of the county which the Attorney-General has thought

fit to select. That is to say, in the particular instance just given, the two men indicted for the murder in Kerry would naturally have been tried in Kerry by a common jury, by men of their own class—that is, by their peers; but the venue was changed, and the result was that these men, who were either peasants or small farmers, were tried by special jurors, every one of whom was rated at £100 a year or more—that is, by men of a different social position from themselves.

But even worse remains behind, for the element of religious prejudice is called in to weigh down the scale against the unfortunate accused. In Ireland generally, as the reader knows, the masses are Roman Catholics while the classes are Protestants; and so it happens that in all the cases of change of venue of which I make complaint the accused are all Catholics, while the large majority of the men on the special jury panel are Protestants. The result is that supposing there were no jury-packing at all Roman Catholic prisoners would be tried by juries mainly Protestant, but when the jury-packing is brought in, the effect is simply appalling.

At Sligo, in the Winter Assizes of 1886, not one single Catholic was allowed to remain upon the jury, and so great was the scandal that Protestants and Catholics alike signed an indignant protest. In Wicklow last year, in cases involving the question of life or death, every Catholic was ordered to "stand by." At the Queen's County Summer Assizes, 1888, of four special juries selected to try cases coming from other parts of Ireland, two were exclusively composed of Protestants, while on each of the others only one Catholic was allowed to serve. And to bring the record down to the present time, in the Kerry case before referred to, the power of "stand by" was so remorselessly exercised, that the jury was made to consist of eleven Protestants and one Catholic. This was too

much for Mr. Smellie, an honest Englishman, who happened to have been allowed upon the jury, and who, after he was sworn, exposed the imposture in words which will long be remembered in Ireland: "I object to try a man for his life on a packed jury." When Mr. Balfour in the House of Commons tried to get over this utterance by suggesting that, because the jury upon which Mr. Smellie was compelled to serve convicted one of the prisoners, Mr. Smellie must have changed his mind, the indomitable Saxon wrote a letter to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, in which he not only re-asserted his conviction that the jury was packed, but uttered some truths which were brought before the attention of the Chief Secretary in the House of Commons, and which I now commend to the readers of this Journal.

"Every second man on the special jury panel was ordered to 'stand aside.' . . . I have observed that since the last Coercion Act was passed jury packing has been systematically practised at Maryborough, particularly in cases where the venue has been changed. . . . I am satisfied that the law is not administered here in the impartial way it is in my own country."

All that I have said in the foregoing paper has a painful interest on account of its bearing upon the impending trials of Father McFadden and the other Gweedore prisoners in connection with the death of District Inspector Martin; but this subject is too large to be dismissed with a mere passing reference at the end of an article, and I must reserve its discussion to another number.

VICE VERSA: A MORAL STORY.

THE following is a condensed report of an interesting trial under the Crimes Act, which for some reason or other appears to have entirely escaped the notice both of the Unionist and the Nationalist newspapers. Unfortunately we

cannot make out from the report, as furnished to us, either the place or the date of trial:—

At —— yesterday, Mr. Rentmore, M.P., appeared before Messrs. Minos and Rhadamanthus, R.M.'s, on a charge of having conspired with certain persons unknown to prevent the tenants on several estates in the South of Ireland from exercising their lawful rights, and for having taken part in an unlawful assembly.

Mr. Cottier, who appeared for the Crown, stated that the defendant was well known as a turbulent landlord, who had banded together with men like himself for the purpose of keeping up rents in Ireland, and of asserting the audacious principle that Irish landlords could do as they pleased with their land. He (Mr. Cottier) need not waste the time of the Court by showing that such an association was grossly illegal, infringing the most obvious rights of the tenants, and inevitably leading to breaches of the peace. Its illegality had been determined by the highest judicial authority. The evidence of the facts which he had to give was that of members of the Constabulary, and was therefore unimpeachable.

Sergt. O'Malligan produced his notes of a speech delivered by Mr. Rentmore, in which occurred the following passage:—"This Government to which we trusted has abandoned us to our fate, and has yielded to the clamour of a rapacious tenantry. We claim, therefore, the right to defend ourselves. In view of the pusillanimity of the Executive, we must take the matter into our own hands; and, come what may, we will resist to the death every attempt to rob us of our inalienable rights. In defending our property we are defending civilisation. Let there be no surrender." It is right to add that the speech contained an earnest appeal to the audience not to let their just feelings of indignation lead them into outrage or crime.

In cross-examination by Mr. Acres, the serjeant admitted that he had not exactly heard the speech himself, but that was merely because he had not happened to be present; if he had been present he would certainly have heard it. He had an account of the proceedings from a trustworthy source.

Mr. Acres submitted that the evidence was inadmissible, but his objection was promptly overruled. Mr. Minos declared that a more unreasonable objection had never been made in a court of justice, and he expressed surprise that a member of an honourable profession should have permitted himself to put it forward. Technicalities must never stand in the way of justice. It had been argued that because the serjeant was not present at the meeting he could not have known what took place; but this was a frivolous suggestion. Surely it was common experience that people who were not present at meetings

often knew better what took place than those who were present. And had not the sergeant sworn that if he had been present he would certainly have heard the speech? To disbelieve him would be to cast an aspersion on the whole constabulary of the land. He (Mr. Minos) would not tolerate such a thing. Mr. Rhadamanthus said he concurred in every word that had fallen from his learned brother.

Mr. Acres then declared that if such evidence were admitted, his duty required him to retire from the case, and was proceeding to protest against the decision when he was instantly ordered to be removed from the court. After some difficulty his removal was successfully accomplished by the sergeant whose honour had been so gratuitously called in question.

Mr. Rentmore said he would not insult any gentleman by asking him to come forward on the table to give evidence for the defence. First of all, he impugned the jurisdiction of the court altogether, and when he consented to employ a counsel or a solicitor, he did so against his own wishes. In their hearts and minds the magistrates on the Bench knew what he and others were tried for—for adherence to the cause of the country—for the sacred rights of property. "You have deprived me of the assistance of my counsel," said Mr. Rentmore, in conclusion, "and if I were a free man I should impeach your conduct before the House of Commons. I would put you on your trial before the whole country, and would confidently look to their verdict on your conduct. Don't think for a moment that I submit to your court. I have nothing to fear. I feel for you. I pity you—for the position you are forced into. This prosecution has been gone into because I am an Irish landlord, and it has been sought to defame and traduce me. Pass your sentence. I defy you. I defy the Government which is willing to see us robbed of our property—our property which is dearer to us than life itself." (Applause from sympathetic landlords, which was instantly suppressed.)

Mr. Minos, who spoke with much emotion, said that, after a patient trial, the case of the prosecution had been clearly established. It was grievous to think that a gentleman of the social position and education of the accused should have drifted into such evil courses, which could only lead to the subversion of law and order in Ireland. It had been proved beyond all question that the accused had taken part in an unlawful assembly convened avowedly for the purpose of forming a rebellious association. He (Mr. Minos) said advisedly a rebellious association. The speakers at that meeting had made reflections on the wisdom of the administration (itself a most unwarrantable thing to do), and had openly declared that they intended by this association

of theirs themselves to usurp the functions of government, and to take the law into their own hands. In no civilised society could such a thing be tolerated for an instant. He hoped that the Government would take vigorous measures to crush out the spirit of disaffection which he had every reason to believe was spreading among the landlord and propertied class. The judgment of the Court was that Mr. Rentmore be imprisoned for one month. The Court had another painful duty to perform. Mr. Rentmore had defied the Court in the most outrageous manner, and it could not be passed over. He must find bail in £200, or in default be imprisoned for three months.

Mr. Rhadamanthus expressed his entire concurrence in the judgment.

Mr. Rentmore.—Increase the month, so that I may appeal.

Mr. Minos.—No.

Mr. Rentmore.—You do not dare.

Mr. Minos.—Clear the Court.

FOLLOWING MR. BALFOUR'S ADVICE.

"I do not care how much tenants combine, or how much landlords combine. If I were a tenant in Ireland, and I found landlords in Ireland combining against me, I would combine against them. If I were a landlord in Ireland, and I found the tenants combining against me, I would combine against them. With all these combinations the Government have no more concern in Ireland than they have in England."—RIGHT HON. A. J. BALFOUR.

In another column will be found the constitution of the Irish Tenants' Defence League. It has followed quickly on Mr. Balfour's excellent and candid statement of the rightfulness of combination, a statement which we take pleasure in repeating. The Irish leaders have taken him at his word. It only remains to see what his word is worth.

The essential features of the League may be shortly summarised :—

(1) It is a defensive, not an aggressive, association. Its purpose is to meet landlord combination by tenant combination.

(2) It pledges itself to act by legal means. We have no doubt that it will loyally adhere to the pledge. But heaven knows what is legal in Ireland and what is illegal!

(3) Local branches are not to be formed: otherwise the Council would be treated as responsible for any wild and thoughtless speech which might proceed from the vanity or stupidity of a local politician. This precaution shows that the founders of the League mean not only to keep within the law, but to remove even the suspicion of illegality.

(4) Before tenants will receive the support of

the League, they must satisfy the Council that they are willing to refer to arbitration the questions in dispute between them and their landlords. This provision affords a striking confirmation of the fact that Irish tenants have all along been ready to settle their disputes by peaceful means, and that where negotiations have failed to bring about a settlement not they but the landlords have been to blame.

Scrupulous care has thus been taken on every point to keep within the law. In the case of the Plan of Campaign, it was open to the landlords' friends to argue that the combination was essentially illegal; but concerning the new League no such suggestion is possible. In his speech at Salisbury, Mr. Balfour did not question the propriety of its constitution, though he reserves to himself the right to judge it, not by what it says it is going to do, but by what it does. "It matters not," he said, "with what profession it starts." We are afraid that this is only too true. It matters not with what punctilious care the Irish leaders may endeavour in forming a defensive organisation, not only to respect the spirit, but to adhere to the letter of the law; for their opponents interpret their caution as subtlety, and their professions as hypocritical evasions. "Be thou as chaste as ice, as pure as snow, thou shalt not escape calumny." As it has been in the past, so it will continue to be. We should not be rash in prophesying that before the year is out some Irish members will be in prison for commanding to Irish tenants an association which only carries into practice Mr. Balfour's principle of the tenants' right to combine.

NOTES FROM IRISH CORRESPONDENTS.

DUBLIN, July 31st.

THE withdrawal of the Irish members from the Commission has been received here with approval, and, indeed, has been welcomed by the newspaper public as a well-earned release. Whatever may be the decision of the judges on the purely legal aspects of the investigation, we confidently leave the national movement, as a whole, to the judgment of the English people.

Any doubts as to the reality of the Land League and National League movements have been finally disposed of by the Commission. Our opponents have persistently tried to persuade the English people that the whole trouble in Ireland was simply the work of self-seeking agitators. That the Irish tenants were coerced into the agitation, and, if freed from the yoke of Parnell and his gang, would, under the protecting wings of Balfour, joyfully resume all the traits of

Lever's peasantry, and become once more the light-hearted irresponsible stage Irishmen, provided in the fitness of things for the amusement of English tourists. The Commission has knocked the bottom out of these illusions. If it has proved anything, it has placed clearly before the English people the fact that the National League is the organisation not of a rabble but of a people; that it embraces practically the whole of the Irish people, we might almost say race. In well-nigh every town and village throughout Ireland the local branches of the organisation number as members the responsible men of their districts: well-to-do farmers, shopkeepers, professional men, provincial mayors, town councillors, poor-law guardians, &c. Once the character of the organisation is understood in this sense, the investigation of "Parnellism and Crime" becomes not only profitless but unimportant.

Irish Unionists still, of course, cling to the Commission, much as a drowning man clutches at a straw. They live on, hoping against hope, that the report of the judges may produce some magical change in the situation. The conferring of the freedom of Edinburgh on Mr. Parnell has proved a sad commentary on their expectations. Edinburgh is so eminently respectable; still, while there is life there is hope!

I have not much to tell you of local matters. Dublin is rapidly clearing out for the summer holidays, and even politics give place to August and the seaside.

It is too soon yet to speak of the Tenants' Defence Association. Indeed, it can hardly yet be said to have been placed before the country. It appears, however, to mark an important departure in the history of the land question, and may lead to the establishment of a tenants' association on trades-union principles as a permanent factor in social politics.

I should not conclude without noticing the very uneventful passing of the 12th July. This is remarkable considering the political excitement of the times and vigorous performance of Colonel Saunderson on the orange drum. But indications are plentiful on all sides that Orangeism is dying of inanition. For some years back the celebration of the 12th has lacked go, and it is rapidly becoming of the manner of Sunday-school picnics. The culture of the age has at length reached the borders of Ulster, and I am told by the North of Ireland people, even of Orange traditions, that the younger generation is beginning to see the absurdity of Orangeism.

About Dublin, too, Irish Protestantism, though never to be classed with the antediluvian type of Orange Ulster, is becoming less intolerant. A friend, now a Protestant clergyman in England, tells me he notices, on coming back to Dublin,

a very marked change in that respect within a few years.

All this is most encouraging, and shows how much the vitalising force of nationalism is felt even by those who are least conscious of it.

IRELAND IN 1889.

BY MRS. ELEANOR C. FELLOWS.

IN Mr. Gladstone's article entitled "Plain Speaking on the Irish Union," in the *Nineteenth Century* for July, at page 5, he says:—"This notion of Irishmen that the rule of England under the Act of Union has no basis in right, is not mere traditional prejudice, but is professedly derived from a high constitutional argument. The Englishman has thought that Ireland has been all along using force against right. The Irishman, using the term in the same strictness, holds that he uses right against force."

These words express a wide-spread feeling in Ireland. A visit to that appropriately-named "distressful" country recently undertaken in company with friends* has for us strengthened surmise into conviction that Ireland is right and England wrong; that, while the party which talks so much of law and order is the greatest sinner against its own shibboleth, the "disloyal" majority fights out its battle constitutionally, and desires nothing better than to dwell in amity and just dealing with its neighbours, of whatever rank, creed, or nationality. We also came to understand that there is a great contrast between the real Ireland and the fancy Ireland of "Unionist" politicians; and many are the too readily accepted beliefs and inherited prejudices which we have gladly flung to the limbo of shattered delusions.

Irishmen are not opposed to law and order, but only to the shameful travesty of both to which they are daily treated. As regards the accusation of disloyalty, I would ask why should the Irish be loyal to a nation or government in whose name all sorts of iniquities are carried on? The best way to make law, order, and loyalty respected by other people is to be law-abiding, orderly, and loyal ourselves.

To get at the truth about Ireland, it is necessary not only to associate with members of the National League, Nationalist members of Parliament, priests, business-men, peasants evicted and not yet evicted, and all upholders of the National cause, but also with members of the landlord class, the Orange

party generally, and others of the anti-Home Rule side. For if one visitor will listen only to one set of opinions, and another persists in taking his "facts" solely from another set, neither will return home less prejudiced than he went, and the journey will be as vainly made as was that of the American of whom we were told at Killarney, who, being bent on "doing" the Lakes, arrived at the little town at half-past eleven over night, and left by the seven o'clock train next morning. I would urge the genuine truth-seeker to arm himself with patience, especially if it fall to his lot, as three separate times it has to mine, to have to listen politely while Unionist friends waste precious time assuring him that one inseparable accompaniment of Home Rule will be a revival of the old Smithfield fires. In railway trains, coaches, trams, omnibuses, jaunting-cars, steamers, hotels, private houses, and shops, it is easy, if one only goes about it in the right way, to make acquaintance with a great variety of people, and thus amass many opinions and much information. One's studies should include perusal of the newspapers on both sides.

It was after this fashion, then, that we set to work to fathom the Irish Question; and I may say that the result of our long journeys and of our many talks with friends and strangers, was to send us back stancher Home-Rulers than ever.

I alluded just now to beliefs and prejudices that are delusions. That Ireland is an over-populated country is one of these. The same assertion has often been made about our own larger isle, even when our numbers were far fewer than they are to-day. This cry of over-population is one of those alarms that are raised periodically. A little over forty years ago Ireland easily held twice as many people as she does to-day, and there is still room for twenty millions over and above the four-and-a-half that to-day occupy the green isle. Over-populated! The country is more than half deserted, whole villages have disappeared, and go on disappearing. Everywhere one sees ruined houses. Some have suffered eviction; from others the former occupants have emigrated. Nowhere does one see new houses being built, nor often old ones being repaired. There is little need of new houses in a country whose numbers annually dwindle at an average rate of 50,000, each census showing some half-million fewer souls than the last. Many houses in the different towns must have been handsome at the time they were built. Most of them date apparently from about the period of Grattan's Parliament, that brief era of revived hope and prosperity. They are generally shabby enough to-day, the prevailing air of decay affecting them as it affects everything. Widespread unprosperity attests the rotten condition of the present system of government. All classes suffer. On our journeys we passed empty field

* Our party, consisted of Mrs. Holiday (wife of the well-known artist and designer of the political cartoons which are so justly admired at the St. James's Hall Home Rule meetings and elsewhere), my cousin, Mrs. Bates both ladies being members of the Gweedore Vigilance Committee), my elder daughter, and myself.

after empty field, counting one day, during a two hours' railway journey through a fairly prosperous-looking district, only about sixty sheep and a few more cattle. This, too, in an admittedly pastoral, not agricultural, country. This emptiness of the country almost everywhere is painfully striking; for, except in the sparse towns or tiny villages, the houses, like the flocks and people, are scattered here and there, often at wide intervals. Yet the meadows, even some of those that were going out of cultivation, were beautifully green, showing little trace of that barrenness of which Tories too hastily accuse the country—yet another delusion! In our mind's eye we dotted these verdant enclosures with neat cottages, and peopled them with a race of peasant-proprietors as contented, frugal, and hard-working as that of happy, little self-governed Guernsey, 'the Norman-Celtic islet extolled by Mill and others.'

Roads in Ireland seem abundant, and many of them look in excellent condition. Going by rail the English traveller cannot fail to be struck by the small number of trains that pass him on the other track, and will note the fact as yet another sign of trade stagnation.

That the Irish are a bloodthirsty people, everlastingly desirous of murdering the "Saxon," and unpleasantly addicted to lurking behind hedges for the purpose of shooting landlords is among our many delusions regarding them. The evidence for the defence before the Parnell Commission must pretty well have exploded this superstition; but, should there be any of it left, a visit to Ireland would effectually dispel it. They are a courteous race, the very poorest among them having that self-respecting, kindly manner which we are pleased to call ladylike or gentlemanly. When we entered their miserable cottages they received us not with the beggar's whine or fussy apology for shabby surroundings, but with a hearty hand-clasp and an assurance that "you are welcome," the genuineness of which greeting we read in their open faces. Yet what gaunt starvelings many of them looked! It required some persuasion to make them share with us the food we brought. Much prejudice, we were told, has been unjustly raised against the Irish people by Charles Lever's novels, in which they are represented as a thriftless, rollicking, happy-go-lucky race, utterly wanting in ballast. Samuel Lover's songs, plaintive, beautiful, and here and there tinged with superstition as tender as it is poetical, bring us far nearer to appreciation of the national characteristics. As a rule, the peasants are hard-working, frugal, and scrupulously honest; and those who are not too hopelessly poor, nor deterred by the fear of seeming prosperous, seek to adorn their humble dwellings with such inexpensive ornaments as clean net or muslin blinds and curtains, home-

made antimacassars, cheaply-framed political or religious pictures (the portraits of the Irish leaders being especially popular), and the coloured cartoons issued by the *Weekly Freeman* or *United Ireland*.

Here is an anecdote illustrative of the national honesty. A young Englishman about to visit an Irish family living in one of the little towns calls on his way at the office belonging to his host. As they come out together, the visitor notices that his friend simply closes the door behind them. "Do you not lock up your office at night?" asks the Englishman. "No," replies his host; "were I to lock the door, I should hurt the feelings of all my poorer neighbours."

The peasants do not flaunt their rags in the eyes of tourists; and it would not be easy to say where, in their smoke-filled, chimney-less, floorless, often window-less, and nearly furniture-less hovels, the very poorest could (if they had them) hide those better clothes they are accused of wearing in private life. At night they will oftener lie down on a heap of straw than on a bedstead, clad in the rags they wear by day as long as they will hold together. Often the poultry, pigs, goats, and cattle will share the hovel: sometimes because there is no other shelter; sometimes, we were told, lest the landlord's agent, or the constabulary, or other law-and-order-loving persons should drive them off in the night. For that the police are quartered in such force in Ireland to protect the people from Nationalistic tyranny, and to enable the poor tenants to pay the monstrous rents they are supposed to be thirsting to hand over, is yet another delusion. The people and the police are far from being on terms of affectionate intercourse, although these latter are by no means all ruffians. Some are the sons of evicted tenants, and enter the force simply because it is a well-paid body, and because, unless they emigrate, there is hardly any work to be found. Several have subscribed anonymously to the "Evicted Tenants' Fund," and it is said many are heartily ashamed of the work they are set to do. Still, when we looked at some of them we shuddered at the thought of men with such faces being let loose on a defenceless populace; and it is said that sundry of the worst men have been heard to pronounce dull those evictions at which there is no bloodshed. And if there are many ruffians among them, it is not surprising, seeing that promotion is the reward of "zeal," while the lack of it meets with reproof. Moreover, as none of the men wear numbers, and when there comes trouble between constables and civilians, the officers decline to give the name of any police-offender, there is no discouragement to wrong-doing. The constabulary swarm all over the country. One quiet evening, at Killarney, we counted sixty in 120

minutes. They are at the railway stations looking into every compartment of every train that stops there; in the streets, public offices, everywhere; they dogged our footsteps, scanned the addresses on our luggage labels, pursued our car on their own car if they thought us bound on an errand they approved not of—unless, indeed, we gave them the slip; and, in the case of a friend, actually walked close behind him in the street, and read his newspaper—a wicked Liberal journal—over his shoulder. Unless we except the emergency men, of whom no one seems to find a good word to say, there are respectable, as well as worthless, members of every class. Good landlords are by no means wanting, and deserving of much pity are many of them, just as was the generation of French aristocrats, inheritors also of an evil system, on whom fell the full fury of the great Revolution. Many generations sow the wind; to reap the whirlwind is often reserved for but one.

Another erroneous idea is that the priests are men who live in luxury while their congregations starve, that they are a set of half-educated clowns or whisky-drinking boors, that they use the great influence they possess with their flocks to stir up civil and religious discord, and so forth. When we made their acquaintance north, south, east, and west, yet one more delusion “went by the board.” Most of us have heard of Father Mathew, the great “Apostle of Temperance,” whose statue to-day worthily adorns a street in Cork, and whose labours were cut short by death, accelerated by over-work, scarcely forty years ago. The priesthood have carried on his unfinished crusade unweariedly, quietly—for the noblest deeds are not always those which get trumpeted abroad to win the world’s applause—and so well have they wrought, that drunkenness is considerably lessened, and is now, we were told, principally confined to the police and the upper classes. At Falcarragh, where the little hotel adjoins the police barracks, and is opposite a public house, we had ample opportunity of observing how urgent is the need of temperance work among the constabulary. The priests know how to be stern as well as kind, and we heard more than one rebuke a beggar (not that there are many of the class), while we were warned never to give alms, as the poor are provided for by well-organised charities.

It is hard to say what would become of Ireland without her priests, her members of parliament, her National League (most beneficent of institutions), her gentle sisterhoods, and her good children self-exiled in America, Australia, and elsewhere, who never forget those left behind, and who have sent home, literally, millions of money. All these stand between the motherland and absolute despair. No wonder that, when we read or hear of the heroism of this unconquerable

people, “our hearts in glad surprise to higher levels rise.” The devotion of the pastors to their flocks wins corresponding devotion on the part of the flocks to the pastors; and it was, we were told, the mistaken frenzied cry that the beloved priest was murdered which led to the wild panic among the crowd outside Father McFadden’s church, and the much-to-be-deplored death of Inspector Martin.

When we drove through the Gweedore country, the news that we were friends won us hearty greetings all along the way; and when we joined Father McFadden, who was waiting for us on the high road near to the scene of the Glasserchoo evictions, his parishioners gathered from all parts. It was one of the most curious and picturesque of sights. The bleak, wild Donegal hills, surging back from either side, the winding road like the waves of a Brobdignagian ocean, hemmed in the landscape; and, in every direction, near and far, to right and left, by twos and threes, we saw the people hurrying down the declivities, all bound to the one spot, the women mostly clad in their bright scarlet skirts, the making of whose dye is a national industry, and with gaily-striped shawls (hats or bonnets never) over their heads and shoulders, the men and children only a degree less picturesque, and nearly all barefoot. Whence came the multitude, and how could we have been despaired? was one’s perplexing thought. Perplexing only for a moment; for, after all, what more natural than for the peasantry to keep unseen watch in a country where oppression rules, and the forces of the Crown are used not to protect, but to persecute? And again and again we heard the strange, shrill Irish cheer, so unlike the British hurrah, and a little resembling the startled cry of an animal in pain. What a scene it was! The rugged scenery, with, now and then, as we moved on, a strip of distant blue sea, and Tory Island, like a huge, brown ruined fortress, showing afar off; the wretched hovels dotted here and there, no clusters of huts, but a straggling, forty-miles long village; the two jaunting-cars now moving slowly, now halting; the black-robed father and ourselves; and, surrounding us, the ever-growing, surging crowd giving us hearty welcome for the beloved priest’s sake. To rear of us, Muckish, Errigal, and their companion mountains shut in the picture, and seemed to bar return to the world we had so lately left. A day never to be forgotten.

One of the most touching incidents of this curious scene—over which, like an augury of brighter times to come, stretched the cloudless summer sky—was the coming forward of our leader, Mrs. Holiday, to address a touching message of sympathy and encouragement to the gaunt, ragged, starved-looking multitude, who seemed to hang eagerly upon her words. No

wonder. It is not often that from English lips speech so tender and affecting has been heard in North-west Donegal.

On Sundays, Father McFadden's flock gathers from all parts, many walking for hours in order to be present at mass; and often three thousand worshippers throng the church, outside which will be seen a few poor vehicles, and, perhaps, a dozen riding-horses tethered. In Ireland, we are told, scanty congregations in Catholic churches are unknown.

Our kinsmen of France are this year celebrating the centenary of their great Revolution. A hundred years ago the French peasant was a serf, and all kinds of vexatious burdens were laid upon him till he could bear them no longer, but rose and made of himself a free man. What until then his miserable condition had been we learn from the writings of our own Arthur Young, of the late Alexis de Tocqueville, the veteran Alsatian novelists, MM. Erckmann-Chatrian and others. We rejoice that the French peasant to-day is a happier man than was his ancestor a hundred years ago; and many of us, including our Liberal Lord Mayor, who do not share the jaundiced views of our boycott-loving Prime Minister, have crossed the "silver streak" to help the French nation to do honour to its century-old emancipation from mediaeval feudalism. But if we cross another silver streak not very much wider, and dividing not foreign land from foreign land, but sister isle from sister isle, we seem to go back that hundred years as we come to a country where serfdom still lingers, in fact if not in name, and to a state of things that is a standing reproach to our oft-boasted freedom and civilisation. The old law of the *corvée* compelled the French peasant, under penalty of a monetary forfeit, to give up a certain number of days, usually at the busiest season of the year, to work on his lord's property. Recent evidence before the Parnell Commission shows that the *corvée* exists still in Ireland. A hundred years ago the French peasants were hindered by landlord-made laws from doing many things that to a free man seem as natural a heritage as the air he breathes. In Ireland, on certain estates at least, we were told that landlord-made laws or landlord-enforced rules now restricted the peasant from cutting the peat wherewith to make his fire, even in some instances the peat that grows on the land he rents, armed policemen being set to see that the mandate is obeyed. He must also, it is said, refrain from fishing in the waters, from gathering (without paying for it) the sea-weed—his land dressing, and too often also his food—and from pasturing his few poor beasts on the commons or mountain runs that once were free to them. Thus, one by one, his ancient privileges are filched, and, with them, his means of livelihood.

In France before the Revolution the heavily-taxed peasants toiled incessantly in order that luxury-loving "classes" might live. Not long ago in Ireland, it is said, the silly, extravagant wife of a "noble" absentee landlord lost some £80,000 in gambling. The agent of the Irish estate was bidden to raise the tenants' rents, in order that the great lady might be enabled to pay her debts. He was an honest man, and declared that to do so was impossible; the rents were already too high. He was dismissed and another agent, more to the taste of the noble pair, was appointed in his stead.

In France before the Revolution the many were sacrificed to the greed or, at any rate, to the carelessness of the few. Perhaps that rule still holds good in most countries. But probably in none more than in Ireland where the cottier is forcibly removed in order that a farm may be "squared," or the land used as cattle-ranch or timber plantation. Past such a spot we were driven one lovely summer evening. A long stone wall running parallel to the high road encloses hundreds of half-grown trees. About a quarter of a century ago, twenty cottages stood there. The twenty families belonging to them were evicted. Now to arrive at some sort of estimate of the probable number of victims, it is usual to multiply each family by ten, not, as with us, by five. For at times three generations live under one Irish roof, and unmarried adult brothers and sisters of the house—father and mother help to swell the list. What, we asked our informant, became of these two hundred peasants? The very old people, he told us, died; many more went into the workhouse; the rest emigrated. To-day not one can be traced. They are gone, their place knows them no longer; their dwellings have disappeared; their sad tale alone still lingers. Similar stories abound throughout the country—all are sorrowful; some, tragic.

Here, for example, is a page of authentic Irish history condensed from "New Ireland." Before Mr. Adair, in 1858, bought the Glenveih estate in North-West Donegal, the "peasantry were on the best and kindest relations with their landlords," and the clergy of all denominations spoke of them then, and speak of them still, with "warmest sympathy and compassion." In the chapter called the "Fate of Glenveih," Mr. Sullivan tells, at great length, the harrowing story of how Mr. Adair and his tenantry came to be on the very worst of terms. When a landlord begins his rule by building a pound for his poorer neighbours' cattle, and a police-station whose guns command that pound, it is not difficult to foresee trouble ahead. We know that increase of appetite grows by what it feeds on, and, in October, 1859, by dint of buying different

properties, Mr. Adair had become "absolute monarch of nearly ninety square miles of country." About this time it had occurred or been suggested to sundry Donegal landlords that if the cottiers were deprived of their ancient grazing rights, and the mountain-runs stocked with certain sheep imported from Scotland, thousands of pounds' profit might be realised. The scheme was duly carried out, the dishonest part included. The poor people naturally resented the unjust deprivation, but redress for the Irish serf there is none. Needs must when the landlord drives. Ere long, however, it was noticed that the Scotch sheep perished at a great rate, their bodies being found "in scores all over the hills." The blame was, of course, laid on the shoulders which could least resist the burden, and again and again were fines exacted for the value of the dead and missing animals, the impoverished cottiers vainly protesting their innocence of the crime with which they were charged. Now, however mysterious the fate of some of the sheep, there is little doubt that very many actually did perish from stress of weather and from falling over precipices. Meanwhile, as the penalties levied grew heavier, the faster died the flocks. At length it struck an unusually shrewd Crown official that sheep-losing could not fail to flourish when each animal imported alive cost but 7s. 6d. to 10s., while the fine extorted after death ranged from 17s. 6d. to 25s. Investigation revealed "strange facts," among them a suspicious abundance of mutton in the cottages of the Scotch shepherds; and at last the judges of assize (who must have been very different men from the "removables" of to-day) indignantly refused to "flat these monstrous claims." The fact is significant that, directly the fines ceased, the importation of sheep ceased also. Mr. Sullivan does not tell us whether any landlord thought it necessary to recoup his plundered tenantry; and, perhaps, on that score, it is best not to be too curious. Mr. Adair had been one of the largest importers, and his cottiers were reduced to the direst distress. Thus it may be inferred that no compensation for unjust fines was made to them. A sea of troubles followed, which culminated in the murder of Mr. Adair's manager, by whose hand was never known. Finally, the angry landlord resolved to sweep away the population of Glenveagh wholesale. In Ireland the clearing out of house and home of some hundreds of human beings is thought no more of than is elsewhere the extermination of a colony of rats. No crime had been proved against these unhappy people, whose hovels had been vainly searched for proof of guilt. In April, 1861, the evictions, heart-rending even only to read of, were ruthlessly carried out; and to-day, for miles round, but three dwellings exist where once were many—Castle Adair, inhabited, maybe, one month out of the

twelve, a herd's cottage, and the inevitable police-barracks. To enable five policemen to protect all this, the British tax-payers subscribe £500 a year. The tragedy is now twenty-eight years old; therefore, leaving out of the reckoning the heavy cost of the evictions themselves, the tax-payers must have already paid some £28,000. And this is but one of many iniquities that have been, and are still being, carried out in the sacred name of law and order.

Clergymen of many denominations, and public-spirited laymen of different politics, befriended these multitudinous victims of one person's tyranny; and among these, Mr. Sullivan gives the name of one who is still happily spared to be pastor, doctor, lawyer, and best friend to his loving congregation; and who has won respect and admiration far beyond the narrow limits of Donegal. "A fine-hearted young priest who had laboured devotedly for them (the evicted cottiers) from the first hour of their misfortunes," is spoken of as the Rev. James McFadden.

The rapacity of the landlord class is proverbial; and the ingenuity which some of them employ, or which is employed on their behalf, to defeat any measure introduced to remedy long-standing evils is well worthy of a better cause. Suppose, for example, there is a question of compensation to tenants for their improvements. What is easier than to say that compensation can only be claimed under an existing contract, and that notice of eviction cancels that contract, and necessitates a new one? It is said that only between three and four per cent. of out-going tenants get such compensation. Suppose, again, that a late land commission has settled that a man's rent shall be reduced from, say, £15 to £7 10s., the landlord, or his agent in the landlord's name, will snap his fingers at the judicial ruling and rackrent as before. When, furthermore, it is remembered that rates and taxes are apt to vary from seven to twenty shillings in the pound, it follows that the man who is paying the £15 rent instead of £7 10s., if living where taxation is heaviest, must disburse some £30 a year for the privilege of dwelling in a very poor house which perhaps he or his father before him built. For, let it not be forgotten that in Ireland the landlord lets to the tenant nothing more than the land, which fact, years ago, led John Bright to say that "prairie value" was all that the lessor should be entitled to receive. The tenant fences, drains, builds his house, finding both materials and labour for all these operations; and thus, in course of years, greatly increases the original value of the soil. He may have begun on the bog-land itself, and have presently transformed his little patch of brown, dismal-looking waste into a green oasis, fenced, drained, and with his humble cottage

standing in the midst. Or he may have leased a barren rock, and, with infinite pains and all sorts of contrivances, have caused the place to provide him with a very scanty living in return for all his care. But what happens? The landlord or agent has his eyes both upon the spot which once was bog and that which was stony desert. Each bears a house; each has some sort of surroundings. The land which was all but worthless has become valuable, and so the rents mount steadily. Thus one man toils, and another reaps the profit thereof; and to doubt the wisdom and justice of this beautiful arrangement is to avow oneself a low Radical. The landlord has yet another string to his bow. Some unusually humane law-giver had decreed that a tenant should not suffer eviction unless he owed twelve-months' rent. This can be evaded by bringing into view the "hanging gale." The hanging gale seems to be a six months' rent that is still owing. It may be a debt of some years' standing. But it is a useful weapon of reserve in a landlord's hands, and is therefore sometimes allowed to run on indefinitely. In a recent case, it is said, a man inherited a hanging gale from a former tenant. He knew nothing of it, as may well be believed, seeing that it dated more than forty years back—to the days of the Great Famine. His landlord wanted to get rid of him, but the intended victim only owed rent for six months. The hanging gale was sprung upon him, the twice six months made up the requisite twelve, and the unhappy man was turned adrift.

We were also told of a poor woman on whom the agent came down for a year's rent, which was, I think, about £2 10s. Because she had not the money ready, her cow, value £5, was driven off, and she was further saddled with a charge of 25s., or thereabouts, for costs. With some trouble she scraped together the money, and cleared herself of debt. But her cow was still detained. What would you? She was only a poor widow.

The other day, Mr. Balfour, in the House of Commons, told his hearers of "generous terms" offered by a certain landlord. Some of the printed letters, promising kindly consideration of different tenants' cases, and announcing postponement of claims till the 1st July, I have seen. But what actually took place? The letters are dated 20th May; they were delivered on the 21st and 22nd, and the evictions were carried out amid the customary scenes of brutality on the 24th of that month. The promise of respite till the 1st July and the generous terms seem both to have been forgotten. Now, why did Mr. Balfour, as he too often does, tell but half the tale, speak of the generous offer only, and omit all mention of the broken promise? These half-true statements, if made by the other side, would be pronounced Jesuitical. There are Jesuits outside

the Catholic Church. What, for instance, can be more misleading than to be told that a certain rich man has spent over £170,000 on his estate? You think, well, here at last is a generous landlord. But what if it be shown that the money was spent, not upon the estate generally, but only on the private demesne? We hear tales of the maiming of cattle, and of other outrages, some of which come as news to the dwellers on the spot where they are declared to have occurred. The cattle maiming is said to be not invariably the work of strangers; and we have seen elsewhere that the killing of flocks, by whomsoever undertaken, brought in, at one time, more than *cent. per cent.* profit to their owners. A policeman raises the cry that he has been shot at. On examination it is found that, though he has a few holes in his coat, there are none to correspond in his underclothing, while it has been further hinted that the torn nap turns outwards instead of inwards. The tragic case of Inspector Whelahan, too, must be fresh in the public memory. Again, it is, we are told, merciful of an evicting landlord to let his recently dispossessed tenants return to their houses as "care-takers." In that case, the deliberate baiting of a trap is also a work of mercy towards the animal destined to be caught in it. The next act of the high-handed drama is likely to be that "eviction made easy," which provides that if a tenant is turned out a second time, and again re-enters the house, the entire property passes out of his possession for ever.

If only the law-and-order party would tell whole truths instead of half ones, how much better the Irish question would be understood by outsiders possessed of a wholesome love of facts and of straightforward dealing.

In many quarters it is considered right that the landlords should combine against the tenants, but the height of iniquity for the tenants to combine against the landlords. It is thought perfectly fair that the landlords should call on the forces of the Crown to aid in the wanton destruction of property built by other men, but quite wrong of the tenants to resort to the only weapon left them—a weapon not of offence, but defence—the Plan of Campaign, now to be superseded by the newer Tenants' Defence League. The Plan of Campaign, as we know, was the direct outcome of the mischievous action of Parliament in throwing out Mr. Parnell's Bill for the relief of the tenants at a time of dire necessity; on which occasion that far-seeing statesman, whose prophecies, unlike those of smaller-minded men, have a knack of coming true, foretold trouble were the measure defeated. It is also held right for Primrose dames and similar well-to-do people to boycott Liberal tradesmen and others; but it is very wicked of dispossessed and poverty-stricken Irish cottiers to "severely let alone" the farmers trans-

planted from the larger island or elsewhere, the constabulary, emergency men, and the like, who have been placed on the holdings of the evicted boycotters. The new comers are boycotted because they are considered as receivers of stolen property, the robbers being the landlords. The boycott is not accompanied by outrage, is, at any rate in Nationalist eyes, a justifiable proceeding, and would, doubtless, be faithfully copied by its detractors were they placed in the same position as the plundered tenants. If we are never to resent ill-usage, if we are always to count among Charles Reade's "forgiving fools," let us at once set up as idol the doctrine of passive obedience, and have done for ever with those struggles to right wrong which so annoy the "classes." Evictions, our Unionist friends tell us, go on in London. Here again is a half-truth calculated to mislead us as it has evidently misled those who, no doubt in perfect good faith, hurl it at us as an unanswerable argument, or present it as a gentle hint that our sympathies should be directed towards objects nearer home. The landlords of the evicted London tenants get the land on somewhat similar terms to the Irish tenants. They have nearly everything to do. They build houses at their own cost, which ultimately become the property of the so-called "superior" landlord, besides having annually to pay that greedy personage ground-rent for the honour of occupying his land. The cases of the London and the Irish evictions are so utterly unlike, that to compare the two is ridiculous.

Said Michael Davitt, the other day at the Parnell Commission, "It is an outrage upon civilisation to pull down houses built by the tenants themselves because a few pounds are owing to an absentee landlord." On the other hand, a Unionist friend tells me that sympathy with evicted tenants is mere sentimentality, because, if it is for the advantage of the rest of the community that they should go elsewhere, the sooner they are gone the better. Now this is surely advocating not the greatest happiness of the greatest number, but its direct opposite. Moreover, the assumed advantage is problematical.

That the Irish nation remains unconquered, notwithstanding seven centuries of oppression, is a fact which appeals to the hearts of its many admirers, some of whom also fall to speculating what would be the probable effect were the enormous sums of money now annually squandered in pitiable attempts at coercion and wholesale destruction of property and ruin of human lives, employed instead to develop Ireland's manifold resources. When common (which always means uncommon) sense comes to our rulers' aid, perhaps this alternative may favourably suggest itself to their understanding; and then we might see the old Ireland disappear, and the new Ireland, of

which A. M. Sullivan dreamed, arise in its place.

Enormous, indeed, must be the cost of the present state of things. As we watched the long train of men, horses, &c., moving about the Luggacurren lanes and fields from one eviction to another, we tried to calculate the probable expense of one day's work alone. One hundred soldiers, 150 policemen, a dozen emergency-men, a handful of officers, the ambulance and commissariat vans, the battering-ram and its numerous accompaniments, make up a small invading army which must cost no trifling sum to clothe, arm, feed, move, and pay. "It makes a brave show," said the inspector who showed us "Balfour's Maiden" at Falcarragh. "When it is mounted on that large waggon, with the shields, crowbars, &c., and four horses drawing the whole thing at full gallop, it looks like one of your London fire-engines." No doubt, but on what a different errand each is bent—one to save, the other to destroy.

The trials are a farce. We attended two. At the first the district inspector plainly prompted replies to the policemen under examination, the whole thing was conducted in a language which some of the prisoners did not understand, a portion only being translated for their benefit (the English words "eviction," "policeman," &c., sounding strange amid a flood of Gaelic); and when Mr. Patrick O'Brien, M.P., made a spirited protest against the great unfairness shown, he was grossly insulted by the presiding magistrate. On the second occasion, the notorious Cecil Roche, R.M., was the chief figure, or, perhaps, shared pre-eminence with the counsel for the prosecution, who was a champion bully. The victim was a young man named Fleming, who had visited the larger island in connection with the sale of boycotted cattle, his object being to let British farmers and graziers know that they could purchase at almost any price they chose to offer, on account of the difficulty of disposing of the beasts in Ireland. Now, if dealers are obliged to sell at unremunerative prices, there is less chance of success for the projected cattle-breeding companies, and consequently also less chance of wholesale eviction of human beings in order to make way for animals. Or so, at least, was the plan as afterwards explained to us. When we were further told that some of the men in power were promoters and shareholders of these undertakings, and when we reflected that we were in a coerced country where might is right, we looked for scant mercy towards the man whose ingenious device threatened checkmate to the companies in the shape of unlikely dividends. Although those among the witnesses summoned for the prosecution who were cattle-dealers most unexpectedly turned against the side which produced them by failing to prove that Mr. Fleming tried to hinder

them from selling, their evidence went for nothing, and they only drew on themselves remorseless brow-beating. Preference of belief was, as usual, given to the accusations of the police spies; for the word of a constable, or even of an ex-jail-bird emergency-man, is held more sacred than that of an Irish gentleman. This trial lasted till late in the afternoon; and we noticed that towards the end the magistrates, who had every appearance of living exceedingly well, frequently consulted their watches. The court seemed quite relieved when, after a brief private consultation, Messrs. Roche and McDermott re-appeared, and the former passed on Mr. Fleming the savage sentence of six months' imprisonment with hard labour. Involuntarily I be thought me of the famous line: "And wretches hang that jurymen may dine."

Had we not been present from beginning to end of these legal farces, we should have found it hard to believe in the possibility of their taking place. Had we not visited Ireland, we should have found it equally hard to realise other evil things that daily take place there. Oh, Law and Order, what crimes are committed in thy name! Wherever law may have betaken itself during a certain memorable crisis, order, as we know, once reigned in Warsaw. All things considered, it is scarcely surprising that Ireland should have been sometimes called the Western Poland.

The patient endurance of the Irish nation is as marvellous as it is admirable; nevertheless, it behoves us who have justly made their cause our own, to see that the strain be not enforced too long. It was only in 1886 that we of the larger isle took on ourselves in real earnest the task of fathoming the meaning of Irish discontent. Mr. Gladstone had preceded most of us in that study, with what result we know. And many of us have come to see that if before that date the Irish repeatedly clamoured for total separation, and threatened a resort to arms, the blame was much more ours than theirs. Had we been in their place, should we not have done the same? England has had her Hampden, Cromwell, and the rest; and America, her Washington. These men are considered to have conferred some honour upon the countries which gave them birth, and to have played a not altogether insignificant part in preserving the national liberties. What if they had preferred patient endurance to vigorous action? Shallow politicians and unthinking "society" may dub the Irish leaders demagogues, but posterity will look on Parnell, Davitt, Dillon, O'Brien, and others, much as to-day we regard the world's acknowledged heroes.

In conclusion I would strongly urge all English speaking people who are able to visit Ireland to do so. Let them not take their impressions at second-hand from anyone, myself included, but go and seek them for themselves.

THE IRISH TENANTS' DEFENCE LEAGUE.

THE following is the constitution of the Irish Tenants' Defence League:—

1. The Irish Tenants' Defence League is founded to assert and maintain the right of the tenant farmers of Ireland, now attacked or threatened by aggressive combinations of Irish landlords, to protect their legal and equitable interest in their holdings by a defensive combination among themselves.

2. The object of the League is to counteract, by legal means, all combinations of landlords used to exact excessive rents, to extort unjust arrears, or to impose inequitable terms of purchase, or to stimulate eviction, or in any way to destroy or imperil the security of tenants in their holdings.

3. In order to effect this purpose, the tenants throughout Ireland are invited to contribute to a Tenants' Defence Fund, in a fixed proportion to the poor law valuation of their holdings.

4. Tenants on any one or more estates, combining to assist the League, and subscribing to the Tenants' Defence Fund, will be entitled to the help of the League in case of need.

5. Branches of the League will not be formed, but each body of tenants combining to sustain the League will appoint (at a meeting held annually for the purpose) treasurers to collect and remit their contributions, and secretaries to communicate with the council of the League, whenever occasion may arise, and such treasurers and secretaries shall be recognised by the council and by the League in the transaction of all affairs in which the interest of such tenants is directly concerned.

6. In the event of an emergency, the council of the League may rate the collection of a special levy from the associated tenants, such levy not to exceed the amount of the annual contribution.

7. The League will exert itself to inform the public, especially in Great Britain, of the proceedings and aims of combinations of landlords in Ireland, and will devote particular attention to contested by-elections.

8. The League will afford legal advice to tenants in connection with any proceedings instituted or threatened by, or at the instance of, any combination of landlords, or by any landlord who is engaged or concerned in such a combination; and in the event of the eviction of any such tenants from their holdings as the result of such proceedings, the League, to the full extent of its power, will afford them shelter and support, provided that the council is satisfied that such are willing to refer to arbitration the questions in dispute between them and their landlords.

9. The affairs of the League shall be directed

by a council of fifteen members, elected annually from their own body by the members of the League, the first council to be elected within a month from the formation of the League.

10. Admission to membership of the League should be determined by the council.

11. The subscription of a member shall be any sum not less than £1 per annum.

12. Donors of sums of £10 and upwards will be eligible for election by the council as honorary members of the League.

13. Meetings of the League will be held from time to time as summoned by the council.

14. The council will make and publish from time to time such further rules and such alterations in the constitution of the League as it may deem to be expedient.

NOTES BY THE WAY.

O'Brien v. Salisbury.—Mr. O'Brien sued Lord Salisbury for having in his speech at Watford spoken as follows:—"Mr. O'Brien, in language not so crude as I have used, but perfectly distinct, urged upon all those who heard him, that men who took unlet farms should be treated as they have been treated during the last ten years in the locality in which he spoke—that is to say, that they should be murdered, robbed, their cattle shot and ill-treated, their farms devastated." A Manchester jury has given a verdict for the defendant—that is to say, they have found that Lord Salisbury, in using these words, did not slander Mr. O'Brien. The result suggests an interesting dilemma. Either it is not slanderous to speak of an Irishman in words which, to most people, would appear to mean that he had advised murder, robbery, the shooting and ill-treating of cattle, and the devastation of farms; or else, when Unionist orators connect the names of the Irish leaders with murder, robbery, the shooting and ill-treatment of cattle, and the devastation of farms, we must, in future, understand that they mean nothing disrespectful, even if they mean anything at all. The Prime Minister was not kind to his party in impaling them on the horns of such a dilemma.

The London Companies' Estates.—A Select Committee of the House of Commons has been appointed to inquire into the position of the Irish Society and the City Companies with regard to their estates in Ireland; and if the inquiry is carried out with thoroughness,* a great deal of light will be thrown upon an interesting part of

the history of landholding in Ireland. The claim of the Companies is that they stand in the same position as ordinary landowners, and are at liberty to deal with their estates as they please. Whatever may have been the legal position of the Irish Society, the Companies contend that they are free from any trust, the estates having come to them by grant not from the Crown but from the Society, with which alone the Crown dealt in making the Plantation. On the other hand it is contended that they are simply trustees. That the lands were originally granted in trust admits of no doubt, and it is urged that the grants by the Society to the Companies were made simply as a means of carrying out the original scheme. The Society could not convey the lands, and the Companies could not take them, otherwise than subject to the conditions and obligations imposed by the original grants from the Crown. And this was evidently Lord Langdale's opinion in the case of the Skinners' Company v. The Irish Society:—"I am of opinion that the powers granted to the Society and trusts reposed in them were, in part, of a general and public nature, independent of the private benefit of the companies of London; and were intended by the Crown to benefit Ireland and the City of London, by connecting the City of Londonderry and the town of Coleraine and a considerable Irish district with the City of London, and to promote the purposes of the Plantation, not only by securing the performance of the conditions imposed on ordinary undertakers, but also by exercise of powers and the performance of trusts not within the scope of those conditions."

If, upon inquiry, it should turn out that this is the true legal history of these estates, it will not be difficult to show that the Companies have flagrantly betrayed their trust; and the next step should then be to place the property in other hands. We are not sure that it might not be found that other Irish proprietors, besides the City Companies, hold their lands by a similar title, being bound by the express terms of their grants to administer the property so as to promote the well-being of the inhabitants. Mr. Butt, if we remember rightly, was of this opinion. It opens up an interesting subject of inquiry, and perhaps when the City Companies have been dealt with, we may have the courage to go a step further.

Mr. Balfour's Opinion of Irish Agitation.—Speaking at Salisbury, on July 25th, Mr. Balfour fell foul of Mr. Shaw Lefevre for having said that the Special Commission is really all over. "I do not comment," he said very pompously, "upon the decency or the propriety of making those remarks while the Special Commission is still in existence." This is very fine, no doubt,

* Since this was written, the inquiry has been prematurely stopped, Mr. Morley and several other members having retired from the Committee as a protest against the irregular appointment of Sir W. Marriott as Chairman. Another Committee will have to be appointed.

though Mr. Shaw Lefevre's remarks appear to us very mild and reasonable. But what are we to think of the following statement by Mr. Balfour himself in the very same speech?—"For example Mr. Parnell, in describing the movement of which he has been the head for the last ten years, said that it might be possible, no doubt, that it had been accompanied by regrettable incidents. That is a very modest, moderate, and self-contained method of describing the agitation which in five years had for its accompaniment 13,000 agrarian offences, sixty murders, and 400 mutilations of cattle of the most barbarous and horrible kind, carried out in a manner which I will not offend your ears by attempting to describe." This is how the Irish Secretary understands the duty of reserving judgment until the report is issued of a Commission which is supposed to be inquiring into the question whether there is any connection at all between Irish crime and Irish agitation.

The Agent's Opinion of the Ponsonby Rents.—In the course of eviction proceedings brought at the Wicklow assizes by Mr. Ponsonby, a letter was read which throws a good deal of light on the character of the Ponsonby estate. It was written by Mr. Townsend, who is understood to be agent of the Smith-Barry syndicate, and addressed to Mr. Gyles, Secretary of the Land Corporation in Dublin. We italicize one or two passages.—

" 17 June, 1889.

"*MY DEAR GYLES,—I am getting very uneasy about Moore's rate of proceeding. He is letting time run on so that it will be close enough if they are in time for next sessions, and, if not, it will be disastrous. I advise in the strongest manner possible that the ejectments should be brought at next quarter sessions and in the superior courts, and that a bargain should be made with Mr. Wakeham, solicitor, Middleton, at so much a piece for the lot. Unless some arrangement of the kind be made about costs, there will be a much heavier bill have to be paid than need be. I hope you have got a schedule from Moore, or an arrangement on the same matter. From what I have seen of the Ponsonby estate, I am sorry to say that I believe the Land Commission, if it ever goes before it, will reduce the rents on it very heavily. If the acreable rates are correct which Barter told me we were charged, many will, I expect, go well over 30, but the property is so unevenly let that the average may remain under. As there is some very good land near the sea, it is quite a good thing enough for fighting, the tenants having required an equal all-round reduction, and then gone to the Plan of Campaign; but I considered that the late agent should have given larger allowances than 20 per cent. on a good deal of the lands, and have all revalued at*

the commencement of the row, before the Plan of Campaign was adopted. *The existing rates on light tillage lands, which might have been fair fifteen or twenty years ago, are far above the present value.* A good deal of land I saw I was told was rented at 20s., but it will go under the Land Court at 12s. or 13s., and that is Barter's opinion also. *I advise Mr. Smith-Barry and the other members of the syndicate to make public as soon as possible that they are only fighting the way in which tenants want to get the rents down.* Of course, they have put this forward in their circulars; but this view has not been brought enough before the public, who are led to believe that the purchaser's object is to recover the rents which are too high. By the way, please send me two or three more circulars, as I had to give the only one I had last night to Captain Plunkett. I enclose a letter just received. The man in question was one of those marked on the list as not to be served with a seven days' notice. I would have written to Barter to say the yearly rent less 20 per cent. would be taken in account, and a clear receipt given according to circular after, when the capitalising of arrears and future rents are settled, but think, on consideration, it better for me only acknowledge his letter and say that I had written to you as if Mr. Ponsonby is owner, the receipt to be given from him.—Yours truly,

"H. H. TOWNSEND."

The result of Arbitration on the Vandeleur Estate.—The Rev. Father Buckley, of Kilrush, has written to the *Times* to correct a statement which had been made that the Vandeleur tenantry were dissatisfied with the recent award of Sir Charles Russell, and that they refused to pay. "There is not one tenant on the whole property," he says, "who has refused to abide by the award of Sir Charles Russell. There is not one tenant that has caviled or found fault with it. They have done what they could to carry it out. The agent of the estate, Mr. Studdert, and Mr. Henniker Heaton, on last Monday, congratulated the priests and people on the way in which the award was carried out, and said that honour and honesty marked the conduct of the tenants. Out of such a large property, running through nine parishes, and many of the tenants poor, there are only seven tenants who funded their half-year's rent and did not pay. But these will pay immediately that they are able to put the full year's rent together." If Englishmen would only attend to facts, they would find that in spite of all the abuse which has been rained upon him, the Irish tenant is the best rent-payer in the world.

The Gaelic Athletic Association and the Government.—Archbishop Walsh has been interviewed by a representative of the

Freeman's Journal with reference to a statement which has been circulated that the Bishops of Ireland had condemned the Gaelic Athletic Association. One of the reasons alleged for the condemnation was that the Government had made use of the Association to excite a feeling against the Home Rule movement. The Archbishop, of course, declared the statement to be absolutely untrue. "Surely you do not think that the Bishops of Ireland have taken leave of their senses?" In reference to the allegation of the action of the Government, his answers are striking and even startling; for the Archbishop is not a man who talks wildly. R. "Then there is this serious charge of Government interference in a mischievous sense?" A. "I know nothing of what the Government or its envoys—official or officious—may or may not have done in the matter. But I am fully aware that efforts have been made in some parts of Ireland to engraft upon the Gaelic Athletic Association a secret society of a political character. This fully explains what has been noticed in several districts—the scarcely concealed hostility of certain branches of the Athletic Association to the National League and to Mr. Parnell's constitutional movement generally. Unfortunately there are not a few incidents in the recent history of Ireland which gave some reason to the suspicion that Government influence is more or less directly at work in this nefarious plotting." R. "Has your Grace any reason to think that such influence is at work?" A. "*Undoubtedly I have. I trust there will be an investigation of the matter. A judicial commission on this subject would, I believe, bring many instructive facts to light.* We may yet succeed in having the light fully in upon the details of this, as well as upon the details of that nefarious conspiracy against Mr. Parnell, of which, as the public are aware, I happen to have acquired some knowledge." This is certainly a startling statement, and we may hear more about the matter. In any event the action of the Athletic Association in recent years has been remarkable, and merits a close investigation. This, at least, we can safely say, that before Mr. Gladstone intervened there was a real danger that the young men of Ireland should once more lose hope of constitutional agitation and should return to the old evil ways of secret societies. A revival of Fenianism, by means of the Athletic Association, was undoubtedly threatened: thanks to English obstinacy and prejudice.

Landlords in England and in Ireland
—**A Contrast.**—"By the presence of the wealthy English proprietor amongst his tenants, by the example—sometimes the warning—of his own experimental farm, by the introduction of the

last 'new and improved' machine and the best blood, by the intelligent and kindly intercourse (not confined to the 'stumpy courtesies of males') pervading the estate as from a central focus, by his heavy bills for farm repairs, constantly occasioning some visitation of his own, be the mason and the carpenter never so alert, or the steward never so ubiquitous—by these mere commonplaces of an English landlord's life, what laws, however awkward and rusty, could fail to move lightly on well-oiled hinges? What does the tenant, in such a case, think or care about the land laws? What are they to him more than the night wind that whistles through the keyhole of his well-warmed dwelling, erected—like everything else upon the farm, except the very corn ricks—by his landlord, and at a cost whose yearly interest, exclusive of repairs, is a running item, 'written off' by the hand of Time, in the silent partnership that meets his own investment in the soil?

"Now take away all this; substitute, one cannot say its 'opposite,' but the picture of its mere absence, in every particular; open the Pandora's box, and let out all the ills that follow the 'curse of absenteeism'—the rack-rent, the often unfurnished farm, with its lean kine and fossil implements, the dismal, dirty cabin, and let the same wind blow upon the scene, upon 'this picture and on that.' Would it be possible, out of the same bare elements, to create greater contrast? under the 'same laws' to produce more opposite effects? What we have to consider when examining a *system* are its absolute elements and structure, not the dress it may be made to wear under special circumstances, or in the lap of customs invented and adapted to relieve its pressure. Ireland has furnished the test and criterion of the naked action of laws, writing of which Lord St. Leonards, the most professional, not to say technical, apologist they have ever had, acknowledges that 'no young State ought ever to be entangled in the complication of our law of real property.' Such an acknowledgement from such a quarter leaves little unsaid; it would be difficult to frame a heavier indictment. Our colonies have one and all wisely shrunk from their imposition; the United States rejected and repealed them as soon as they were free to choose, and there is now not a country of the civilised world in which they survive. Ireland alone—not a colony, not a dependency, but an integral part of the United Kingdom—is involved in the unwelcome partnership of laws which we inflict upon ourselves in the teeth of our own commissioners' reports, and the testimony of our greatest lawyers and economists."—C. WREN HOSKYNs on "The Land Laws of England" (Cobden Club Essays on Systems of Land Tenure).

Political Prisoners.—In the *Freeman's Journal* there recently appeared some interesting articles by Dr. Sigerson, on the treatment of political prisoners; and they have been followed by the publication of the opinions of many eminent men on the subject. The following letter from Sir Gavan Duffy, who was invited to express his views, has an additional interest in the light that it throws on colonial Home Rule:—

"MY DEAR DR. SIGERSON,—I cannot give you any information about the treatment of State prisoners in Victoria, because, during the quarter of a century I was connected with that colony, there were no State prisoners. At the opening of the period Home Rule, in the most perfect form, was established in Victoria. The people elect their own Parliament, the Government is chosen from the Parliament, and only exists so long as it retains its confidence. The Government so chosen appoints to every office, from that of Chief Justice down to the porter on a railway; they collect and expend the Revenue, of which a shilling does not go to the Imperial Treasury, except by free gift; and the Cabinet in Downing Street cannot appoint or remove a policeman in the Colony. There are naturally no offences against the State in such a country; and if the same system be applied to Ireland, you will have no more trouble about the classification of political prisoners. Before the Australians got a Free Constitution there were frequent riots, and even armed insurrection, and of course a liberal crop of prisoners; but the question how political convicts ought to be treated never arose, as Melbourne juries would not convict men resisting what was considered illegal exactions and arbitrary arrests under the old 'Mother Country' régime.

"As respects the general question, there are some obvious rules which can only be overlooked by wilful blindness. Political prisoners are commonly of a class to whom, from their training and antecedents, a plank-bed means torture, coarse food the pangs of indigestion, and menial service degradation; and when these inflictions, which habit makes indifferent to the rough and the burglar, are imposed upon political prisoners, a manifest injustice is done. Civilised mankind have agreed to treat prisoners whose offence is not against the moral but the municipal law as a separate and special class. I know no exception to this humane practice except Russia—if Russia, which is half barbarous, can be regarded as a case in point when we are speaking of civilised nations. We are going backwards, it seems. Lord Eldon, when he was at the head of the law in England, treated Cobbett and Leigh Hunt better than Irish journalists are treated to-day. I do not cite the case of O'Connell and the State prisoners of 1844, because the Dublin Corporation, which had

control of the Richmond Penitentiary, permitted us liberties which no one claims for political prisoners at present. It is not asked that they should hold virtual levées, or give daily entertainments to their friends; but that they shall not have a sentence of detention turned into physical and moral torture.—Believe me, very faithfully yours,

"C. GAVAN DUFFY.

"Shelbourne Hotel, July 20th."

The Deputation to Ireland.—A deputation from the Home Rule Union will proceed on a visit to Ireland at the end of this month. The intention is to spend three or four days in Dublin, after which the members will divide into four parties, which will proceed on pre-arranged tours through the country. The deputation will include the Right Hon. James Stansfeld, M.P., and other Members of Parliament.

DIARY OF THE MOVEMENT.

July 1.—House of Commons, motion for adjournment to discuss the proclamation of the Cork meeting and the arrest of Mr. O'Brien.

July 2.—Parnell Commission: Mr. Davitt in the witness-box.

July 4.—Mr. Conybeare's appeal heard by Judge Webb.—Mr. Arnold Morley, M.P., at Nottingham, on the "Liberal Party."

July 5.—Judge Webb confirms the magistrate's sentence on Mr. Conybeare.—Mr. Shaw Lefevre, M.P., on "Small Holdings," at the National Liberal Club.

July 6.—Presentation of the freedom of Cardiff to Mr. Gladstone, who makes important speeches on "Welsh and Irish Affairs."—Mr. John Morley, M.P., at Durham, on the "Royal Grants" and the "Irish Question."

July 7.—Arrest of Mr. Gill, M.P., and Mr. Cox, M.P., in London.

July 8.—Father McFadden's case further postponed.—Michael Cunningham and Richard Cronin sentenced to two months for obstructing the sheriff at the Ponsonby evictions.—House of Commons refuse to hear Mr. O'Brien explain the circumstances of his arrest.

July 9.—Mr. Hamilton and Colonel Bowlby, R.M.'s, dismiss charges against Mr. Cox, M.P.,

and Mr. Gill, M.P.—Six evictions on the "Clanricarde Estate."—Parnell Commission: Mr. John O'Connor, M.P., called.

July 10.—Official announcement of the founding of a Tenant's Defence League.

July 11.—Mr. O'Brien, M.P., before the Tipperary Crimes Court: case adjourned until August.

July 14.—Ponsonby tenants meet and resolve to combine against the Smith-Barry syndicate.

July 15.—Mr. O'Brien, M.P., addresses a secretly convened meeting of the Clanricarde tenants at Portumna.

July 16.—Professor Stuart writes on "Liberal Legislation for London" in the *Daily News*.—Withdrawal of Mr. Parnell and his friends from the Commission.—Lord Salisbury at West Ham on "Conservative Policy."

July 17.—Mr. Ponsonby refuses to submit to arbitration, and gets several decrees of possession against his tenants.—Lord Hartington at the City Liberal Club on "Home Rule."—Carmarthen Election: return of Liberal.

July 19.—Magnificent reception of Mr. Parnell in Edinburgh.—Opening of Mr. O'Brien's case against Lord Salisbury.—East Marylebone Election: great reduction in Tory majority.

July 20.—Mr. Parnell receives the freedom of Edinburgh, and makes two important speeches on Home Rule.—Sir Charles Russell at Hampstead.—Application for habeas corpus on behalf of Mr. Conybeare refused.

July 22.—Chief Baron Palles makes order calling upon the Attorney-General to show cause why an order for habeas corpus on behalf of Mr. Conybeare should not be granted.

July 23.—Parnell Commission: Mr. Parnell again as a witness.

July 24.—Sir W. Harcourt at Hereford on "Home Rule and the Royal Grants."—Mr. Balfour at the Crystal Palace.

July 25.—Adjournment of the Parnell Commission.—Further ejection decrees granted for the Ponsonby Estates.—Mr. Balfour at Salisbury on Ireland.—House of Commons, debate on "Royal Grants."

July 26.—Gladstone golden wedding celebration at the National Liberal Club.

July 29.—Six evictions on the Clanricarde Estate.—Lord Granville at the City Liberal Club on the "Sugar Convention."—Lord Randolph Churchill at Walsall on a "Conservative Programme."

July 30.—A force of thirty policemen, &c., evict Timothy Daly and ten children from his farm on the Curras Estate.—100 constables and 100 riflemen evict five families at Falcarragh.—Lord Randolph Churchill at Birmingham on "Ireland."—Mr. Balfour at Shoreditch.

HOME RULE UNION.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.—At a meeting of the Executive Committee held on Tuesday, July 9th (present: Dr. Bernard O'Connor in the chair, Mrs. Bryant, Miss Monck, Rev. J. S. Jones, Mr. Lough, and the Secretary):

The Rt. Hon. James Stansfeld, M.P., attended the committee and consented to join the deputation to Ireland.

After some discussion as to the object of the deputation, and the method in which it should be carried out, it was proposed by Miss Monck, seconded by the Rev. J. S. Jones, and carried unanimously, "That Professor Stuart, M.P., Mr. T. Eccleston Gibb, Mr. Thomas Lough, and the Secretary, be appointed a Sub-Committee to carry out the arrangements of the deputation."

The affiliation to the Home Rule Union of the Croydon Women's Liberal Association was duly sanctioned.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee held on Tuesday, July 23rd, 1889 (present: Professor Stuart, M.P., in the chair, Mrs. Bryant, Miss Cobden, Miss Monck, Dr. Bernard O'Connor, Mr. T. Eccleston Gibb, and the Secretary):

The Rt. Hon. James Stansfeld attended the committee to give advice as to the deputation to Ireland.

With the exception of some formal business, the committee were exclusively occupied with arranging details of the deputation.

THE VANS.—On the 16th of July of last year our first Van commenced its work, and during the month seventeen meetings in all were held, of which fourteen were held in connection with the Van. It is an encouraging indication of the extension of our work since then that, during the month just passed, we have held no less than fifty-eight meetings, and two Vans have been continuously at work.

Van No. 2 was in the Stowmarket Division of Suffolk when the month commenced, and Van No. 3 in the Medway Division of Kent. The former completed its tour on Friday, July 11th. The speakers were supplied by the Divisional

Liberal Association exclusively. The places of meeting were as follows:—

DATE.	PLACE.
Monday, July 1st	Bardwell.
Tuesday, July 2nd	Barningham.
Wednesday, July 3rd	Hopton.
Thursday, July 4th	Hindersley.
Friday, July 5th	Reckinghall Inferior.
Saturday, July 6th	Walsham.
Monday, July 8th	Norton.
Tuesday, July 9th	Great Barton.
Wednesday, July 10th	Glanningfield.
Thursday, July 11th	Longham.
Friday, July 12th	Hawstead.

Van No. 3 completed its tour in the Medway Division of Kent on Tuesday, July 9th. It was accompanied by Mr. G. M. Ball, who addressed the meetings. The places at which they were held were as follows:—

DATE.	PLACE.
Monday, July 1st	Sutton-Vallence.
Tuesday, July 2nd	Linton.
Wednesday, July 3rd	Farleigh.
Thursday, July 4th	Waterringbury.
Friday, July 5th	Mereworth.
Saturday, July 6th	Larkfield.
Monday, July 8th	West Malling.
Tuesday, July 9th	Snodland.

From the Medway Division of Kent this Van was taken into Durham, where it commenced a two months' tour through the whole county on Thursday, July 11th. The first fortnight was spent in the Barnard Castle Division, when the meetings were addressed by Mr. F. S. Norris, of York. The places of the meetings in this division were as follows:—

DATE.	PLACE.
Thursday, July 11th	Gainford.
Friday, July 12th	Staindrop.
Saturday, July 13th	Barnard Castle. [dale.
Monday, July 15th	Middleton - in - Tees-
Tuesday, July 16th	St. John's Chapel.
Wednesday, July 17th	Stanhope.
Thursday, July 18th	Frosterley.
Friday, July 19th	Wolsingham.
Saturday, July 20th	Tow Law.
"	Crook.
"	Howden-le-Weir.
"	Wilton-le-Weir.
"	Hamsterley.
"	Butterknowle.
"	Evenwood.
"	West Auckland.

The rest of the month was spent by the Van in

rapidly passing through the Bishop Auckland, Mid, and Houghton-le-Spring Divisions, and meetings were held as follows:—

DATE.	PLACE.
Monday, July 22nd	Coundon.
Tuesday, July 23rd	Spennymoor.
Wednesday, July 24th	Willington.
Thursday, July 25th	Brownson.
Friday, July 26th	Fudhoe.
Saturday, July 27th	Willington.
Monday, July 29th	Hatton-le-Hole.
Tuesday, July 30th	West Rainton.
Wednesday, July 31st	Houghton-le-Spring.

The Rev. Arthur Gultery addressed some of the earlier of these meetings, and during the last week the Union was able to secure the services of Mr. C. H. Oldham, the Secretary of the First Protestant Home Rule Association, to address the meeting.

On July 18th, Van No. 1 commenced a tour in East Somerset as follows:—

DATE.	PLACE.
Thursday, July 18th	Aller.
Friday, July 19th	High Ham.
Saturday, July 20th	Long Sutton.
Monday, July 22nd	West Camel.
Tuesday, July 23rd	North Cadbury.
Wednesday, July 24th	Charlton Horethorne
Thursday, July 25th	Horsington.
Friday, July 26th	Evercreech.
Saturday, July 27th	Evercreech.
Monday, July 29th	Ditchett.
Tuesday, July 30th	East Lydford.
Wednesday, July 31st	Charlton Adam.

Nearly all these meetings have been addressed by the Candidate, Mr. Charles Morley, and several by Mr. W. S. Clark, of Street.

An interesting meeting, unconnected with the Vans, was held on Wednesday, July 3rd, at Ealing, to found a Women's Liberal Association, at which those who spoke on the Irish question, viz., Messrs. T. Harrington, M.P., Joseph Cox, M.P., and Thomas Lough, Liberal Candidate for West Islington, were obtained through the Union.

On Wednesday, July 17th, the first Home Rule meeting in the neighbourhood was held at "Far End," near Angmering, the sea-side home of Mr. and Mrs. Holiday. The meeting was held in the entrance hall at 8 o'clock, and between forty and fifty people were present. Mrs. Holiday gave an account of her recent experiences in Ireland, and made a deep impression on her hearers by her description of the evictions she witnessed in Donegal and on the Ponsonby Estate. The Secretary of the Home Rule Union also spoke.

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In our last issue, the sum of £2 6s. was acknowledged as "collected at Mrs. Theodore Fry's meeting." This is misleading, as about half of what is acknowledged in the July and the present numbers of this Journal, under the heading of "Special Van Fund," has been subscribed as the result of that meeting.

Subscriptions to the Home Rule Union should be sent to the Secretary, 17 & 18, Palace Chambers, Westminster. Annual Subscribers of Five Shillings and upwards to the Home Rule Union will receive the Monthly Journal free.

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* * * Communications, &c., relating to the supply of the JOURNAL should be addressed to the Hon. Treasurer; other communications to the Editor of the JOURNAL, 17 & 18, Chambers Palace Bridge Street, Westminster.

JURY-PACKING IN IRELAND.—II.

By W. A. MACDONALD, M.P.

It will not need many words to show any one who has attentively read my remarks on the above subject in the August number of this journal that the various questions involved in this discussion have a direct and important bearing on those trials of which Maryborough will be the scene next October. Of the various points raised by me, there is not one which will not be exemplified in the trials referred to. The events which culminated in the melancholy episode at Gweedore are too well known to require to be stated at any length. A warrant under the Coercion Act had been issued by a resident magistrate against Father McFadden for taking part in the Plan of Campaign. The execution of this warrant was entrusted to District Inspector

Martin, who selected Sunday immediately after mass for the carrying out of the order. The warrant was executed, not at Dunleroy Chapel, which Father McFadden also serves, and at which there would have been a comparatively small congregation, but at Dunbeg, where the congregation was very large. Anyone who knows Donegal, as I do, will know that the peasants of that county are extremely devout, and are in no common degree attached to their priests; and, if there is one priest more than another whom his people have reason to love, it is the devoted pastor of Gweedore, whose life is one continued act of self-devotion on behalf of men and women who are among the poorest and most defenceless in the whole of Ireland. He has promoted industries which have kept the people alive; he has collected money to enable them to pay extortionate rents—rents which it would have been absolutely impossible for them to have paid even in part if they had not supplemented the value of their wretched holdings—the men by harvesting in England, and the young women by agricultural work in Scotland. The rich have many friends, but the poor people of Gweedore have only one friend and counsellor to stand between them and starvation—their parish priest—who treats the poorest and most ignorant man amongst them with the most brotherly tenderness and consideration.

This was the man whom District In-

spector Martin, with only a few police, determined on attempting to arrest, surrounded by his devoted people, immediately after he had celebrated the most solemn office of his religion and theirs. But in carrying out his ill-timed enterprise, what did the inspector do? As attested by the Crown witnesses themselves—the police, who alone were examined in the preliminary hearing before the magistrates—he actually drew his sword and waved it in such a threatening manner that a girl in the crowd cried out that he was striking the priest with it.

Then the pent-up feelings of these Donegal peasants, many of whom would have willingly laid down their lives for their beloved friend and pastor, could no longer be restrained. They took up stones and wildly threw them about, so wildly that Father McFadden and his sister were in danger of being struck with them. A few of the people appeared to have pulled up stakes from a fence, with one of which the Inspector was felled to the ground; and, then, according to the police witnesses, who alone were examined before the magistrates, he was beaten when lying on the ground. The unfortunate officer was carried by the police into Father McFadden's house, and there he shortly afterwards expired. The whole thing was but the work of a few minutes, and the action of the people cannot in any way be considered as premeditated. For their presence at, or participation in, this scene ten men are to be tried for wilful murder; while Father McFadden and thirteen others are to be tried for a conspiracy to obstruct the officers of the law. It will be evident to any reader, however inexperienced he may be in legal matters, that in such cases as these if justice is to be done there will be needed a Judge of long experience and of undoubted impartiality; and of a jury not only intelligent, but, in the best sense of the word, sympathetic—that is,

able to realise all the circumstances surrounding the Inspector's death, and absolutely free from an anti-Catholic bias. Will these conditions be fulfilled at the adjourned Assizes at Maryborough next month? I think not, unless the English people rouse themselves to interest in the question, and determine that justice shall be done.

It may, I suppose, be taken for granted that the Judge who will try the cases will be the same that charged the grand jury when they found true bills against all the prisoners. This was Mr. Justice Gibson, who has not yet been two years upon the Bench, and who omitted from his charge to the grand jury the one point on which the whole case hangs, namely, the crying out of the girl in the crowd that the inspector was striking the priest with his sword. I was present in court when this omission was made, and it struck me very much. I was no less forcibly struck by the statement of the same judge that, according to law, if a number of persons take an active part in resisting an officer of the law, and if, in the struggle, the officer is killed, every person who throws a stone, whether the officer is killed by it or not, is guilty of murder by malice prepense. Of this declaration I can only say that it may be law, but it is certainly not justice. It, however, secured the finding of a true bill, and it may secure a verdict of "guilty" if it is repeated to the jury when the prisoners are tried next October. But of what elements will the jury or juries be composed? Will they be men of Donegal? Will they be Roman Catholics? Will they understand Irish, the language of the prisoners and their witnesses. To all these questions we must sadly answer "No." These peasants will be tried by strangers as ignorant of their habits and language as if the venue had been changed to Lancashire or Surrey. And what will be the religion of the jurors? As I said in my

last paper, two-thirds of the men on the special jury panel of the Queen's County are Protestants, and if the Crown is allowed to pursue its usual tactics, the juries will be so packed that not one Catholic will be left upon them. This is a simple statement of what will happen if the Attorney-General and the Crown Solicitor are allowed to have their will. But will the people of England permit the injustice? This is the question which Irishmen are anxiously asking at the present moment. We know how English opinion was recently stirred to its depths to prevent the sentence of death from being carried out in respect of one woman whose guilt was not believed to have been proved. Will no such enthusiasm be shown on behalf of ten Irish peasants whose identification will entirely depend on the evidence of interested policemen? Some of these peasants are in all probability wholly innocent; and even if any are guilty, it seems clear that they would not have struck the Inspector at all if they had not believed they were discharging a sacred duty in defending the life of their priest.

I trust that meetings will be held all over England demanding that the juries shall not be packed, and that if any prisoners are to be condemned, they shall be condemned by a tribunal above suspicion which will know how to preserve the due proportion between punishment and guilt. The presence of Englishmen, particularly of English members of Parliament, at the trials will also be of service, as it may restrain Crown officials from the doing of acts of which every honest lawyer ought to be ashamed.

A VISIT TO THE "DEFENDERS" ON THE VANDELEUR ESTATE.

By MRS. BRYANT, D.Sc.

THE quarrel between landlord and tenant on the Vandeleur estate was brought to an end by the arbitration of Sir Charles Russell last April; but

it would be a mistake to suppose that the sufferings of the evicted tenants—and especially of those who defended their homes—came to a termination at the same time. It is so important to realise how great is the risk and how certain the suffering of those who take the lead in one of these estate campaigns, that it may not be amiss if I describe the visits I have just paid to the families of the two most punished, and therefore, we may conclude, most prominent, of the Vandeleur Estate "defenders."

By the first instalment of Sir Charles Russell's settlement, made in April, a half-year's rent was paid by all the tenantry, the evicted tenants were restored to their holdings, and the landlord undertook to supply all necessary materials for the rebuilding of the demolished houses. Of these there are five, and the defenders of each of them were then in prison, six or seven men in all. Colonel Vandeleur signed the memorial praying for the release of the prisoners, and for a time their friends were full of hope that, not only would the evicted families be back in their houses before harvest time, when the presence of all hands on the farms was so important, but that the stoutest pair of hands in the family would be there, too, by the release of the young men from prison. But we are now in the midst of the busiest time for work in the fields, and the houses are still in ruins, the families living among their neighbours, and two of the men, Tom Birmingham and Pat McGrath, are still in prison, while all have had to serve their full time.

Half-way on the high road between Kilrush and Kilknee stands the house of old Matthias McGrath, a ghastly ruin, with two huge holes made by the battering-ram, one at each side, and a mass of falling thatch and stone rubbish in the middle. All that can be said for the ruin is that the roof still holds over the middle part, and the chimney stands. So there, during the day, old Matt. McGrath and his stout-hearted daughter Nancy keep house, with a turf fire, two chairs, and a table; and there they made me welcome. At night they stay across the fields with Nancy's aunt; but by day they find it important to be "convenient" to the farm. When I came they were at work in the hay-field, with a hired assistant, the substitute for Pat, whose wages of 2s. per day constitute one element in the losses entailed by their resistance to eviction. The old man soon hastened back to his work, but with Nancy I had a longer chat; and if Pat was the hero, Nancy was the heroine of the defence. The mother, since dead, was safely lodged with their aunt while they two fought the sad fight together.

It was essentially a fight for the benefit of the tenantry at large—"for the principle of the thing." McGrath owed one year's rent only,

being £13 judicial; and his claim as a judicial tenant was therefore for a reduction of 5s in the pound, whereas 3s. was offered by the landlord. Thus it will be seen that the total benefit which the McGraths proposed to secure to themselves under the Plan was 26s. a year, while the loss incurred is very considerable. But for the poorer tenants, burdened with arrears and already bankrupt from the struggle to pay an impossible rent for years past, the relief to be secured by the combination of all tenants was great indeed. For pecuniary loss to the defenders there are the furniture, the crops of last year, the wages of Pat McGrath's substitute as a labourer, and such part of the cost of rebuilding the house as shall fall on the tenant in the end. On this latter point I made particular enquiries from the McGraths, Mrs. Bermingham, and others, and indeed I was surprised to find that the houses were still unbuilt. No move has yet been made to supply the needed materials, and, so far as their present expectation goes, the tenants will have to supply the labour themselves. At this point, however, it seems likely that the League will intervene with help, as it evidently should do, unless the tenants as a body subscribe the necessary funds. The delay in housing the tenants has told hardly on them, for till the settlement was effected in April they had an allowance from the League of £3 a month, but the allowance ceased as a matter of course then.

It was only in reply to continuous enquiry that I got any idea of pecuniary losses from Nancy McGrath, and it was evident that her mind dwelt on two troubles only—her mother's death and her brother's imprisonment. When Pat was at last carried out of the house by the police on that fatal 26th of July last year, some children who were looking on thought he was dead, and ran across the fields spreading the report. The shock to the poor old mother was terrible, and, as she did not see him again till nine days later, nothing could move her mind from the conviction of his death. She was hale enough before, Nancy said, "well able to mind the house for me, besides the pleasure of her company"; but this broke her down, and after a few weeks she died.

Then I got her to talk about Pat again, and she told me how "it was like death to me not to be beside him in the house"—after they carried her out, I understood her to mean. "Well," said I, "and after all the suffering and the losses are you as good a Leaguer as ever—do you repent of the fight at all?" "No, indeed," said she, and her eyes grew bright; "and if he was out again to-day, we'd be ready to do the very same to-morrow morning."

Pat McGrath is in prison for eight months, and will be out on the 5th of October. Tom Bermingham was sentenced for the excessive term of one year (two sentences of six months each),

which on appeal was reduced to nine months, and he will not be out till the 4th of December. Under these circumstances, I think it is a very special duty incumbent on English Home Rulers who find themselves in the neighbourhood to pay a visit to Mrs. Bermingham, who is still living with her children in a neighbour's outhouse, her own house being such an utter ruin that she cannot use it even as a day encampment, like the McGraths.

The visitor from Kilrush should take the first turning to the left past McGraths, and this will lead him to the shores of Poulnasberry Bay, where stands the ruined house. It will be better, however, to secure first Mrs. Bermingham's company, and she can be found at the house on the high road nearest the turning, and a little further on towards Kilkee.

Tom Bermingham is a judicial tenant, with rent fixed at £27 10s., and one year's rent only was owing. The same remarks apply to his case as to that of McGrath, as regards the smallness of the gain personally sought, and the largeness of the sacrifice made. It should, moreover, be remembered that a still greater measure of public spirit is required when the father and mother of a family of nine children make such a sacrifice for the common cause. Mrs. Bermingham described to me how she had stood by the husband's side to help in the defence of the house on the 31st of July last year, and how she was taken into custody with him, though released after Mr. Roche had held his court on the roadside. Since then who can be sure that she has not had the heavier punishment of the two, with all the anxieties and responsibilities of a difficult position concentrated on her. "Yes, my husband is well, thank God," she said, in answer to my enquiry, "and just as determined as ever he was. He tells me to be sure not to be behindhand in joining the League." "And yourself" I said, "perhaps you are just a little tired?" She smiled, and made no reply; but I think some rest will be very welcome to her. She would like to see that house rebuilt and furnished, with all the children round the bright turf fire. But poor Mrs. Bermingham was cheery, too, and resolute as ever, with no signs of penitence on her, nor any of the spirit of complaint.

And as I walked back to Kilkee I thought that the country is happy indeed that produces peasants so resolute in the pursuit of an idea, and so self-devoted as these.

THE AWFUL EXAMPLE: A NEW VIEW OF THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

[WE have been favoured with the following extracts from the letter of a Japanese nobleman who has been lately in this country studying our

Constitution. The impartial opinions of foreign observers have always been esteemed of great value. We need not apologise for the length of the extracts.]

I have carefully borne in mind your earnest advice to study the political Constitution of this great nation, in which alone (as you told me) is to be witnessed the realisation of that ideal of philosophers—the existence of freedom without the sacrifice of social order. No sooner had I arrived in England than I sought out a learned teacher of the law, and invited him to guide me in my studies. "My teaching will be of little avail," he said, "for the secret of the Constitution is not a thing which can be passed from mouth to ear. By long searching and patient observation, must each man for himself find it out. Go," he continued, "to the learned commentators and historians; read and inwardly digest the elegant Blackstone and the judicious Hallam, and omit not to appreciate the modern subtleties of the ingenious Bagehot and the sober-minded Dicey. When you have thus drunk at the fountain-heads of the science, you will be prepared to profit by the teaching of your own observation. You will then quit your books, and, carrying with you the principles you have learned, seek in the noise and bustle of our daily life to understand the actual operation of the Constitution." I lost no time in following this wise counsel. The profound treatises of Constitutional lore were in my hands from morning till night, and nothing was permitted to disturb me in my study of the Royal prerogative, the omnipotence of Parliament, trial by jury, the liberty of the subject, and such high matters. To you I need not discourse on this head, for such learning has long been in your possession. Again and again were you recalled to my mind by those passages in which the learned authors laud the liberties of England. Particularly did I think of you as I read and re-read that page of the venerable Blackstone, in which, with a wise eloquence, he discourses of trial by jury, whose maintenance is bound up with the subsistence of civil liberty. [The passage from Blackstone here referred to is evidently the following:—"The liberties of England cannot but subsist so long as this *palladium* remains sacred and inviolate; not only from all open attacks (which none will be so hardy as to make), but also from all secret machinations, which may sap and undermine it; by introducing new and arbitrary modes of trial, by justices of the peace, commissioners of the Revenue, and courts of conscience. And however convenient these may appear at first (as doubtless all arbitrary powers well executed are the most convenient), yet let it be again remembered that delays and little inconveniences

in the forms of justice are the price that all free nations must pay for their liberty in more substantial matters; that these inroads upon the sacred bulwark of the nation are fundamentally opposite to the spirit of our Constitution; and that, though begun in trifles, the precedent may gradually increase and spread, to the utter disuse of juries in questions of the most momentous concern."]

But I must not stop to dwell on these tempting topics. After months of patient labour, I said to myself: "At length the first part of my task is done;" and I closed my books, and I went out among men to see how the great principles which I had thus mastered were carried out in the conduct of the affairs of the nation.

With this purpose I paid frequent visits to the Houses of Parliament and the Courts of Justice. I sought every opportunity of conversing with politicians, lawyers, and journalists; and every avenue which promised information and experience I followed up. For a time the varying opinions which I heard bewildered me greatly, for, as you know, there is not any feature of the English Constitution which wholly escapes unfavourable criticism. But at length, knowing that in most cases the extremes of praise and blame are alike divergencies from the truth, and calmly observing what passed around me, I was enabled to form a satisfactory judgment, and I saw that the praises of the learned authors were not undeserved. On many matters my mind still remained in doubt, reserving censure lest more careful observation might reveal the signs of cautious wisdom where I saw only injustice and folly. But making due allowance for all defects which may exist (and vain indeed would it be to seek anywhere for perfection), I found that the people of this country do indeed enjoy a larger measure of freedom than any other people under the sun, that justice is administered with truly admirable impartiality, and that the law, being regarded as a protection and not as a terror, is held in universal respect.

I flattered myself that my labours were over, and having seen with my own eyes how freedom cautiously and yet confidently conceded leads not to license and anarchy, but to order and stability, my faith in the natural goodness of human nature was raised exceedingly. But I soon found that I had been precipitate. Not yet had I penetrated all the mysteries of the Constitution. I had yet to discover another safeguard, another hidden virtue. As I venture to believe that it may have escaped even your attention (for in the Constitutional treatises it is passed over in silence), I will do myself the pleasure of giving you a brief indication of it, reserving till another occasion a more detailed account of this and of other matters of interest.

I was led to make the discovery in the following manner. Conversing one day with a politician of the Liberal school, I expressed, in becoming terms, the favourable opinion of the English Constitution which I had been led to form. He listened to me with a smile on his face, and when I had concluded, he said to me, "Study Ireland." I requested him to explain his meaning, but he said only "Study Ireland." Now I must confess that I had already spent much time in endeavouring to understand the exceptional position of Ireland, but distracted by the difficulty of obtaining accurate information I had given up the attempt in despair, consoling myself with the reflection that after all it could not affect my general judgment on the matters which I had proposed for investigation. But this new advice warned me that I might be in error, and accordingly I devoted myself ardently to the study of Ireland in search of fresh light on the Constitution.

For a long time I groped in the dark. Vainly did I seek for manifestations of that faith in freedom which I had persuaded myself to be the very spirit of the Constitution, but nowhere did I find them. "Have patience," I said to myself; "it may be that local circumstances and habits have made it necessary to clothe freedom in another garb; and while outwardly different, yet in its essence it may be the same." My hopes were doomed to disappointment. After prolonged hesitation I could no longer keep my eyes closed to the truth, and reluctantly I was compelled to admit that this great Constitution, the boast of the English nation and the wonder of the world, was, after all, no better than other instruments of government, and could be readily distorted so as to become a weapon of tyranny, oppression, and injustice. Here, again, I was somewhat precipitate; but as I looked around me and saw, in Ireland, every virtue of the Constitution translated into its corresponding vice, my reason could not sanction a more indulgent judgment. In England I had seen with admiration how politicians of every school vied with one another in their eagerness to extend the sphere of popular government; to the end that every citizen, high and low, rich and poor, might feel that he had a share in the government of the kingdom. In Ireland, on the other hand, government by the people is practically unknown. As if in mockery, indeed, a hundred Irish representatives are permitted to sit in the English Parliament; but their proposals are received with contempt and neglect, and themselves with insult. The administration of affairs in Ireland is wholly in the hands of officials appointed by the English Government, and so wide is the gulf between the people and their rulers, that before an Irishman can hope for

official preferment he must show that he has lost the respect of his fellow-countrymen. In fact, the representative system, which is of the essence of the English Constitution, has no place in Ireland. What of the liberty of the subject, the liberty of speech, the liberty of the press, which the English prize so dearly? The form of liberty, indeed, is there, but its substance is gone. So long as men content themselves with vague denunciations of the Government they enjoy considerable toleration, although English politicians avail themselves of such denunciations to show that the Irish are a rebellious and disloyal race. But if, passing away from generalities, any one should seek to persuade the people to take action in order to secure a redress of grievances, he is seized by the officers of the law as a turbulent disturber of the peace and thrust into prison. With such rigour is this policy of repression carried out that the ordinary exercise of political rights has become a crime in Ireland. But you will remind me of trial by jury—that palladium of English liberty—that certain safeguard against a tyrannical Executive. Alas! that has gone also. Ruthlessly using their power in Parliament, the Government have abolished trial by jury in all those cases in which the people are likely to come into conflict with the Executive, and have placed the liberties of Irishmen at the mercy of certain officials, called resident magistrates—men without training in the law, devoid of sympathy with the people, and responsible to the Government alone. What has been the result you may readily imagine. The law, losing its majesty by dissociating itself from justice, has become an object of hatred, ridicule, and contempt, and its punishments have become certificates of honour rather than marks of disgrace. Thus have the fears of the far-seeing Blackstone been realised. By introducing new and arbitrary modes of trial there has come about an utter disuse of juries in questions of the most momentous concern, and the liberties of the people have been sapped and undermined.

Surveying the incidents of this reign of tyranny (of which I have given only the most hurried indication), I said to myself, "Behold the end of the English Constitution! Tyranny is infectious. It will spread from Ireland to England, bearing with it the seeds of corruption and dissolution. As M. de Montesquieu foretold, this great nation will lose its liberty and perish, as Rome, Sparta, and Carthage lost theirs and perished." But when I turned my eyes again to England, and saw there no reflection of the evils of Ireland, I felt persuaded that the end could not be thus near at hand, and that I had not yet penetrated the Irish mystery. Some explanation there must be, if I could but find it, of the

extraordinary contradictions which the two countries present. In my perplexity the teachings of philosophy came to my assistance. "Is not the whole world," I said, "the scene of perpetual contrasts, and do not these contrasts form the foundation of all our ideas, thoughts, and emotions? What is heat but the contrast of cold? What is pleasure but the contrast of pain? What is virtue but the contrast of vice? And what is liberty but the contrast of tyranny?" As I meditated on these things, the truth gradually dawned upon my mind. I saw everywhere that the more keen is our realisation of the evil the more ample is our enjoyment of the good, and the more dearly do we prize its possession. And I felt that it must be the case with liberty as with other forms of the good. The wise framers of the English Constitution have understood this law of human nature, and have reflected that no people will prize and treasure their liberties unless they have before them the contrast of a state of tyranny. They have determined, therefore, to make Ireland the contrast of England, and have sacrificed the one country to secure the happiness of the other. Thus are the liberties of the English people secured; for with Ireland at their doors they can never be tempted to forget that tyrannical government once permitted in small things will spread to great things, and will inevitably lead to corruption, degradation, and misery. Reminded every day of what will happen if they yield to insidious encroachments on their liberties, they will allow no hand to be laid on their right of free speech and action, and on their palladium—trial by jury.

My mind is at length at rest. If my exalted opinion of human nature is somewhat lowered, my admiration of the English Constitution is vastly increased.

I reported the result of my reflections to the Liberal politician who advised me to study Ireland. "Yes," he said, when I had finished, "the awful example."

THE VANS.

THE first Van concluded its tour in East Somerset on August 8th, having held seven meetings in the first eight days of this month, at the following places:—

Thursday, August 1st ... Somerton.
 Friday, August 2nd ... Compton Dundon.
 Saturday, August 3rd ... Butleigh.
 Monday, August 5th ... West Kennard.
 Tuesday, August 6th ... Pilton.
 Wednesday, August 7th ... Crocombe.
 Thursday, August 8th ... Doultong.

The third Van concluded its tour in the county of Durham on Thursday, August 22nd. The tour

was most successful. The speakers included Mr. C. H. Oldham, secretary of the Irish Protestants' Home Rule Association, who finished his journey with the Van on August 3rd. Mr. W. M. Crook, who spoke every day from August 5th to August 14th inclusive (Sunday, August 11th excepted), and Mr. E. J. C. Morton, who addressed meetings on Wednesday, the 14th, Thursday, 15th, Friday, 16th, and Tuesday, 20th. The places at which meetings were held were as follows:—

Thursday, August 1st	... Chester-le-Street.
Friday, August 2nd	... Gateshead.
Saturday, August 3rd	... Jarrow.
Monday, August 5th	... Silksworth.
Tuesday, August 6th	... Seaham Colliery.
Wednesday, August 7th	Easington and Minton.
Thursday, August 8th	Lexham Harbour.
Friday, August 9th	Heswell.
Saturday, August 10th	Castleden and Ryhope.
Monday, August 12th	Hartlepool.
Tuesday, August 13th	West Hartlepool.
Wednesday, August 14th	Norton.
Do. Do.	Ledgefield.
Thursday, August 15th	Blair's Works, Stockton (12.30).
Do. Do.	Market Place, Stockton (7.0).
Friday, August 16th	South Stockton (12.30 and 7.0).
Saturday, August 17th	Two meetings in South Stockton.
Monday, August 19th	Eaglescliffe.
Tuesday, August 20th	Darlington.
Wednesday, August 21st	Aycliffe.

The meetings throughout were most interesting and enthusiastic.

Mr. C. H. Oldham produced a great impression upon the miners by his strictly logical method of explaining the Irish Question and the case for Home Rule.

At the meeting on the 14th at Norton, a suburb of Stockton, about five or six hundred people were gathered round the Van. A certain number of them being opponents, it was announced by the Chairman that questions would be invited, and that any one wishing to move an amendment would have an opportunity of doing so before the meeting closed. In spite of this fact, a number of opponents did their best to disturb the meeting. They procured a truck, round which they tried to gather a rival meeting. Their efforts, however, though annoying, did not seriously impair the success of the meeting; but when, at the close, the son of a local clergyman got up to move an amendment, the audience refused to hear him, on the ground that his friends had done their best to disturb the meeting. A lively altercation ensued, and the speakers in charge of the meeting did their utmost to obtain a hearing for their opponent. He, how-

ever, was injudicious enough to address the word "Cowards!" to the audience—a proceeding which they very indignantly resented, and after which it was obvious that it would be impossible to obtain a hearing for him. In the end, the resolution in favour of Home Rule was carried with only a few dissentients. One of the audience asserted, with the utmost confidence and determination, that he had distinctly heard the local clergyman, who was present, state that the Home Rule speakers ought to be put into the neighbouring horse-pond. It seems doubtful, however, that he could have had the temerity to make the suggestion openly, for, considering the temper shown by the meeting, it would have been far more likely that had he made any such suggestion he would have himself suffered the fate he was reported to have recommended.

Next day Mr. Morton addressed a meeting of several hundred workmen during the dinner-hour at the gate of Messrs. Blair's works in Stockton; and in the evening he spoke for an hour and a quarter to an enormous meeting of nearly, if not more than, 3,000 persons in the market-place at Stockton. Next day another meeting of workmen was held during the dinner-hour, and in the evening a meeting of about a thousand persons in South Stockton. By this time open-air speaking had completely ruined Mr. Morton's voice, and he was unable to speak above a whisper; and accordingly, the meetings on Thursday and Friday were addressed by local people. On Tuesday a great meeting was held in Darlington. It was opened with the Van in the market-place, after which it adjourned to the Central Hall, where Mr. Morton addressed the audience for an hour and a half. Considerably over 1,000 people were present, and the room was crowded. The utmost enthusiasm prevailed, and a resolution in favour of Home Rule was carried.

WITH THE HOME RULE VAN IN DURHAM.

FOR ten days in the beginning of August we accompanied the Van through several constituencies in Durham. We joined it first at Silksworth Colliery, where we had a good meeting of several hundred persons.

On Tuesday, the 6th, we visited Seaham Colliery, and tried to hold an open-air meeting. A steady down-pour of rain, however, prevented this; and, as it was quite impossible to get any shelter, owing to the fact that the place was a Tory stronghold, we had to abandon our meeting, having merely passed a formal resolution.

On Wednesday we had two splendid meetings, one at Easington Lane, where a large and most enthusiastic audience assembled. Six hundred bundles of literature were distributed, and the eagerness

of the people to hear or read anything on the Irish Question argued well for the future of "Home Rule" in this part of the constituency. Mr. Wilson, the working-men's candidate for the North-Eastern Division, was expected to attend, but was, unfortunately, unable to be present. His great popularity in the division would certainly be increased if he could go more among the voters. They are everywhere anxious to have the chance of giving him a good reception. The same evening we had a capital meeting at Murton, where Mr. Maurice Moore, to whose energy Liberalism in the district owes so much in the matter of organisation, addressed the meeting at length on the question of the hour.

On Thursday, we had a fine meeting at Seaham Harbour, and received great assistance from Mr. G. O. Wright, of Sunderland.

On Friday night, at Haswell, Mr. Percy Corder, of Sunderland, was the chief speaker, and in a stirring and eloquent address treated some of the most important points of the Irish Question.

On the 10th we had two meetings. The first at Castle Eden Colliery was a most successful open-air meeting, presided over by Mr. Low. Four hundred people were present. The second was held at Ryhope, in the evening, and was addressed by Mr. John Wilson, the candidate. Some 200 people attended.

On Monday and Tuesday, the 12th and 13th, we carried the campaign to Hartlepool, where the Unionist member (Mr. Richardson) is to be opposed at the next election by Mr. Furness, who has himself "found salvation" since the election of 1886. Mr. Furness is deservedly very popular in the constituency, and is sure to make a strong bid for the seat next time. We wish him all success. He made a capital speech at a large open-air meeting—the largest we had, 1,000 to 1,200 persons—in West Hartlepool on Monday evening. On Tuesday we had 600 to 800 persons on the Town Moor, East Hartlepool, and the Van and its literature were very well received. Indeed, the enthusiasm was so great that the Van was almost stormed by eager seekers after information of the great Irish Question.

On Wednesday, the 14th, we brought our share in the campaign to a close by a meeting at Sedgfield, a great Tory stronghold. Though not large—about 200—it was in some respects the most interesting meeting of them all. The place was half full of opponents, but they gave us a most interested and respectful hearing as they listened to views on the Irish difficulty, which they had evidently not heard put into such form before. The tour was, on the whole, a great success. Nowhere did we encounter any opposition or meet with any interruption save from drunken men. At West Hartlepool and at Sedgfield one man in each case caused some interrup-

tion, but the meeting would have none of it, hinting very plainly that the disturber was the worse for liquor. But save these slight interruptions, our opponents, where they were present—and they came in great force at Sedgfield—were always most courteous and attentive.

Some of the incidents of the campaign have their amusing side, as, when in Hartlepool, a grimy fellow-countryman rushed up, and, after a cordial shake hands, wanted to "thrate" us to a glass of rum as a token of his regard for the old country. He did not seem to understand our decided, but, we hope, polite, refusal of the proffered treat. The reception we got everywhere proves that the cause is gaining ground through Durham, though many things are telling against us. Mr. Cowen's influence is all against Home Rule, and Mr. Atherley-Jones has done it no service by his recent article on "The New Liberalism." These things are eagerly used by the enemy. Our meetings have been everywhere well attended, never falling far short of 200, even in the smallest villages we visited; and running up beyond 1,000. Our literature has been eagerly scrambled for, and it was an amusing but instructive sight to see, as we did, small boys standing under the street lamps at Hartlepool trying to spell out the facts and figures contained in our leaflets.

We hear that our opponents have been so impressed with our success, that they have decided to send a counter Van through the same district to try and undo "the mischief" we have done. But we think they will find in the hard-headed miners of the north country, whether English or Irish, some tough nuts to crack.

It is related of one of the ablest and most eloquent of the itinerant Unionist orators, that recently, while addressing a meeting in the north, he issued a challenge to anyone in the meeting to answer a question on Home Rule that he would propound to them, having first announced that no matter which way it was answered, he would corner the rash being who attempted to grapple with his conundrum. Nothing daunted, however, by this announcement, an Irishman in the body of the hall rose and said he would answer the question. The lecturer then put his puzzle as follows: "If Home Rule were granted to Ireland, would there be, or would there not be, Irish members in the Parliament at Westminster?" adding that 'no matter what Paddy replied, he would show the impossibility of either arrangement. But Paddy was equal to the occasion, "Och, begorra, we're most obligin' on that point. Ye can ayther have them or not, just as ye loike," and the platform had to join the audience in the general burst of laughter.

LONDON DOCK LABOURERS AND IRISH TENANTS.

It is beyond our province to deal directly with the great strike of dock labourers in London. But to those who have followed its course from day to day it cannot have failed to suggest some grave reflections with regard to our mode of governing the Irish people. We would fain believe that there is still left in the minds of Unionists some trace of fairness, and that when they talk of equal laws and equal liberty as between England and Ireland, they do in some way or other believe in the truth of what they say. If it be so, let them review the incidents of the agitation in the East End of London, and contrast the conduct of the authorities with the manner in which the tenants' agitation in Ireland has been dealt with. When they have done this, if they can still retain their belief in equality, we shall be free to confess that it is proof against facts, argument, and reason.

In Ireland we have witnessed a great combination of tenants for the purpose of protecting themselves against oppressive rents, and for defending their right to keep on fair terms the possession of their holdings. The existence of that right, after a long struggle, had been expressly declared by the Legislature. The landlords had refused to accept the new relation thus established between them and their tenants, and by every means in their power strove to take away the benefits which parliament had given. Individually the tenants were powerless to resist, and they united their forces. They opposed tenant combination to landlord combination. And what has been the result? Their combination has been declared to be conspiracy. They have been denounced as robbers because they sought to make their statutory rights a reality and not a sham. Their meetings have been declared to be unlawful assemblies. Their leaders have been thrown into prison as common felons for persuading them to stand together, and they have shared the same fate for taking the advice. In short, the Government has placed itself at the disposal of one of the parties in the quarrel, and has striven to put the tenants down by force.

Look now to London. The dock labourers on the Thames have claimed a revision of the terms of their employment, seeking higher wages and the removal of oppressive conditions; and, being met with a refusal, have gone out on strike. Men in other connected employments, not themselves aggrieved, have joined in the strike, just as outside tenants joined in the combination against the Smith-Barry syndicate. Those who refused to join have been boycotted, and have submitted through fear. Notwithstanding the efforts of the leaders of the strike to keep it within peaceful

bounds, threatening notices have been issued, and intimidation has been practised. So widespread has been the movement that, at the time we write, it has paralysed the whole shipping industry of the port of London.

If the Government had carried into practice their theory of equality, they would have called back the wandering legislators to defend the rights of property, and to pass a Crimes Act for London; they would have furbished up the statute of Edward III., and imprisoned John Burns, Tom Mann, and Benjamin Tillett as persons of "evil fame"; they would have declared the Strike Committee an unlawful association; they would have proclaimed the meetings of the strikers, dispersed their processions, and placed at the disposal of the Dock Directors the whole strength of the Metropolitan police. But they have done none of these things. They have refrained from interfering in the quarrel, and not even the most rabid of their supporters have suggested that they should interfere. Speeches have been made as violent as any ever heard in Ireland, and the speakers have been unmolested. Hyde Park has been placed at the disposal of the strikers, and 100,000 men have assembled to denounce the Dock Directors. The police have not gone beyond their function of maintaining order, and consequently order has been maintained without any difficulty. No attempt has been made to put a stop to boycotting. Cases of actual intimidation have been dealt with by the magistrates under the ordinary law, and nobody has thought of making the leaders of the movement responsible. In short, the parties to the dispute have been left to fight it out between themselves.

This attitude of non-interference is so much a matter of course in England that it hardly excites any remark. Is it not a very grave question why in Ireland the Government should think it equally a matter of course to take a side in the dispute between landlord and tenant? And is it anything else than unsavoury hypocrisy that, having done so, they should talk about equality of laws and equality of liberty?

BOYCOTTING BY RESIDENT MAGISTRATES.

MR. CECIL ROCHE, in a letter to the Tralee Race Committee, has declined to subscribe because one of the stewards is Mr. E. Harrington, M.P., "an individual," he says, "whom it has been my painful duty to sentence to a term of imprisonment, and who in his journal systematically insults those who are endeavouring with me to preserve law and order." By a striking coincidence, Colonel Turner, in a letter written at the same time, has also declined to subscribe because

he, too, objects to the presence of Mr. Harrington, "a person," he says, "who has been a persistent breaker of the law, and a constant and scurrilous traducer of the Royal Irish Constabulary and other officials with whom I have the honour and privilege to be connected." This looks painfully like a grave conspiracy on the part of Mr. Roche and Colonel Turner to intimidate Mr. Harrington in the exercise of his legal rights. On the decided cases under the Crimes Act we fail to see how these irate magistrates could escape a conviction—say, imprisonment for a month, so as to prevent any mishap on appeal.

Let us put the case in this way:—Mr. Harrington brings his cattle to Tralee market; round him stand several intending buyers; Farmer Roche steps up and pulls the coat of one of the buyers, and says, "I would never buy from that man"; Farmer Turner follows, and pulls the coat of another, "What! you don't mean to say that you are dealing with *him!*" On the authority of the Gorey case (Reg. 2, Mellon and twenty others) this proceeding would have made it "the painful duty" of two R.M.s to put Farmers Roche and Turner in Tralee Gaol. Now, what essential difference is there between our hypothetical case and the real one?

The case has another and graver aspect. Colonel Turner has declared his extra-judicial opinion that Mr. Harrington is "a persistent breaker of the law, and a constant and scurrilous traducer of the Royal Irish Constabulary," &c. If Colonel Turner were merely a private citizen, this would be regarded as only an impolite way of saying that he did not agree with Mr. Harrington. But it is as likely as not that Mr. Harrington will again have to appear before Colonel Turner, R.M., to answer for one of his many breaches of the law. Does any sane person believe that Colonel Turner could, even with the best and most honest intention to do justice, clear his mind of all recollection of his privately-formed opinion of Mr. Harrington, and bring himself into that state of perfect impartiality which we require in a judge?

It is worth while recalling, by way of contrast, how Mr. Harrington and his brother acted in a similar case. Some years ago the Tralee branch of the National League resolved to boycott the races because there were anti-Nationalist landlords among the stewards. Mr. E. Harrington sent information of this resolution to the League office in Dublin. Immediately came a telegram to the branch from Mr. T. Harrington:—"Withdraw the boycott, or the Tralee branch will be at once dissolved." It ought to be sufficient punishment to Mr. Roche and Colonel Turner that they should be reminded of the contrast.

THE TREATMENT OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN IRELAND.*

LAST month we called attention to the valuable articles by Dr. Sigerson on the treatment of political prisoners which have recently appeared in the *Freeman's Journal*. We understand that Dr. Sigerson purposes to republish these articles, and they certainly deserve a better fate than to be left in the obscurity of the back numbers of a daily newspaper. It is evidence of the importance of the subject, and of the interest which it excites, that two other works have already appeared dealing with the treatment of political prisoners in Ireland. In the preparation of both, Dr. Sigerson's articles have been of great service; and while they anticipate his book, they do not by any means supplant it.

Mr. E. Dwyer Gray's book consists of four parts. In the first place he discusses the Constitutional aspects of the question, the treatment of political prisoners in the past, and the change which has taken place under Mr. Balfour's régime; in the second, Mr. M. McDonald Bodkin, of *United Ireland*, gives an account of "The Incidents of the Last Three Years"; in the third, Mr. Healy has collected Mr. Balfour's speeches on the subject; while the fourth consists of a reprint of all the letters on the subject which have appeared in the *Freeman's Journal*. Sir C. Gavan Duffy writes a short introduction.

Mr. Shaw Lefevre's "Irish Members and English Gaolers" covers a great part of the same ground. He describes the mode in which political prisoners were formerly dealt with, reviews the recent prosecutions, sets forth the capacity for injustice displayed by the resident magistrates, shows the political or public nature of the "crimes" with which the Irish Members have been charged, discusses the position which the Government has taken up, and formulates the conclusions to which his careful examination has led him. A memorandum by Mr. Wilfrid Blunt on his treatment in Irish prisons is appended. Mr. Shaw Lefevre's discussion of the general question leaves a good deal to be desired. Mr. Balfour's policy has succeeded in so completely obscuring the ideas of many people as to the true principles of punishment that a more thorough and systematic effort to show what is meant by a political prisoner, as distinguished from an ordinary criminal, and thus to rest, on a sound theoretical basis, our condemnation of the manner in which the Irish members have been dealt with, would have been of good service. Mr. Lefevre has not kept sufficiently distinct the two ques-

tions—first, whether the Irish members should have been convicted at all, and second, assuming their conviction to be necessary, how they should have been dealt with. The first is a question which we should lose no opportunity of bringing into prominence, so that we may excite a wholesome indignation at the gross injustice now being practised in Ireland in the guise of the law. And nothing is better calculated to excite this feeling than a record such as Mr. Lefevre has given of the iniquitous prosecutions of the last three years. But we should have wished a fuller and more philosophical statement of the reasons why, even if the Coercion Act had been a necessary measure and not a flagrant departure from the principles of the Constitution, and even if the convictions had been fairly obtained, and had not been scandalous travesties of legal forms, the punishment which the safety of the State required, and which, therefore, it was tyranny to exceed, was detention and nothing more—detention divested of every trace of degradation. In the course of such a statement it would be well to clear away from the discussion the misleading ideas connected with the word "political"—a word which, as Mr. Lefevre's references to the vaccination prosecutions indicate, does not properly cover the whole class of prisoners for whom exemption is claimed. Nevertheless, both his work and that of Mr. Gray (which, in some respects, is more detailed and more useful) cannot fail to assist in awaking interest in a subject of grave importance.

Leaving aside the abstract question, we doubt whether most people realise how completely the refusal to recognise a distinction between political prisoners and criminals is opposed to precedent. In Newgate, Cobbett educated his children, and directed his farm, giving orders as to buying, selling, ploughing, sowing, and breeding. Leigh Hunt had his wife and children with him, plenty of visitors, and a suite of rooms, one of which he decorated so charmingly that Charles Lamb declared there was no other such room except in a fairy tale. O'Connell and his fellow-conspirators were allowed to do very much as they liked; they had their families with them, conducted their private business, and received visitors freely. Chartist prisoners, it is true, were at first treated as ordinary prisoners; but, as soon as the fact became known, protests were raised, and the prison rules were relaxed. The most instructive case of all, however, is that of Costello, a leader of the anti-tithe agitation in Ireland, who, in 1832, was condemned to eighteen months' imprisonment for taking part in an unlawful assembly. His offence was precisely similar to that of the men who resist the payment of unjust rents. Yet no attempt was made to treat him as a common felon. The only break, indeed, in the current of English practice

* "The Treatment of Political Prisoners in Ireland." E. Dwyer Gray, (*Freeman's Journal*). "Irish Members and English Gaolers." G. Shaw Lefevre. (Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co.)

occurred during the Fenian scare, when panic deprived men of the power of forming a calm judgment. That is a precedent to be forgotten, if possible; not to be followed.

Nor has it been in England only that the distinction has been drawn. In France, in Germany, in Austria, and even in Russia—in fact, over the whole continent, it is a firmly recognised principle that the political prisoner should be kept separate and treated differently from the ordinary criminal. The letters in Mr. Gray's volume from eminent men in the United States and Canada contain striking evidence of the amazement with which strangers regard Mr. Balfour's "resolute government."

Thus, even on the supposition that the safety of the State required the imprisonment of the tenants' friends in Ireland, the treatment to which they have been subjected would none the less stand condemned. It is justified neither by reason nor by precedent. If Englishmen had half the sense of fairness with which they are credited, they would not rest till they had made a repetition of such injustice impossible.

NOTES FROM IRISH CORRESPONDENTS.

DUBLIN, August 28th.

THE first meeting of the Irish Tenants' Defence League will be held about the end of next month, at which the proposed Constitution of the League will be formally considered. Your readers are already probably acquainted with its provisions. The object of the League is briefly to counteract by legal means all combinations of landlords to exact excessive rents or generally in any way destroy or imperil the security of tenants in their holdings. To effect this purpose the tenants throughout Ireland are invited to contribute to a Defence Fund in a fixed proportion to the Poor Law valuation of their holdings. The League will afford legal advice to tenants, and in extreme cases support and shelter, provided the Council is satisfied such tenants are willing to refer to arbitration the questions in dispute between them and their landlord.

It is amusing to us here to notice the attempts of the Unionist press in England to persuade their readers that the Defence League marks the break-up of the National League, and is an effort to put new life into a moribund body. The Defence League in no way affects the position of the National League. It is simply intended to replace the doubtful method of the Plan of Campaign by legal combination, organised so as to embrace the tenantry of Ireland as a body, and bring their full might into the struggle on trades union lines. It no more deposes the National League as the

national organisation of the country than did its precursor, the Plan of Campaign.

Mr. Chamberlain's ridiculous assertion at Birmingham, on the 10th, that the National League had been compelled to change its name, really shows how bankrupt the speaker was in argument when he grasped at such straws. It was on a par with his sneer at Mr. Dillon and his companions in Australia, who he believed "have hardly collected enough to pay their expenses at the first-class hotels to which they resort." The fact is that remittances from Australia, as the result of their efforts, continue to come in sums of £1,000 at a time, and are publicly acknowledged in the *Freeman's Journal* by the treasurer of the National League. Up to date £9,400 has been received, a sufficient answer touching "hotel expenses."

The abandonment of the prosecution against Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., and Mr. Lane, M.P., instituted in connection with the meeting held at Tipperary on the 23rd June last, to enlist the sympathy and support of the Smith-Barry tenantry in Tipperary with the tenants on the Ponsonby estate, has given rise to much comment. It will be recollected that it was in connection with this prosecution that Mr. O'Brien was arrested on Sunday, the 30th June, to the accompaniment of an imposing display of police and baton charges, an outrageous assault on Mr. P. O'Brien, M.P., and the firing on the people from the railway carriages at Charleville. The case was remanded from 1st July to 11th, and finally adjourned to 29th August, to allow of Mr. O'Brien's attendance at Manchester in his libel case against Lord Salisbury. To-day appears the intimation from the Crown solicitor, Mr. Bolton, that the prosecution pending against Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Lane has been withdrawn. It is true Mr. O'Brien has been put under lock and key on the Clonakilty charge, but then, how about Mr. Lane? Mr. Lane has been one of the most active supporters of the Ponsonby tenantry, and has already served his time in Tullamore Gaol on their account. Now the whole Government case as to the incitement of the Tipperary tenants to resist payment of rent to Mr. Smith-Barry, begun so dramatically, fizzles out in inconsequent collapse. Truly the ways of resolute government are past finding out!

By the way, the disclosures in the prosecution of Mr. O'Brien, at Clonakilty, should not be overlooked. Constable Garvey professed to swear to Mr. O'Brien's and Mr. Gilhooley's speeches from shorthand notes taken at the meeting. The transcript of his notes proved, however, to be practically word for word with the report of the *Freeman's Journal*, and, on tests as to his ability to write shorthand being made in court, the witness broke down utterly, the failure being so

complete that even the Removables were constrained to rule out his evidence as unreliable. No particular significance would attach to the conduct of this constable if this were an isolated case, but, unhappily, this is not so. Constable Robinson's performance at the trial of Mr. Gill, M.P., and Mr. Cox, M.P., at Drogheda, some six weeks ago, though hardly so audacious, was of the same class, his evidence being also ruled out on the same ground, and the police shorthand evidence generally and their general conduct in connection with coercion prosecutions has, I need not say, been more than questionable. But what can be expected? So long as Mr. Balfour makes the support through thick and thin of constabulary and officials in Ireland against the people a distinctive feature of his administration, over-zeal on the part of his subordinates will follow as an almost necessary result.

Professor Mahaffy, T.C.D., is at present on a lecturing tour in America. He is, your readers are aware, one of our leading Unionist lights in Dublin. Now the mark of a Unionist professor is his inability to keep off Home Rule politics for two consecutive sentences on—say—the properties of the higher curves, or the succession of the kings of Pontus. Change of scene and air produces little effect. In Mr. Mahaffy's case, possibly, because, like Alcibiades, he took Mr. Mahaffy with him. I find in *The Nation*, New York, August 15th, the organ of culture in America, the following comments on the Professor's first effort: "Everybody who has—as so many have—found pleasure and profit in Prof. Mahaffy's literary and historical work, will be pained and disappointed by his treating the American public, almost as soon as he landed, to a sharp lecture on the impropriety of differing from him on one of the most burning, notorious, and much thrashed questions of British politics." And the paragraph concludes: "He will be cordially welcomed here as a clergyman and a scholar, but nobody looked for him as a party politician, or expected his political opinions to have the smallest value. That he is rather unfit to discuss questions of government publicly, his disquisition on the relations of Utah and the Southern States to the Union showed clearly."

I fear I have already overstepped my allotted space, but must congratulate our English visitors, Members of Parliament and others, on the fine weather in prospect for them. September is usually a particularly fine month in Ireland, and already the sun has gained the ascendant. To judge from the number of letters received at the offices of the National League from all parts of the country, asking particulars regarding the English deputation, no efforts are being spared to make their visit a success.

NOTES BY THE WAY.

Irish Education.—On the motion for the third reading of the Appropriation Bill, Mr. Sexton introduced the subject of Irish Education, calling attention particularly to the resolutions recently passed by the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland. Mr. Balfour made a very remarkable reply, in which occurred the following passage, referring to higher education in Ireland:—"He would repeat in that House what he had spoken outside the House—that, in his opinion, something ought to be done to give a higher University education to Roman Catholics in Ireland. He did not deny that he regretted that the Roman Catholic clergy had felt it their duty to discourage members of their religion from taking full advantage of the Queen's Colleges in Galway or of Trinity College, Dublin, which was now open to every denomination. But in this matter regrets were vain things, and they had to take facts as they found them. He was afraid that it was perfectly clear that nothing which had hitherto been done would really meet the wants and wishes of the Roman Catholic population in Ireland. That being so, he saw nothing but to try to devise some scheme by which the wants of the Roman Catholic population should be met other than those which at present had been attempted. He did not think that it was proper for him on that occasion even to suggest the main lines of what the scheme ought to be; but that they ought, if possible, to carry out such a scheme, which would satisfy all the legitimate aspirations of the Roman Catholics, he entertained no doubt." This declaration is interesting in several respects. In the first place, it is a plain recognition of the fact that on Irish questions the paramount consideration is Irish opinion. In the second place, it is a declaration on the part of the Government that they mean to undertake the task of satisfying the claims of the Roman Catholics with regard to the higher education. It will be remembered that it was in attempting this task that the strong administration of Mr. Gladstone which disestablished the Irish Church and carried the Land Act of 1870, finally fell to pieces, and Lord Salisbury may also find that it is beyond his powers. Signs of opposition have already appeared. Dr. Kane, the fierce Orangeman of Belfast, is indignant at Mr. Balfour's conciliatory tone, and is evidently prepared to sacrifice the Union rather than satisfy the Catholics. Resistance is also threatened by some English Radicals, to whom denominationalism is like a red rag to a bull. The opposition of the Orangemen springs from bigotry. The opposition of the English Radicals, we venture to say, is the outcome of mere pedantry, and shows that not even yet have we learned the folly of believing

that the policy which is good for England must also be good for Ireland. Their faith in Home Rule, we fear, is but skin deep. "There is only one way," said Mr. Butt, dealing with this same question, "by which true Liberals can escape the conflict between their own principles of free government and the attempt to force their own views of education on the Irish people. True liberality can speak but one language. Let the Irish people have their own way."

Criminal Statistics of Ireland.—In the report which has just been issued on the criminal and judicial statistics of Ireland (1888), the Registrar-General says:—"A general review of the tables points to the following conclusions:—
1. There has been an increase in the total number of criminal offences in Ireland in 1888 as compared with 1887. 2. The improvement as regards the more serious offences—those not determined summarily—noted in the reports for each year since 1882, with the exception of 1886, continued through last year; the number of those cases showing a decrease as compared with that for 1887, and being both absolutely, and in proportion to the estimated population, lower than the number for any of the ten years 1878-87, and much below the average for that period. 3. The less serious offences, those determined summarily, are considerably in excess of the number for the preceding year, and, in proportion to the estimated population, are above the average for the ten years 1878-87, and the judicial returns present no change of importance."

[Exclusive of proceedings under the Crimes Act (which amounted to 1,475), the total number of criminal offences and charges was 236,050, or 494·1 per 10,000 of the population. In 1887, the number was 226,041, or 471·3 per 10,000; and the average for the ten years 1878-87 was 238,756 or 471·3 per 10,000. The Dublin district shows a very high rate; but it is pointed out that the majority of the cases are rather of the nature of "civil transgressions" than of criminal offences. When we deduct the offences against Local Acts, Borough Bye-Laws, Public Health Acts, we find that only about 41 per cent. of the cases can fairly be treated as cases of crime. The cost of the Irish police in 1888 (Royal Irish Constabulary and Dublin Metropolitan Police) was £1,557,494. Their number was 13,983, or 29 per 10,000 of the population.

A comparison of Ireland with the rest of the United Kingdom as regards the cost of police furnishes an instructive lesson on our method of governing the country. The cost per head of the population in Ireland is 6s. 8d., in Dublin it is 8s. Compare this with some English and Scotch towns. In Birmingham it is 2s. 4d., in Leeds 2s. 3d., in Bradford 2s. 1d., in Dundee 1s. 11d.,

and in Leicester 1s. 3½d. The total cost of the police in Scotland is about £376,000; while in Ireland, as we have seen, it is more than a million and a half. Wales, with a population of 1,350,000, has only 900 policemen; Ireland, on this proportion, would have only 3,150 instead of about 14,000.

Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Gilhooley.—For speeches delivered in support of the Smith-Barry tenants, and for advocating peaceful combination, Mr. W. O'Brien has been sentenced to two calendar months' imprisonment, and at the expiration of that period, in default of entering into recognisances, to imprisonment for a further period of two months. Mr. Gilhooley's sentence is six weeks' imprisonment, with a similar extension of two months. That is to say, Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Gilhooley are to remain in prison during the remaining months of the year for advising Irish tenants to do what Mr. Balfour has said they have a perfect right to do—for doing what John Burns can do in London with perfect impunity. Frequent repetition, we are afraid, is blinding most men to the monstrous injustice of such sentences. If Englishmen realised it, Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Gilhooley would be free in a fortnight. The convictions in themselves are bad enough. They are even worse when viewed in the light of the extraordinary evidence put forward by the prosecution. Constable Garvey produced his notes of Mr. Gilhooley's speech. When examined they were found to be identical with the summarised report which appeared in the *Freeman's Journal*. Strange to say, Constable Garvey omitted everything which the *Freeman* reporter omitted, and inserted nothing which did not appear in the *Freeman* report. He swore, however, that he had written his notes at the meeting, and had not transcribed them from the *Freeman*. His powers of taking down a speech were tested in court, and he broke down utterly. A more extraordinary coincidence was never heard of. Application was made for the prosecution of Garvey for perjury, but the magistrates refused the warrant. In giving judgment, indeed, they treated Garvey's evidence as untrustworthy; but they convicted Mr. Gilhooley all the same.

Derry Gaol.—Mr. Balfour has given repeated proof of his firm belief in the impossibility of an Irish official going wrong. He has lately carried his theory a step further, and now we find that it is wholly inconceivable that there can be anything amiss in an Irish gaol. His faith in Derry gaol is proof against every suspicious circumstance. It is true that two young men, John M'Gee and Michael Sise, who on the same day were imprisoned in that gaol for some offence or other under the Crimes Act, were lately released, only to go home

to die—both on the same day. Several other persons, lately in Derry Gaol, are now lying ill of typhoid fever. Mr. Conybeare, a first-class mis-demeanant there, has contracted a disease which would have been impossible if the sanitary state of the gaol were even decently good. But, in face of all this, Mr. Balfour is quite happy. Derry gaol, it appears, has a far lower death-rate than the average of English prisons, and is one of the healthiest places in this best of all possible kingdoms. The death-rate per thousand of prisoners seems, indeed, to have very little to do with the matter; such cases as those of M'Gee and Size do not affect the rate—they died outside. By careful timing of the release of prisoners, the death-rate can be kept very low. People not gifted with the credulity of Mr. Balfour are asking why Mr. Conybeare and his fellow-prisoners at Derry should, in addition to their more or less legal sentences, have also to endure slow poisoning.

The Irish Constabulary as Decoy Ducks.—A new coercion dodge has been invented. It is alleged that intimidation is practised at Irish fairs, but from one cause or another it has been found difficult to obtain evidence on which to convict. The intimidated person generally breaks down as a witness, and declares that he never felt intimidated at all. This difficulty, however, appears at last to be met. Members of the constabulary are now engaged to make bids for cattle at Irish fairs, "for the purpose," as the Solicitor-General for Ireland frankly confessed, "of obtaining evidence, if possible, for the prosecution of persons practising intimidation." The bids are declared to be *bona fide*, though nobody seems to know where the money comes from, or what becomes of the cattle in case the Government bid proves the highest. Are they sold again at a profit by some other members of the constabulary, or are they made perquisites of the force? These are small matters, however, provided the great object is attained—the manufacturing of crime. It is easy to see that the idea of the Decoy Duck is capable of endless applications. Perhaps the next will be that the constabulary will disguise themselves as Irish members of Parliament, and if this were done there should be no difficulty in establishing a connection between the Nationalists and crime.

Home Rule and Irish Prosperity.—“The establishment of a legislative centre of national life produces and stimulates the circulation of capital. When the centre of gravity is outside, the capital flows outside with it. It is an undeniable fact that wherever the seat of the legislature happens to be, that becomes the centre of money; the tide of wealth flows there, naturally.

This may account for the strong desire of the Irish people to see a Parliament once more established in College Green, which, no doubt, would have a salutary effect on Irish financial affairs.”—From Dr. J. Bowles Daly's *Glimpse of Irish Industries*.

DIARY OF THE MOVEMENT.

August 1.—Professor Stuart at the National Liberal Club on “A Liberal Programme for London.”—House of Commons: Discussion on Dr. Tanner's prosecution.

August 2.—Three men sentenced to terms of imprisonment of from one to four months for intimidation by the Crimes Court at Collon.

August 3.—West Islington Liberals present Mr. Gladstone with an address.

August 6.—House of Commons:—Discussion of the Irish Constabulary grant.

August 7.—Application for *habeas corpus* order on behalf of Mr. Conybeare refused by a majority of the Exchequer Division, the Chief Baron dissenting.

August 10.—Mr. Chamberlain at Birmingham on the Unionist Alliance and Lord Randolph Churchill.—Death of McGee, one of the Falcaragh prisoners just released from Derry Gaol.

August 12.—Lord Clanricarde's agent fired at.—Unopposed election in North Belfast.

August 14.—Collapse of the Tithes Bill.

August 16.—Miss Hallinan, after being evicted and sentenced to six months' imprisonment for resisting, is reinstated on her farm with twenty per cent. deducted from her rent, and all her arrears cancelled.

August 18.—Mr. W. B. Blood, J.P., shot at Cranagher, co. Clare.—Eight persons sentenced to terms of imprisonment of from six weeks to two months, for intimidation, by Crimes Court at Carrick-on-Suir.

August 20.—Discussion on the Lord Lieutenant and Land Commission in the House of Commons.

August 21.—House of Commons: Irish estimates; Chief Secretary's salary.

August 22.—Opening of the trial of Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Gilhooley, M.P.'s, at Clonakilty.—List of subscribers to Land Corporation of Ireland Guarantee Company published in the *Irish Catholic*.

August 23.—House of Commons: discussion on the Dublin police.

August 26.—Crimes Court at Clonakilty sentence Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Gilhooley, M.P.'s, to two months' and six weeks' imprisonment respectively.

August 28.—House of Commons: Discussion on Irish Education. Mr. Balfour hold out hopes of a Catholic University.

August 29.—Dr. Kane, Grand Master of the Belfast Orangemen, strongly condemns Mr. Balfour's utterances on Irish education.

THE DEPUTATION TO IRELAND.

SEVERAL members of the deputation have already crossed the Channel; the rest will leave on Monday, September 2nd, by the train leaving Euston at 7.15 a.m.

The first meeting will be held in the Leinster Hall, in Dublin, on Tuesday, September 3rd, when the Right Hon. James Stansfeld, M.P., will be the chief speaker. Mr. Stansfeld will also address meetings at Belfast on September 9th; Cavan, September 11th; Cork, September 13th; Mallow, September 15th; and Thurles, September 19th.

On September 6th, the deputation will break into three parts, going north, west, and south respectively, and meetings will be held at Drogheda, Navan, Kells, Londonderry, Gweedore, Donegal, Ballyshannon, Sligo, Carrick-on-Shannon, Longford, Kilrea, Toomebridge, Maghera, Dungannon, Carrickmacross, Caledon, Tullamore, Athlone, Galway, Tuam, Loughrea, Ennis, Milltown, Malbay, Kilrush, Limerick, Carlow, Cabinteely, Kilkenny, Waterford, Youghal, Bandon, Kanturk, Killarney, and Maryborough, in addition to the six to be addressed by Mr. Stansfeld.

Besides Mr. Stansfeld, the following Members of Parliament have joined the deputation, viz.—Messrs. Theodore Fry, Chas. Schwann, Wm. Summers, S. D. Waddy, Q.C., H. J. Wilson, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, and Professor Stuart. About fifty ladies and gentlemen in all will form the deputation.

HOME RULE UNION.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.—At a meeting of the Executive Committee held on Tuesday, August 13th (present : Mr. G. P. Macdonell in the chair, Dr. Bernard O'Connor, Messrs. W. Martin Edmunds, T. Eccleston Gibb, H. Holiday, T. Lough, A. Spalding, and the Secretary) :

It was proposed by Dr. Bernard O'Connor, seconded by Mr. Holiday, and carried unanimously, “ That the Members of the Executive, who shall be able from time to time to attend meetings during the vacation, should form a Vacation Sub-Committee, with power to vote money and transact the ordinary business of the Union, three being a quorum; and that this Vacation Sub-Committee shall report to a full meeting of the Executive, to be held on the 8th October next.”

It was proposed by the Chairman, seconded by Mr. Lough, and carried unanimously, “ That this Committee has heard with sincere regret of the death of Sir James Marshall, K.C.M.G., so long one of its members, and always firmly attached to the Home Rule cause, and desires to express its deep sympathy with Lady Marshall and the other members of his family; and that the Secretary be directed to send this resolution to Lady Marshall.”

At a meeting of the Vacation Sub-Committee (present : Dr. Bernard O'Connor in the chair, the Rev. J. S. Jones, and the Secretary), the Secretary gave an account of the latest arrangement for the deputation to Ireland.

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THE HOME RULE UNION IN IRELAND.

Two years ago the Home Rule Union sent a deputation of its members to Ireland for the double purpose of gathering information and of conveying to the Irish people a warm message of English sympathy. The report of that former deputation was published by the Union, and remains as an interesting record of the political condition of Ireland at that time. During the past month another deputation from the Union has visited Ireland on a similar errand. Circumstances, which need not here be dwelt upon, made the deputation somewhat less imposing in respect of numbers than was at first anticipated. But the accounts of its progress, which appear in this month's JOURNAL, show that it had a success not less marked than that of its predecessor. The prominence which was given in Irish newspapers to the speeches of its mem-

bers, proved that it awakened a real and keen interest in the Irish people. Everywhere throughout the country it was received with an enthusiastic welcome.

We do not propose here to summarise the impressions which have been made upon the minds of the members of the deputation with regard to the existing state of things in Ireland. But it would be ungracious in the extreme if we did not record our gratitude for the reception which was given us. Only those who have been in Ireland can appreciate what Irish hospitality means. It is frank, hearty, and unbounded. It persuades the stranger that he is an old friend. No one can resist its charm. Such was the hospitality which in public and private was extended to the deputation.

On general matters only one remark need be made. There is a prevailing idea in England that the political agitation in Ireland has been weakened in consequence of the improved condition of the people. They are more content, it is said, to accept things as they are. Now it is true that in many parts of Ireland there has been improvement. What the cause may be is a question into which we do not enter; but certain it is that the improvement has led to no abatement of interest on the great subject of legislative independence. It is rather the other way. The signs of improvement are indications to the Irish people of what the development of their country may be when it is free to take its own course. To Home Rule they

remain constant. Their enthusiasm is not damped either by hope deferred or by faint gleams of prosperity. The only change to be observed is in the increase of their patience, moderation, and self-restraint. That is evidence of strength, not of weakness.

THE DEPUTATION TO IRELAND.

As it fell out, our deputation to Ireland was of far greater importance even than we expected. Circumstances that occurred after the deputation had been arranged rendered it peculiarly opportune, and on leaving Ireland one of the most influential Irishmen alive remarked to one of our members, "Your deputation has been the most important event in the history of the Irish Question since the last General Election."

There is no doubt that a certain amount of friction had taken place between the Irish Parliamentary Party and the English Radicals in the House of Commons in consequence of the votes of the Irish members on the "Royal Grants" and the "Technical Instruction Bill," and the speech of Mr. Sexton and Mr. Balfour's reply upon the question of a Catholic University for Ireland. This friction became so great that in many quarters there was a suspicion that Mr. Parnell had made a bargain with Mr. Balfour.

Immediately before and immediately after the arrival of the deputation in Dublin, a series of most important interviews took place. Mr. Stansfeld stopped at Hawarden on his way to Ireland, and had a long interview with Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Carvell Williams, who was one of the members, also saw Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Sexton, Mr. Harrington, Mr. Oldham (Secretary of the Irish Protestant Home Rule Association), and Mr. Michael Davitt had interviews with the Secretary of the Home Rule Union, who also arranged interviews for Mr. Michael Davitt and Mr. Sexton with Mr. Stansfeld. The result of these conversations was that an interview was arranged from Ireland between Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell.

All this has served effectually to clear up any doubt or difficulty that may have arisen between the allies. There can be no doubt now in any one's mind that no sort of agreement or understanding, direct or indirect, exists between the Government, or any member of it, and the Irish Parliamentary Party, or any member of it.

The vote on the "Royal Grants" was genuinely due to a desire to follow Mr. Gladstone in all British questions. Mr. Sexton's speech on the "University" Bill was, no doubt, due to the fact that certain anti-Irish Catholics

in Ireland have been intriguing with the English Government to obtain advantages for Irish Catholics behind the back of the Irish Parliamentary Party; and the Irish Parliamentary Party were determined to ensure that all such advantages should be obtained solely at their instance. The conduct of the Irish members in forcing through the Technical Instruction Bill against the English Radicals is probably to be explained by the fact that the Irish members feel that, besides Mr. Gladstone and the English Radicals, there is one other man to whom they owe a deep debt of gratitude, and that is Cardinal Manning. It was to please him, and for that reason only, that they voted as they did. One cannot over-estimate the importance of those expressions having been made in Ireland by men who are among the chief leaders of the Irish people to a statesman of the rank of Mr. Stansfeld and a Liberal whip like Mr. Summers, and a politician occupying a position which is at the moment so specially important as Mr. Carvell Williams. It is above all important that the explanation was made in Ireland. It is impossible for those who have not experienced it to realise the difference between the political atmosphere in Ireland and in England. The very air is electric with the desire for Home Rule, and nothing else; and the idea of an intrigue between Irish Nationalists and English Tories cannot be conceived for a moment once you are breathing the air of Ireland. The suspicions which were thus allayed crippled, however, our deputation, several of the most important members of which refused to join at the last moment. Those who caused this defection, which went near to ruining the deputation itself, must, we imagine, feel sorry that they have not had a hand in the good work which has been done.

In presenting the freedom of the city to Lady Sandhurst, on Friday, the 20th, the Lord Mayor made a speech, in which he said, "Our Coercion Government, during the period of your presence here, has felt itself, in the language of its own Coercion Act, 'induced or compelled' to make a new departure. It has locked up the battering rams, it has kept the sheriffs on retreat, it has interned the police, and it has left public speakers and public meetings comparatively free. In point of fact, although the Government has not bound itself to bail under the statute of Edward III., yet it has struggled up to a point which, in the case of such a Government, might be described as comparatively good behaviour. Such has been the effect of your visit. Of course, a fitful gleam of good behaviour affords no permanent security; indeed, we know that there is rank impenitence behind. But the material fact of the situation is that the firm and resolute government of Mr. Balfour has taken to flight in presence of the delegates of

the English Home Rule Union"; and this is scarcely the language of exaggerated compliment, for on our arrival in Ireland a circular was issued to the constabulary, of which the following is a copy:—

"ENGLISH M.P.'S VISITING IRELAND.

"[CONFIDENTIAL].

"Several English M.P.'s and others are at present in Ireland, and many more may visit this country during the recess. The avowed object of this visit is to obtain information by personal observation, and to make inquiries from persons in various localities. The R. I. C. will extend to these gentlemen the courtesy and assistance to which, as strangers seeking information, they are peculiarly entitled. These gentlemen should not be shadowed; and as it is not likely that they will make violent speeches, no particular measures need be adopted to have notes taken of the same."

As Mr. Balfour himself complained in the House of Commons of the violence of the speeches made by the members of the last deputation from the Home Rule Union, and as the arrest and imprisonment of Mr. Blunt took place in consequence of their meetings, the reason given in the circular is obviously disingenuous.

The fact remains, however, that the members of the deputation were not shadowed. No official reporters attended, and no police molested their meetings; yet, at their first meeting in the Leinster Hall, Mr. Stansfeld, speaking for the whole deputation, declared:—"We have a right, which we are determined to exercise, to go where we will, to speak the truth as we believe it where we will," and he kept his word. He and every member of the deputation made speeches far more "violent" than many for which Irish members have been imprisoned.

Two days after the Tipperary meeting, the members of the deputation went to Youghal and addressed a large meeting at which some of the Ponsonby tenants were present, and told them how high the spirit of Smith-Barry's tenants was, and exhorted them to stand by their combination under the Plan of Campaign. William O'Brien himself has been imprisoned for less than this, yet no notice was taken of it.

On Wednesday, September 4th, the whole of the deputation, at the invitation of Alderman Dillon and Dr. Kenny, M.P., went on an excursion into the Wicklow Mountains. This was the day before the date fixed for the trial of Mr. William Redmond. He had announced his intention of avoiding arrest, and a warrant was out against him. It had been stated in the newspapers that he would be with the members of the deputation on this excursion, yet, in spite of the fact that this was the last day before his trial, he

was left unmolested by the police, and in consequence his trial had to be postponed for a fortnight.

Some notes of the towns, north, west, [and south, appear in other columns of the JOURNAL. Here we may note one point of Ireland's Home Rule demand which was forced home upon the minds of every member of the Deputation, north, west and south, and that is, that whatever some of them may have said in the bitterness of their hopelessness in days happily now gone by, the Irish people do not want separation.

This was asserted by their local leaders at every meeting. Nothing was more heartily cheered than Mr. Stansfeld's continual assertions of the same fact, and signs were not wanting of the daily growth of the new spirit of goodwill between the two nations.

The yacht of the Harbour Commissioners of Cork, carrying the members of the Southern Contingent, saluted the guard ship in Cork Harbour, and the old Irish seaman who hauled down the flag and put it up again, turned round when he had done and remarked, "Sure, I never did it in my life before!"

A more significant incident still happened at Mallow. After Mr. Stansfeld had spoken, one of the local speakers referred to the difference between the reception Mr. Stansfeld was receiving, coming there as a supporter of Home Rule, from that which was given to some prominent Englishman who had passed through Mallow in the old evil days before the Liberal party extended to Ireland that sympathy with the doctrine of nationality which they had shown with respect to every other country. The name of the prominent Englishman was not mentioned, but on inquiry it turned out to be the Prince of Wales.

This was awkward for a Privy Councillor to listen to. Accordingly, in proposing a vote of thanks to the chairman, Mr. Stansfeld spoke thus:—"The action of your chosen representatives in Parliament on the Royal Grants gave the lie to the impudent suggestion that you are disloyal to the throne. (Loud cheers.) Our limited monarchy is non-political. The heir to the throne is also non-political. The Prince of Wales has never shown a partiality, politically speaking, and he greets the members of Mr. Gladstone's late Government when he meets them as cordially as he greets the members of the present Government. I wish the Irish people, with all the generosity of their natures, to look fairly upon the limited monarchy of England, and to say from their hearts, God save Ireland, and also, God save the sovereign of the United Kingdom."

These last words were received with a tremendous outburst of cheering, evidently intended

in its heartiness to give expression to the new feeling of loyalty which the mere promise that the Liberal party would take up their cause has awokened in the Irish people.

There is no doubt that the deputation has been a wonderful success, yet the defection at the last moment of so many important politicians brought it within a measurable distance of utter failure. This defection threw an enormous amount of work upon four members of the deputation—viz., Mrs. Bateson, the Hon. Ashley and Mrs. Ponsonby, and Mr. J. Carvell Williams—to all of whom the thanks of the Home Rule Union are specially due for so energetically carrying out the programme that had been arranged, when a much larger number of speakers had promised to join the deputation.

The greatness of the success of the deputation was, however, mainly due to Lady Sandhurst and Mr. Stansfeld. Lady Sandhurst had resided in Ireland when the late Lord Sandhurst was Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, from 1870 to 1875; and the fact that one who had held such a position in Dublin society should be working so hard for Home Rule, and should show such real anxiety to further the darling wish of the Irish people as she did in the wonderfully sympathetic speeches she made, excited the keenest interest and enthusiasm among the people.

And it is not too much to say that it would have been impossible to have found among English statesmen a man so perfectly fitted for the work of the deputation as the Right Hon. James Stansfeld. The Irish people had heard nothing like the speeches he delivered from any statesman of his rank—they had made up their minds that an ex-Cabinet Minister must be cautious and reserved. When, therefore, they found him burning with indignation against coercion, feeling and expressing openly a deep reverence for the characters of those of their leaders, such as William O'Brien, whom they held most dear, and laying down as the object of his work for them, not the amelioration of material grievances, but the free and full recognition of their native land, their enthusiasm knew no bounds; and it is not too much to say that by the end of his tour Mr. Stansfeld was one of the most popular men in Ireland.

It was a striking mark of the value the Irish leaders put upon the services of Lady Sandhurst and Mr. Stansfeld that the Corporation of the City of Dublin should have conferred upon them the freedom of their city. Lady Sandhurst was the first woman who has been created an "Honorary Freeman," and there were only twelve men who had received this honour previously, and these included Messrs. Gladstone, Parnell, John Dillon, William O'Brien, John Morley, and Lord Ripon. The certificates of freedom were presented to Lady Sandhurst and

Mr. Stansfeld by the Lord Mayor in two speeches, which for beauty of language, felicity of expression, and grace of delivery were remarkable, even coming from him. In the evening a ball was given at the Mansion House in honour of the visitors, at which about a thousand ladies and gentlemen were present; and so the doings of the deputation were brought to a close.

THE DEMONSTRATION IN DUBLIN.

BY MR. C. H. OLDHAM.

THE Leinster Hall, Dublin, was the scene of the first public reception of the deputation on Irish soil. It forms one of the most beautiful public halls in the United Kingdom, accommodating without inconvenience 5,000 persons; and on this occasion it was filled in every part by an unanimous and enthusiastic, but most orderly, audience. The scene from the orchestra, which affords a most spacious platform, as the members of the deputation made their appearance punctually at eight o'clock, was most exhilarating and animated. From the shapely gallery which runs round three sides of the building, taking off from its great height and adding much both to its appearance and to its accommodation, the eye wandered over the vast ground-floor, and found everywhere a motion of enthusiasm, caused by the waving of hats and handkerchiefs, that was even more thrilling than the vociferous, whole-hearted cheering. But as the tumult subsided, and the meeting settled down, the delegates, directing their gaze towards a deep upper gallery receding up to the roof at the further end, began for the first time to realise the dimensions of the hall, and to feel uneasy misgivings as to their ability to make themselves heard throughout so vast an assembly. Everyone felt that the meeting itself was already a magnificent success, and it now only remained that the speakers should be able to do their part. Fortunately, the acoustic properties of the hall are most admirable, and the observed readiness with which the speech of the Lord Mayor (Mr. Sexton, M.P.), who occupied the chair, was caught up and responded to by the occupants in the distant gallery, speedily reassured those delegates who were feeling apprehensive on this point. The meeting was not brought to a close until eleven o'clock. It was throughout most patient, orderly, and cheerily responsive. Its success left nothing to be desired; and the Lord Mayor was well justified at its conclusion in characterising it as an honour to the City of Dublin, and a just cause of gratification to all Irishmen who desired to welcome to Ireland their English allies.

Mr. T. D. Sullivan, M.P. (late Lord Mayor

Dublin), proposed a vote of welcome to the English deputation. He made a capital point by alluding to "the recently appointed intelligence department of the Royal Irish Constabulary." The unexpected combination of "intelligence" with the Irish police was irresistible, and the audience laughed outright.

The Rev. George McCutchan, M.A., rector of Kenmare, co. Kerry, seconded the motion in a speech of much power and earnestness, but the patience of the audience was a little tried; for it was nine o'clock before the motion could be put to the meeting, when it was received with acclamations and a renewed outburst of genuine Irish enthusiasm.

The Right Hon. James Stansfeld, M.P., then rose and delivered the speech of the evening. It is seldom that an ex-Cabinet Minister speaks to an Irish meeting, but on the present occasion the curiosity of the audience was intensified by the natural anxiety that existed in the minds of Irish Nationalists to ascertain, by the manner in which this representative exponent of official Liberalism stated and supported the Irish national demand, the reality and genuine practical value of that confidence in the near success of their great cause which is now founded upon the fact of its adoption by the great Liberal Party of Great Britain. Much, therefore, depended upon the line taken by Mr. Stansfeld in this first speech of the deputation to an Irish audience. And it is no exaggeration to say that the manner in which Mr. Stansfeld now rose to the occasion and responded to the pulse of the meeting assured the extraordinary success of the deputation throughout its subsequent tour, and brought renewed confidence to the people in every part of Ireland. He caught the sympathy of the whole country by basing the Home Rule demand on the principle of the recognition of Irish nationality. "The only question for me to talk about to-night," he said, "or to-morrow, or until we gain a solution of that question, is the question of the recognition of your nationhood, of your right to the enjoyment of national freedom and self-government on your own soil. Your enemies and ours call us separatists. Their cry is that the Union is in danger. But what is the answer to that? The answer is this: The previous proposition that the Union is in no conceivable danger. There is no possible danger to the union of these islands; there is no possibility of anything but union. I say to you that these islands are so placed—that God and Nature has declared their inseparability. They are bound to be one, and they will be one; and the only question is, not that of union or separation—that is a political fraud and imposture—but the question is simply and solely this, the terms of that union. The question is whether that union shall be a willing union, based on the freedom of

each integral portion of the United Kingdom, carrying with it the assent of all these portions, and strengthening the United Kingdom constituted out of them, or whether it shall be the so-called union which I would call not union, but domination and subjugation; and that is the policy of our opponents."

This passage may be taken as giving the key to the spirit of the whole speech. It was a speech that thoroughly satisfied the audience, and when Mr. Stansfeld sat down, after speaking for fifty minutes, the entire assembly rose to its feet and cheered him again and again.

The success of the meeting was now assured, and the subsequent speakers found no difficulty in getting upon good terms with the audience. Perhaps the most impressive speech next to that of Mr. Stansfeld was made by Mr. E. J. C. Morton, who showed what came with a new interest and force to the meeting—the sacrifices that the Liberals of Great Britain were making in postponing English reforms in order that they might right the wrongs of Ireland. "In London they had a population nearly as large as that of Ireland, and at that moment there was misery and suffering in London nearly as acute as in Ireland; and it was suffering more degrading than they knew of, for it was neither cheered by patriotism nor sanctified by religion. They told their people that this was a suffering which should not exist, but they nevertheless persuaded them to bear it for some time longer than they should in order that they might right the wrongs of Ireland."

Lady Sandhurst, as the only lady speaker, got a most gratifying reception. She is well-known in Dublin, where Lord Sandhurst was for many years Commander of the Forces. It is very rarely that Irish audiences hear ladies speaking, and a good deal of surprise was felt at the very clear manner in which Lady Sandhurst, speaking without much apparent effort, made her voice heard in every part of the great building. Her speech was simple, but appropriate; and took about ten minutes to deliver. It was an agreeable break in the continuity of the meeting. The other speakers were Mr. J. Carvell Williams, Dr. M. Robertson (of Cambridge), Mr. Henry Holiday, and last, but far from being the least effective, the Rev. Charles Berry, of Wolverhampton, who, although not one of the deputation, was pressed into service as a speaker at the request of some Irish friends, who desired an opportunity of hearing him speak.

The Lord Mayor closed the meeting in a few terse, pithy, well-turned sentences, which few can roll off with greater ease; but the mass of the audience hung about the approaches to the building, and cheered the members of the deputation as they drove away to the Shelbourne Hotel.

THE STRUGGLE AT TIPPERARY.

ON the morning of Saturday, September 7th, the Secretary of the Home Rule Union received a request from the National League that some members of the deputation should be present at a meeting to be held at Tipperary next day, which Mr. John Redmond, M.P., was to address, in order that they might, in case of need, serve as witnesses of what passed.

The Unionist papers had been for two or three days full of accounts of rioting by the people and firing by the police in Tipperary; accordingly, the Secretary of the Union and Mr. J. W. Welsford went off, glad of an opportunity of seeing the thickest part of the fight.

The circumstances under which the present struggle is proceeding at Tipperary are as follows.

The tenants on the estate of Mr. Talbot Ponsonby at Youghal were at loggerheads with their landlord, and adopted the Plan of Campaign in December, 1886. The parish priest of Youghal, Canon Keller, was on the point of effecting a settlement when Mr. Smith-Barry, M.P. for South Hunts, who had no concern with the Ponsonby estate, founded a land syndicate of wealthy men, and, it is said, persuaded Mr. Ponsonby to sell his Estate to them.

The syndicate had money at its back, and therefore could probably break down the combination of the Ponsonby tenants under the plan. Hence a wider organisation of tenants was necessary to meet the new combination of landlords.

The centre of Mr. Smith-Barry's estate is Tipperary, a well-to-do town of 7,000 inhabitants. His tenantry have no complaint to make of excessive rents. They are one of the very few communities in Ireland that can be described as prosperous.

The last half-year's rent from these people was due on May 1st this year, but it is customary not to collect it till the following July 10th.

On June 23rd last, Mr. Wm. O'Brien went to Tipperary and held a meeting of the Smith-Barry tenants. He exhorted them to stand by the Ponsonby tenants, as their landlord was interfering on that estate. A resolution was passed calling on Mr. Smith-Barry to withdraw from the syndicate, and a deputation was appointed to wait on him and remonstrate with him on his interference in the Ponsonby struggle.

Mr. Smith-Barry received the deputation in London, told them, in effect, to mind their own business, and they returned home. Meantime they held back their rents.

On August 9th they held another meeting, at which Mr. William O'Brien was again present. Here they decided to demand 25 per cent. reduction in their rent in order to pay this amount to

the Ponsonby tenants. The reduction was refused, and accordingly the whole of the Tipperary tenants of Mr. Smith-Barry refused to pay rent at all.

Judgment was signed against seventeen of these tenants for debt, and, as they refused to pay, execution was put in, and the interest in their holdings was sold by auction at Thurles, on Wednesday, September 4th.

Now these tenants are not agricultural tenants, they are well-to-do tradesmen, worth, perhaps, £10,000 apiece. Their holdings are town places of business, for which they pay a ground rent, considerable, no doubt, but insignificant compared with the whole value of the holding. One of them has spent £4,000 on his business house within the last year. These are the men who for no advantage to themselves gave up everything for the sake of the Ponsonby tenants.

One of the seventeen was an executor, and he bought in the holding for the amount of the debt—the rent due. One case was adjourned; seven refused to buy in; no one bid except the landlord, who bought in in each case interests worth thousands for sums varying from £25 to £80. The remaining eight bought in their holdings for the amount of their rent.

On the evening of September 4th, as they returned from Thurles, those who let their holdings go were met at the station by a vast crowd with bands and conducted in triumph to their homes.

Unfortunately, as the crowd passed the houses of those who had bought in they broke a window or two.

The police sent out far and wide post haste for reinforcements, and next day the town was as if it had been taken and was held by a hostile army.

And now comes, perhaps, the most significant part of the story, at least from the point of view of "law and order." The Royal Irish Constabulary are a Mameluke army, no member of it is allowed, by the regulations, to serve in a county in which he was born or lived any length of time, or, if he be married, in which his wife was born or lived any length of time. The whole system is constructed on the principle that no fraternisation must be allowed between police and citizens, that police and citizens are naturally hostile to each other. Yet the constables are Irishmen, and there is no doubt that in their sane and sober moments they do not like their present work.

It is the belief of every one in Tipperary that the authorities were unable to get the constabulary to act while they were sober, and that they deliberately plied them with drink in order to get them into proper fighting trim! At any rate, it is quite certain that many constables were lying about the pavements late on the night of September 5th so drunk that they allowed their

boots to be taken off them and their rifles to be abstracted without any resistance.

Before they became so overcome as this, however, on that evening, a few stones had been thrown at them, but none of them were hurt. They, however, replied with reckless firing at intervals throughout the evening, often at unoffending groups of three or four people. From the fact that so few were hurt, it seems certain that, for the most part, blank cartridge was used; but this was unfortunately not invariably the case, for three persons received severe buckshot wounds. The members of the deputation saw these people in the hospital. One of them, a poor lad named Stephen Heffernan, received a shot in the foot, which has since brought on lockjaw, of which he has died.

Meanwhile, the businesses of those who had bought in their holdings were absolutely boycotted by the people. There is no doubt these men are *bond fide* Nationalists; they have been members of the National League for years. They did not suppose it was expected of them that they should sell their holdings. There has never been the slightest suggestion, direct or indirect, from any officer of the National League, from any priest, or from anyone in any kind of authority that they should be boycotted. Yet spontaneously, such is the spirit of the people, the most relentless boycott has been put on; no one goes near their shops, and they are being ruined.

On Saturday, September 8th, a great meeting was held—hastily summoned—behind the house of O'Brien Dalton, the wealthiest of the eight men who had let their holdings be bought in by the landlord.

Before the meeting a committee was held, composed of Canon Cahill, P.P., the president of the local branch of the National League, Mr. John Redmond, M.P., the eight tenants who had sold, and the eight who had bought in.

At this committee the tenants who had bought in declared that they did so under a complete misapprehension of what was expected of them; that they were good Nationalists; that they desired to be admitted to the combination of Smith-Barry's tenants; and that they offered the following terms:—

1. That they would publish a public apology for what they had done in the newspapers;
2. That they would pay £50 a-piece to the Ponsonby tenants;
3. That they would sign a bond not to pay any rent to Smith-Barry or to buy in their holdings till he withdrew from the syndicate;

and one of them offered to pay £500 to the Ponsonby tenants.

Canon Cahill, John Redmond, and the eight tenants who had let their holdings go were strongly in favour of accepting these terms, and went to the meeting for the express purpose of getting the people to remove the boycott.

The meeting was held in a yard, two sides of which were enclosed by O'Brien Dalton's house, and the other two by a shed open to the yard. The place was crammed; 3,000 people were present. The roof of the shed, crowded with people, began to give way. "Go back, go back; you are in danger," shouted the chairman, Canon Cahill. "Och, sure," a voice replied, "the post of danger is the post of honour."

John Redmond made a long speech. He and Canon Cahill and Dalton did their utmost to induce the people to accept the terms offered and remove the boycott. Not a bit of it; the people would scarcely let Redmond proceed. "Too late," "No, no," they shouted, combined with that peculiar furious Irish yell of "Yah, Yah," which sounds so strange and horrible to unaccustomed ears. It was of no use; the boycott continued.

The following Saturday John Redmond returned with Tim Healy, M.P., and again tried to get the boycott removed, and again they failed. Since then Tim Harrington, M.P., has tried his hand, with no better success. All that they can get is a unanimous resolution from the people of Tipperary that they will obey absolutely the advice of William O'Brien, and will follow no advice but his; and William O'Brien is kept in gaol by Arthur Balfour!

And so the boycott continues, and eight wealthy tradesmen of Tipperary are being ruined, no doubt unjustly. "This is all very wicked," the Tories will no doubt say. Granted. But what a light it all throws on the condition of the Irish struggle.

The real Tories and sham Liberals who from the Unionist party say that the struggle of the Irish people and the boycotting, which is an incident of it, is all due to the intimidation of the National League; but here the boycott is absolutely spontaneous, unsuggested by the National League or anyone else, and the National League cannot remove it.

Again, this is an instance which proves the truth of Lord Salisbury's earlier opinion, that there is no political weapon with which boycotting can be fought. There has been nothing in the nature of conspiracy in Tipperary. No one man has ever said to any other in Tipperary, "Let us agree to boycott such and such a man." Each individual spontaneously avoids the obnoxious tenants. What can Mr. Balfour do by coercion to remedy this?

Further, the one man who, in the absence of self-government in Ireland, could restore freedom

to the boycotted tenants of Tipperary, Mr. Balfour in his wisdom keeps in gaol!

Lastly, how can the Unionists of Britain—good, easy people, who have never known in all their lives what it is to endure half-an-hour's discomfort for any cause, bad or good, who would not sacrifice so much as a good dinner for "the Union" or anything else—how can they hope to resist—God save the mark!—such a spirit as is about in Tipperary. Tipperary is forty miles from Youghal; the places are not on the same line of railway. It takes hours to pass from one to the other; yet for the sake of the poor of Youghal, whom they never saw, and with whom they have no relations whatever, the wealthy tradesmen of Tipperary sacrifice everything, without the possibility of any selfish advantage to themselves.

One word more. Tipperary is supposed in Ireland to be slow, but it is allowed to be terribly tenacious when once roused; in fact, its people are the most difficult in all Ireland for England to deal with. How is it the people of Tipperary have this peculiar character? The answer is, they are descendants of Cromwell's Ironsides. This is the part of the country Cromwell "settled"—his contribution to the solution of the Irish question. It is a strange Nemesis that the effect of this policy has been to rear the fiercest opponents of English rule in Ireland.

A COERCION COURT TRIAL.

ON Monday, September 9th, there was a Coercion Court trial in Tipperary, and the two delegates from the Home Rule Union, who were then in the town, were present at the trial. Twenty-five men were summoned for various offences under the Coercion Act. One of these was John Cullinan, the great organiser of the Nationalists through the South of Ireland, a man of remarkable ability and earnestness. At certain evictions held at Bansha, about three miles from Tipperary, where Cullinan lives, the small crowd of people who had collected were kept at a distance from the immediate scene of eviction by two cordons of police, drawn across the road with an interval of several yards between them. Cullinan was in the crowd outside. The tenant's wife and the landlord were talking between the two cordons when the landlord himself summoned Cullinan inside the outer cordon in order that he might assist in making a settlement, if possible, at the last moment.

Cullinan passed through the outer cordon without molestation, but no sooner was he inside than he was charged by police from both cordons, who knocked him down and gave him seven scalp wounds from which he bled profusely as he lay

insensible on the ground. He had never been guilty of any kind of offence whatever, yet for this he was summoned for riot, unlawful assembly, resisting the sheriff's officers, and assaulting the police.

The trial commenced at twelve o'clock, and with the exception of the presiding magistrate, Mr. Welden, who is one of the only twelve Removables out of the whole seventy-five who can be fairly described as a lawyer, and the only constable who gave evidence, whose face was entirely expressionless, and who looked as if he had just walked out of a Noah's ark, a more ruffianly looking lot than the minions of the "law," from the bench to the policemen at the door, it is rarely one's fortune to set eyes on.

The first thing that struck an English visitor was the fact that there was no pretence that the accused, even if found guilty, were in any way moral criminals, they were not put in the dock, and they sat about in different parts of the court among the public; though after the Court opened they were requested to sit together for the convenience of the proceedings. The next point worthy of notice, and which was more and more observable as the trial continued, was the way in which every remark from the bench, the witnesses, and the Crown Prosecutor, and the police was directed straight at the two English visitors.

The Crown Prosecutor was the notorious Mr. Bolton. No sooner did he get up to open his case than Mr. John Redmond, M.P., the counsel for the accused, rose and made application that the batch of cases, of which Cullinan's was one, might be taken first. The object of this application was to get a "good" case taken first. To the surprise of Mr. Redmond, Mr. Bolton, not looking at him or the magistrates, but straight at the two visitors sitting in another part of the court, consented, and the application was allowed.

Mr. Bolton then opened the case against Cullinan and the rest, and told the usual tale about the house from which the tenant was to be evicted at Bansha being barricaded, hot water poured on the police, a brick or stone striking and severely injuring a constable, the groaning of the crowd, and the firing of a building near.

The first witness was then called, a certain Mr. "Bob" Power, an "anti-Irish" Irishman, notorious in the neighbourhood, low-browed and forbidding-looking. He did not seem to like his position as he sat on a chair on a table in the middle of the court—which did duty for a witness-box—and gave his evidence with furtive glances towards the English visitors.

Examined by Mr. Bolton, he swore that he arrived at the house with a party of constables, and knocked at the door and demanded possession. He heard people inside, but could not

make out what they said. He then ordered his men to advance, and they tried to get in through the windows, which were barricaded, and through the thatch of the roof; and a stone from the house then struck a constable. The crowd were cheering and "boozing," and "behaving very badly." Asked how the people were "behaving badly," he replied they were shouting, and he saw the police charge them.

Cross-examined by John Redmond: "What are you?" "I am a land agent." "For how many properties?" Four or five, which he specified. After a good deal of pressing he confessed that he was "assistant to the sheriff," and after still further pressing that he "meant by that a sheriff's bailiff." All this was confessed to the two Englishmen rather than to Redmond or the Court. Further confessions followed. He had been in the Munster Bank till "the bank burst." He then took up the bailiff's business, "because it paid better." He would "take any employment that paid well."

At this point Mr. Bolton objected to this line of cross-examination, and made the objection, not to the Court, but looking in the opposite direction, straight at the two visitors. John Redmond claimed to cross-examine as he pleased as to character, and the Court, looking again, not at Redmond or Bolton, but addressing the English visitors, allowed the cross-examination to continue.

Power repeated his evidence, in which he swore he saw the police charging the crowd, some with batons, others with rifles, over the ditches. He did not trouble to look at the charge, as he was "accustomed to that sort of thing." He judged that the crowd was about sixty or seventy yards from the house. The charge took place before an entrance was effected, and before the policeman was hit with the stone. He saw Cullinan lying bleeding from the head.

William Smith, the Noah's Ark constable, was then called, and swore that he was struck with half-a-brick, on the left shin, and was sent to the village of Bansha, disabled, on a car, and thence to Tipperary, where he suffered from the blow for about a week.

Cross-examined by John Redmond, he admitted that he did not fall when struck, that he went back and leaned against the pier of the gate, standing on one leg; that after standing thus a few minutes the county inspector sent him in to Bansha on a car, but that it was "on duty" guarding the prisoners who had been arrested by the police; that he thence came on to Tipperary, and walked with the prisoners to barracks from the station.

At this point the Court adjourned for lunch. No attempt was made to guard the "prisoners." On reassembling the Court waited for twenty minutes for one of the prisoners, who was late!

During this period Cullinan complained that people who wanted to enter the court were quizzed and insulted by the police, and prevented from coming in. The Court ordered everyone to be admitted. John Redmond got up and said, "It is a matter of common knowledge that the people are kept out of coercion courts." Mr. Meldon thereupon said, "I assure you I have never heard of it," looking straight at the Home Rule Union delegates as he said it.

During the adjournment for lunch, Mr. Bolton had an interview with Mr. Redmond, in the course of which he suggested that the whole twenty-five cases should be adjourned till October 16th, and then promised that they should not be proceeded with, but quietly let drop. Mr. Redmond at once assented to this course.

On the re-assembling of the Court, when the application for the adjournment was made and at once assented to by the magistrates, an amusing incident took place. One of the "prisoners," not understanding the situation, objected to the adjournment, for he wanted to go to America, and did not want his bail bonds to suffer. The greatest difficulty was experienced in keeping the man quiet from urging these awkward considerations; and the strongest language, from a legal point of view, was used to him in open court, such as "You fool, can't you leave these things to your counsel?" At last he was quieted, and the Court rose.

The whole thing was a farce. From beginning to end it was a piece of acting before the English visitors, and it formed only one, though perhaps the most conspicuous, instance of the "flight" of "the firm and resolute government of Mr. Balfour in the presence of the delegates of the English Home Rule Union."

Meantime, since this is the new attitude of the Government to English visitors, it is the duty of the English Home Rulers to be present, if possible, at every coercion "trial" in Ireland.

THE WESTERN DEPUTATION.

OWING to the defection of some who had promised to join the Deputation, it happened that those available for the meeting at Drogheda, on the 7th, were reduced to two in number; accordingly, some of those appointed to visit the West commenced their work in that town, where a strong wish for a meeting had been expressed. Mr. Carvell Williams, Mr. W. H. Wills, Mr. Hedderwick, Mrs. Bateson, and Miss Hughes, arrived there on the morning of the 6th September, and were received at the station by the Mayor and Town Clerk, and other prominent inhabitants. During the day the Deputation visited Collon and were shown over the Massa-

reene estate, visiting Monasterboice, Mellifont, and other places of interest in the district. In the evening they addressed a very crowded meeting in the ball room of the Mayoralty House, and were presented with addresses by the Independent Club and the Independent Branch of the Irish National League. The Mayor presided and gave the deputation a warm welcome, and after the delivery of their addresses, which were heard with the utmost interest, Alderman Kennedy moved, and Father Murtagh seconded a vote of thanks. It was an excellent commencement of a thoroughly successful series of meetings.

The Athlone demonstration on the 8th September was in several respects a remarkable one. It was attended by the Hon. Mr. and Mrs. Ponsonby, Mr. Carvell Williams, and Mr. J. Tomkinson, to whom, on their arrival, addresses were presented by the Town Commissioners and Poor Law Guardians. The meeting was held in the afternoon in the central part of the town and was attended by several thousand people; contingents coming in from all the surrounding districts, with bands playing and colours flying. A large number of priests and other influential persons were on the platform; the Rev. J. Kelly presiding. The Rev. Dr. Langan proposed, and Dr. MacCormack seconded, a hearty resolution of welcome to the deputation, whose speeches were well heard by the vast multitude, and were enthusiastically responded to. Mrs. Ponsonby's appearance and speech raised the enthusiasm to the highest point. The Rev. C. Byrne occupied the second chair, when thanks to the chairman were proposed. In the evening the deputation were handsomely entertained at a dinner, at which more speeches were made, and patriotic songs were sung.

From Athlone, Mr. and Mrs. Ponsonby, Mr. Williams, and Miss Hughes, proceeded to the Island of Achill; not to attend any meeting, but to obtain information respecting the condition of the people, and to visit some of the evicted tenants. Three days were spent over this particular mission; the journeys to and fro being very long.

Galway was next visited by the party just named. A great crowd, headed by a reception committee, met them at the station, and for the first time for a year and a half the music of the Home Rule Band was heard in the town. After luncheon, and a visit to the Corrib River, a public meeting was held in the Assembly Room, which was crammed with people, for whom the room was all too small. The Rev. P. Dooley presided, and addresses were presented by the Town Commissioners and the members of the Mechanics' Institute. Besides the deputation, Mr. Sleator, Mr. Corcoran, Mr. Semple, Mr. Kirwail, and Prof. Pye, of Galway

College, spoke. The proceedings were most enthusiastic throughout, the more so because Mr. O'Brien is confined in Galway Gaol, and every allusion to him was received with almost passionate ardour.

At Tuam, on the 13th, Mr. Carvell Williams was the only member of the deputation who could attend and speak; but, fortunately, Col. Nolan, the member for Galway, was able to be present and speak. The Rev. J. Loftus, presided, and beside others, Mr. M. J. Costello, a tenant farmer, made a racy speech. Addresses were presented by the Town Commissioners and the Tuam Branch of the National League. Perfect order prevailed; though late in the evening the police objected to the letting off of fire-balls, lest the thatched roofs should take fire.

The Ennis meeting had some special features, for it was held in the County Clare, where the League is supposed to be suppressed; and it was held at the base of the O'Connell monument, and on the very spot where he won the battle of the memorable Clare election, which led to Catholic emancipation. These facts, as well as the numbers of people attending, and their almost electric state of excitement, seemed to inspire the speakers, who were Mr. and Mrs. Ponsonby, Mr. Williams, Mr. Jordan, M.P., Mr. M. J. Kenny, M.P., Father White, and the Rev. M. Kenny.

The attendance from all parts around was enormous—twenty Gaelic athletic clubs, the Foresters of Limerick and Ennis, the trades of Ennis, and the suppressed (!) branches of the League being present with their flags and bands. A large force of police was drafted into the town, but not a man of them was to be seen at the meeting, nor were their services needed. The Rev. Mr. Carey presided, and addresses were presented. The meeting was in all respects a great success.

On their way to Kilkee the deputation visited Miltown Malbay; interviewing the brave Father White, and hearing all about the conflict between Mrs. Moroney and her tenants, as well as inspecting the ruins of the cabin of Tom McGrath, who is now in gaol. There was no meeting at Kilkee, which served as a halting-place for the night; but the next day there was an immense out-door assembly at Kilrush. A mile from the town the deputation were met by a procession, with bands and banners, which afterwards made a circuit of the town. The streets were decorated with inscriptions, and trees planted for the occasion, and the enthusiasm of the populace seemed to know no bounds. Mr. J. C. O'Mahony, chairman of the Town Commissioners, was chairman, and after an elaborate set of resolutions had been read, and addresses from the people and priests of the town, the Poor Law Guardians, and the athletic clubs presented, Mr. Carvell Williams and Mr. and Mrs. Ponsonby spoke, and were followed by Mr.

Jordan, M.P. (the local member), and Mr. M. Kenny, M.P., both of whom vehemently denounced the attack of the authorities on "Dr. Dinan and the villainous Priests of Clare," and evidently carried the vast audience with them. In the evening the visitors were entertained at dinner, and the houses were illuminated and tar barrels burnt, and without any interference on the part of the police.

It seemed almost impossible to surpass at any other place the demonstrations already witnessed by the deputation; but that at Limerick had at least its special features of interest and importance. When Mr. and Mrs. Ponsonby, Mr. Carvell Williams, and Miss Hughes arrived at the station, they were met by the Corporation with the Mayor and Town Clerk, and all the insignia of their office, other members of the Corporation occupying a string of carriages, which had a difficulty in emerging from the station yard, it being crammed with people. Then the procession went through the principal streets, numbers of workingmen who composed it having gone to work at four in the morning, that they might join in the demonstration. Arrived at their hotel, the deputation had to make short speeches from a window, and then the Corporation address was presented inside, and more speeches followed. At night another crowd accompanied the deputation to the Theatre, which, though a large building, did not nearly hold the numbers who sought for admittance, and many of whom paid for their tickets. The Mayor (Mr. O'Keefe, member for the city) presided, and subsequently the City High Sheriff, Father O'Shea, and Mr. W. Spillary, J.P., proposed a vote of thanks to the deputation, who were obviously fatigued with the day's proceedings; and then, at eleven o'clock, there was a large supper party, which did not disperse till an advanced hour the next morning.

That finished the work of the Western deputation; Mr. and Mrs. Ponsonby starting off the next day to attend the trial of Mr. W. Redmond, M.P., at Arthurstown; and Mr. Williams snatching a day for the Lakes of Killarney before returning to Dublin and England.

THE SOUTHERN DEPUTATION.

THE two delegates at Tipperary left there on Tuesday, September 10th, for Waterford, where the Southern route was to commence. On their way they stayed at Clonmel, and visited Dr. Tanner in jail. The doctor appeared tolerably happy, and there is no doubt that the officers of the jail are genuine Nationalists who feel it to be a scandal that they should be imprisoning men of high character for merely differing from Mr. Balfour in politics; in fact, in con-

versation with some warders they openly expressed to the delegates their disgust at the work they were set to do. At Waterford the following members of the Southern Deputation assembled, viz.:—Lady Sandhurst and her daughter, the Hon. Miss Mansfield, Mr. W. Summers, M.P., Mr. J. Tomkinson (Liberal candidate for the Eddisbury Division of Cheshire), Mr. J. W. Welsford, and the Secretary of the Home Rule Union. Fog signals were put upon the rails to serve as a salute to the train by which Lady Sandhurst and her daughter arrived.

In the evening a great torchlight procession was organised, and it appeared as if the whole population of Waterford had turned out to welcome the visitors. They were conducted, preceded by bands and the torchlight procession, to the Town Hall, from the window of which they addressed an enormous multitude in the street below. The Mayor, Captain O'Toole, presided, and there were present also Messrs. J. G. Biggar, M.P.; T. Healy, M.P.; R. Power, M.P.; P. J. Power, M.P.; and T. Condon, M.P. The next morning, on Wednesday, September 11th, the delegates met in the Town Hall, where the Mayor and Corporation assembled in their robes, together with the Mayor of Clonmel and the Mayor of Kilkenny. There addresses were presented to the Deputation by the Corporation of Waterford, the Waterford Branch of the National League, and the Board of Guardians, and speeches were delivered in reply by the members of the Deputation. At 3.30 they left by train for Lismore. On their way they were met by a crowd at the railway station at Dungannon, and again at Cappoquin. More addresses from the local branches of the National League, and more speechifying in reply. At Lismore there was a great crowd at the station, the Deputation was conducted to the hotel, where again addresses were presented by the Town Mayor, the National League, and in addition to replying in the coffee-room of the hotel, the members had to address a large crowd out of a window. In the evening they drove eighteen miles to Youghal; four miles out of the town they were met by Canon Keller, with a number of local politicians, and after driving two miles further they came upon the main body of the population, who had come two miles out of the town to meet them with a band and torches, and they were conducted into Youghal about 11.30. Again a series of speeches were delivered from the window of the hotel, and the meeting did not disperse until nearly 1 o'clock in the morning.

On the morning of September 12th the party separated. There had been a great meeting arranged to take place at Bandon, beyond Cork, and the members of the southern contingent had arranged to address it. But in order to do so

it was necessary to leave Youghal by a train starting at 8.30 in the morning. This was scarcely convenient, after addressing a meeting up to 1 a.m. the same morning. Accordingly, only Mr. Welsford and the Secretary left by that train. Lady Sandhurst and Miss Wanfield came on by a train which arrived at Bandon at 4. Mr. Summers and Mr. Tomkinson remained the whole day at Youghal to see the Ponsonby Estates, coming on to Cork in the evening.

Arrived at Bandon, the delegates were met by a large crowd, and were conducted, preceded by bands and banners, to the hotel. After lunch they went to the meeting, at which between 4,000 and 5,000 people were present.

Bandon is the chief town of the division of co. Cork in which it is situated. Mr. Morrough is the member. He was present, and, in addressing the meeting, said that he had never been in Bandon before, that he knew very few of those who were present, and that he had never made a public speech in his life before! This last assertion seemed incredible to those who listened to him. But it is a wonderful illustration of the solidarity of the Irish race throughout the world that a constituency in co. Cork should elect as their member a man whom they had never seen, but whom they knew by the help he had given the Irish cause in South Africa.

The meeting was kept going to 4.30, when Lady Sandhurst arrived and addressed it. At six o'clock Mr. Morrough gave a banquet to the delegates, after which there were more speeches, and in the evening the delegates left for Cork. They were conducted to the station by an immense crowd, which insisted on being addressed from the windows of the railway carriage before the train started.

Arrived in Cork at about half-past nine, where they were joined by Mr. Summers and Mr. Tomkinson, the deputation met with perhaps the most remarkable reception they experienced during the whole of their tour. The whole population turned out to meet them. The streets were lined with a packed mass of people, who were most enthusiastic in their welcome. There was a torch-light procession nearly a mile long, and the usual accompaniment of bands.

In this way the delegates were conducted to the Victoria Hotel, from the windows of which they addressed the largest concourse of people they saw at any one meeting in Ireland. There were probably twenty to twenty-five thousand people present, and all perfectly orderly. Why? Because the police, the organised disturbers of order, were absent.

On Friday, September 13th, the six delegates who, up to this point formed the Southern contingent, were joined by Mr. and Mrs. Stansfeld, who had been in the north. Mr. Stansfeld had

been addressing meetings at Belfast and Londonderry, and it is not too much to say that by these two speeches he had made a deeper impression than any English speaker who had ever addressed a public meeting in Ireland. The Mayor, who was chairman of the Reception Committee, remained in Cork to receive Mr. Stansfeld, who arrived in the afternoon.

The rest of the deputation were taken down the river into Cork Harbour, and up to Drake's Pool, a curiously land-locked place in which Drake is said to have taken refuge and escaped the notice of a large number of Spanish vessels that were in pursuit of him. The entertainers on this occasion were the Reception Committee, with the High Sheriff at their head. The High Sheriff is a Protestant, and his election is an interesting commentary on the intolerance of the Catholics of Ireland.

The vessel used was the steam yacht of the Harbour Commissioners, kindly lent for the occasion. For years the majority of the Harbour Commissioners have been Nationalists, and the commissions is in the hands of the Nationalist Party; yet the harbour engineer, whose appointment and retention in office is in the hands of the Commissioners, is not only a Protestant, but a strong and avowed opponent of Home Rule.

On returning to Cork, the deputation were entertained at a banquet at the Victoria Hotel, and in the evening another great meeting was held, behind the corn market, in a shed open at the sides. Fully 10,000 people were present, and the eagerness of the audience made it difficult to address it. Mr. Stansfeld, Lady Sandhurst, Mr. Tomkinson, Mr. Summers, and the Secretary addressed this meeting, and an overflow was held in the corn market itself, addressed by Mr. Welsford, Mr. Tomkinson, and the Secretary; after which the deputation was conducted to the hotel by an enormous crowd of enthusiastic Nationalists.

Next day was spent, at the invitation of the High Sheriff, in a visit to Blarney Castle; and after this Mr. Welsford returned to England.

On Sunday, September 15th, a characteristically Irish demonstration was made at Mallow. The whole population for miles round was at mass in the early part of the morning. After mass they brought into Mallow contingents, each contingent preceded by its band. The members of the various branches of the Gaelic Athletic Association were present in their uniforms, and formed a guard of honour round the carriage in which the delegates were taken to the meeting. About 10,000 or 12,000 people were present. In the evening the delegates drove back to Cork, a distance of about twenty-one miles.

Monday, the 16th, was spent in travelling from Cork to Glengarriff; and Tuesday, the 17th, in

driving from Glengarriff through Kenmare to Killarney.

On Wednesday a meeting was held at Killarney, which the anti-Nationalist papers described as a fiasco. The only excuse for such a statement is that the weather being fine the people of the surrounding district were engaged in getting in the harvest, but there must have been present every grown man and woman in Killarney, for there were fully 2,000 persons present. Mr. Sheehan, M.P., took the chair.

It is worth noticing that, again and again, in the county of Kerry different persons impressed upon the delegates the conviction, that undoubtedly is widespread in the county, that shortly before the next general election the Government will distribute, by the police, arms among the people for the purpose of finding them again, and thus raising the scare of rebellion to influence English votes.

On Thursday, September 19th, the last meeting of the Southern tour was held at Thurles. The whole place was decorated with green boughs, and a meeting of fully 12,000 people was held here; again the utmost enthusiasm prevailed, and the most perfect order in the absence of the police. That evening the deputation returned to Dublin.

All this enthusiasm of the people for Home Rule, and for those who, however lightly, are helping them towards that end, is said to be due to the intimidation of the National League! This is one of the fallacies that a visit to Ireland finally dispels. But no description, nor anything else, except a visit to Ireland, can convey the idea of how determined the people are to have Home Rule, and how definitely the humblest among them have in their minds what they mean by it.

THE NORTHERN DEPUTATION.

We have not space for a detailed account of the proceedings of the Northern Deputation. To speak strictly, indeed, there was no northern deputation at all. The majority of the members were attracted to the south, and for the north we had mainly to depend on casual labour. A good many meetings, however—each of them of great importance—were successfully held. Chief among them was the meeting at Belfast, at which Mr. Stansfeld spoke. Our Dublin correspondent refers to it as the most important feature of the visit of the Home Rule Union to Ireland, and certainly it would be difficult to exaggerate the impression which it made. Mr. Stansfeld also spoke in Londonderry, and every one felt that his addresses—moderate and persuasive, yet full of determination—could not fail to have excellent results in Ulster. Seeing the effect which was

produced, one regrets that the deputation did not proceed in greater strength to the north. For it is there that the real political struggle in Ireland is now going on, where men are to be converted, and where votes are to be won.

Meetings were also held at Coleraine, Strabane, Omagh, Cavan, Dungannon and other places. The Dungannon meeting had the distinction of being partially proclaimed. When it was announced, the anti-Nationalists determined to prevent its being held by their old dodge of announcing a counter-demonstration. The authorities intervened, and, under restrictions, both meetings were allowed. This incident had the effect of making the Home Rule meeting an even more unqualified success than it would otherwise have been.

Among the English visitors who addressed these meetings were Mr. Wills, M.P., Mr. Woodall, M.P., Mrs. Bateson (the only member of the deputation who faithfully remained throughout the whole tour), Mr. Hedderwick, and Mr. and Mrs. W. P. Byles.

NOTES FROM IRISH CORRESPONDENTS.

DUBLIN, September 26.

THE deputation from the Home Rule Union has been a great success, not only from an English point of view, but Irish also. You will have heard of this first-hand, so I will only say that I hear on all sides of the good effect produced by our visitors throughout the country. Perhaps the most important feature of the visit was Mr. Stansfeld's speech at Belfast. Belfast has been looked on as a private preserve of the Unionist Party. Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain have hitherto held undisputed possession, so that the fact that a leading statesman on the Liberal side should have been able to hold a successful meeting in Belfast is not without significance, and must have a cheering effect on the supporters of Home Rule in that city. Only those who have seen the full report of Mr. Stansfeld's speech in the Belfast *Morning News* can appreciate the sympathetic insight shown by the speaker in his treatment of the Ulster Question. But you probably have already received a full account from members of the deputation of their doings in Ireland, so I must not further trench upon the subject, but turn to the less pleasing incidents of coercion.

Need I, in passing, say anything on the Catholic University Question? Any to whom Mr. Balfour's letter has not brought rest may be referred to Mr. Healy's speech at the National League last Tuesday. Mr. Healy regards the Chief Secretary's promise as the result of a compact between

the Government and the authorities at Rome. As, in fact, "a portion of the payment which was to be given to Rome for muzzling Irish Catholic ecclesiastics," and he concluded a forcible passage of his speech in the words: "And, furthermore, I am here to-day to say that if these gentlemen in Rome who, having alienated every Catholic country in Europe, having lost their power in France, and in Spain, and in Italy, and in Germany, if they imagine that treaties — secret treaties — with the British Government behind the backs of the Irish people can be ratified as against our national claims, I tell them they are mistaken, alike in the priests, the people, and the bishops of Ireland."

Mr. Healy's speech is supplemented by a letter from Mr. Davitt in to-day's *Freeman's Journal*, in which he gives the extracts from a speech by Mr. Balfour at Manchester, 24th November, 1885, referred to by Mr. Healy. The following passages cannot be too widely circulated:—"Had their (the Liberal's) Irish policy been a success? Were they, as Conservatives, expected to think much of that party of coercion which, in the first place, cherished disorder in order to further Liberal policy, and then applied to it a Coercion Bill which was found totally ineffectual for carrying out its objects; and then another Coercion Bill which, whether effectual or not at the time it was passed, had been proved by the irrefutable evidence of facts to be unnecessary at the present moment for the repression of crime in Ireland?" And Mr. Balfour continued, "Their was not one cardinal principle of their (the Liberal) policy which they had in common with the Irish people. That was not the case with the Conservatives. There was one principle which the Conservatives held as earnestly as the party to which Mr. Parnell belongs, and for which they might well be found fighting side by side, and that was the principle of religious education. Upon that question, so far as he understood the matter, the Tory Party, the Roman Catholic Party, and the Parnellite Party were absolutely at one" (*Manchester Courier*, 25th November, 1885).

Within the month two important prosecutions have been held under the Coercion Act, and should not be lost sight of. That of Father O'Dwyer and nine others which concluded at Fermoy on the 17th, furnishes a striking comment on the right of combination, endorsed by English opinion in the case of the dockers' strike. The defendants were charged with conspiring to induce certain other persons unknown not to deal with or purchase pigs from one Robert Brown. Brown is a land-grabber, and the evidence was to the effect that certain of the defendants kept turning up at the fair, and stood beside Brown's crib whenever a dealer looked at Brown's pigs. No intimidation was proved. The furthest

evidence went was that a constable swore that one of the defendants said to a dealer, "Don't buy that man's pigs; he's a grabber," and that some eggs were thrown at him on one occasion. Now, had a number of men stood at the entrance to the fair and publicly announced that Brown was a grabber, and used every means of persuasion short of intimidation to induce buyers not to deal with Brown, what line of distinction could be drawn between their action and that of the dockers who picketed the docks? But in Ireland combination is treated as illegal conspiracy; so Father O'Dwyer gets five months, and the others periods of two, four, and six months with hard labour.

The sentences on Mr. Redmond, M.P., and Mr. Counsel, B.L. (three and two months), will be reviewed by a superior court on case stated; but whatever the result, it will ever remain a "leading case" on police evidence under the Coercion Act. Constable Brennan deposed to a long passage from Mr. Redmond's speech at Arthurstown, but confessed that he "wrote down Mr. Redmond's speech from memory the next morning. I did not take any notes that night, as the night was dark."

The treacherous nature of this class of evidence was illustrated in the cross-examination of the next witness, Constable Gilmartin:

"Mr. Healy: Did you hear Mr. Redmond say this, 'I am sure you will not be led away to violence at this insult offered to your priest'? — I believe he did use that expression.

"Why didn't you take it down? — I did not consider it had any bearing on the case.

"Do you think it would have bearing on the case supposing a speaker advised them to commit violence? — Yes.

"You think inculcation to violence is relevant, and observations on the side of peace are irrelevant? — I do.

"Mr. Healy: So do your masters."

The principle here laid down was forthwith illustrated with some additions by Constable O'Connor. He deposed to Mr. Redmond's speech at New Ross. On examination of his long-hand notes, it was found that the sentence in his note-book, "Parnell and Gladstone are making great headway to restore our Parliament and end imprisonment," he had transcribed in the note sent to his officer, and sworn to in court, as "Gladstone and Parnell making great headway. We will soon have our own Parliament, and can send to prison those who sent us."

It is on evidence of this class that the public men of the country are imprisoned, and it need not be said what a door is opened to unscrupulous evidence throughout the country in the many cases to which public attention is not directed by the position of the defendants.

I am glad to say Dr. Kenny, M.P., is now fairly on the way to recovery from a rather serious attack of blood-poisoning, at one time causing grave apprehension to his friends.

THE VAN IN SOUTH-WEST NORFOLK.

THE campaign of this Van began on September 19th, in the most inauspicious weather at Mundford, a pleasant little village of 280 inhabitants, the seat of the present Tory M.P., Mr. Tyssen-Amherst, a gentleman, by-the-by, who is both a good and a resident landlord. Had our garrison in Ireland been composed of Amhersts since the days of good Queen Anne, there might now be no Irish difficulty whatever. Who knows? The Van had been too badly shipped to be got off at Brandon station, and had only just anticipated our reporter. But the energetic conductor, Perry, soon took the bills about, and in a short time the news spread that Mr. Lee Warner, the Liberal candidate, and Mr. Hanmer, our speaker, were on the green. A few loafers from the Crown were soon joined by a good sprinkling of inhabitants of Ickburgh, the village which still retains the name of the Iceni, and Boadicea herself was represented by a sturdy matron, who defied the elements with equal courage, and listened to the story of the "matchless wrongs" of the Britons across the Channel. Mr. Stephen Oldman, of Thetford, introduced the speakers, and Mr. Lee Warner and Mr. Hanmer had no reason to complain of their audience.

On Friday, September 20th, the Van moved to Tottington, a village which nestles under the park railings of the seat of Lord Walsingham, the well-known sportsman and naturalist. Our poor conductor and speaker were told at The Chequers that it took an hour and a half to procure anything to eat, and could not even get a cup of tea from "morn till eve." Licensed victualling, indeed! But the interest of the labourers in the Irish question was unmistakable. The meeting extemporised at the cross-roads under the enthusiastic guidance of Mr. Alexander, of Watton, listened with profound interest to Messrs. Lee Warner and Hanmer, and woke the echoes of the wood, famous for the "Babes in the Wood," with cheers for Mr. Gladstone. Men had trooped in for miles, and went back to their villages without any Primrose bribes, but with the conviction that they intended to use their votes.

On Saturday, September 21st, Mr. Sayer, of Watton, kindly lent his horses to move the Van to Caston, which it reached in the afternoon, after distributing literature at Griston. Unfortunately the evening proved wet. The school-room, as usual in Norfolk, is not in the hands of the

parish for enlightenment, and the meeting was a failure. The conductor, however, had a most interesting discussion with a farmer, who resented being called a bigot on the ground that it sounded too much like Piggot. The village generally seemed as much alive as the old knight, Sir John de Caston, who sleeps in the north wall of the church.

On Monday, September 23rd, after a day's rest, thoroughly deserved by the indefatigable conductor and by our able helper, Mr. Hanmer, the Van left Caston, and skirting Soham, after a short stay in the little town of Walton, it was drawn by Mr. Makins' horses into East Bradenham. The conductor put up at the "Lord Nelson." Nelson is one of Norfolk's heroes, and must smile at the idea that the Battle of the Nile was fought under a paper-union flag, so common among Tory supporters. Long and earnest were the discussions inside the hospitable "public" of our host Hart. The night came out bright, and a good meeting was held. Mr. Lee Warner gave an hour to an account of the Clanricarde property, the Clanricarde agency, and the Clanricarde evictions. Mr. Hanmer followed, and, after speaking an hour and a half, carried a strong resolution in favour of Home Rule unanimously in a meeting some 200 strong.

On Tuesday, with the assistance of Mr. Boyce and Mr. Makins' horses, the Van moved to Mr. Newton's field at Soham. It rained torrents all day, but that did not prevent a most representative meeting of farmers and labourers, under the chairmanship—if chairmanship it can be called, where the reporters divided the only chair between them—of Mr. Brighton Hardy, C.C. Mr. Lee Warner spoke first, and then drove home to Swaffham, leaving Mr. Hanmer again to finish with one of those efficient speeches, which will make his name well-known to the constituency. The proceedings were characterised with great enthusiasm, and the gathering lasted two hours in the rain, there being some 200 present.

On Wednesday the Van moved through Ashill, Hale, Pickenhamp, and Necton, distributing papers, to Sporle. The meeting was here held under cover. There was an attendance of over eighty in the little Methodist Chapel, an excellent room for the purpose. Mr. T. Green took the chair and introduced Mr. H. Lee Warner, who, in the course of his speech, referred to the difficulties the Irish tenants were under, and the cruelty with which they had been, in many cases, treated by their landlords. He instanced the tactics adopted by the Marquis of Clanricarde to prevent his tenants obtaining relief from the Land Court. In conclusion, he condemned the prison treatment of Nationalist champions, and the reckless methods employed by the Government in dealing with Irish questions as wanting in humanity;

and concluded an able and earnest address by strongly urging the voters present to support Mr. Gladstone's policy at the next election. Mr. R. Hanmer (from the Home Rule Union), followed, and dwelt upon the unsoundness of coercion as a principle of representative government, maintaining that a resort to coercion was indicative of a conflict between the Government and the people. Mr. Colman, of Swaffham, made a racy appeal for support of the Irish movement, and a successful meeting terminated with the usual votes of thanks.

From Sporle, where St. Catharine's Hospital owns all the land, the Van moved on through Swaffham, the capital of the district, to Marham, the scene of the debaucheries of one of the wickedest nunneries reported on before the Dissolution. Here the demands for allotments seem to be considerable. It is a pity that abbey lands were not reserved for this purpose; indeed, it is impossible to go through Norfolk without realising why Protector Somerset and the nobility who were created by the confiscation of such lands found their most dangerous antagonist in Jack Kett, of Ryston. The meeting was held at the Greyhound Club-room, but the number so increased that it was found necessary to adjourn to the open air. A good deal of amusement was created by an old gentleman gravely asking Mr. Lee Warner, as he stood in the crowd in the starlight, whether the speaker, Mr. Hanmer, was not Mr. Amherst, the Tory M.P.

Next day the Van moved on, hosed by Mr. Warren's team, to Totternhill, or the Hill of the Spring, its last resting-place in the pleasant Nar Valley. The weather was still inclement, but literature was eagerly received at Shoulldham. At Totternhill there was a very fair meeting in spite of the rain. The men stood patiently, most of them concealing their faces under a wall, which they could not be induced to leave. Mr. Hanmer's speech, as usual, was most effective.

THE VANS.

In spite of the fact that so many of the active members of the Home Rule Union are in Ireland, our Vans have been exceedingly active during the month past; and there has been a week during which, for the first time this year, all three Vans have been at work.

When the month opened Van No. 3 was engaged in the Whitby Division of Yorkshire, and it continued to hold meetings on every week-day, except Saturday, September 7th, until the tour concluded, on Monday, September 23rd. All the meetings were well attended, and the local organisers of the route are highly satisfied with its success.

The speakers included Messrs. Frank Lockwood, Q.C., M.P.; J. E. Ellis, M.P.; Alfred Pease, M.P.; Joshua Rowntree, M.P.; F. Sydney Morris, J. Ward, A. Marshall, A. Rowntree, T. Coote (ex-M.P. for South Hunts), E. R. Dunkley, W. S. Gray, H. M. Wolff, J. Reid, W. H. S. Pyman, W. Ford, C. Evans, W. Watson, J. Green, G. Hodgson, G. Thompson, E. Grubb, J. Headlam, J. H. Dilday, J. T. Sewill, G. Shaw, Rev. G. W. Percival, and Col. J. Menzies Clayhills, C.C., J.P.

On Friday, November 20th, Van No. 1 commenced a tour in North Bucks.

The speakers included Dr. Bernard O'Connor, Messrs. G. M. Ball, and J. C. Flynn, M.P.

Van No. 3 commenced a fortnight's tour in the Thanet Division of Kent on Monday, September 30th, at Sandwich. Mr. R. Hanmer will be the speaker for the first ten days.

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Holden, Isaac	10	0
Horniman, F.	1	0
Knowles, Mrs. Sheridan	0	5
Mander, Miss	0	5
Murdoch, J. G.	5	0
Nourse, J.	5	0
Ouchterlony, Miss	0	10
Prince, J.	0	10

VAN FUND.

Hall, Miss S. E....	...	...	0	10	0
Horniman, F. ...	...	1	1	0	
Mills, Mrs. T., collected by ...	...	1	2	6	

By an error Dr. Fleury and Miss Fleury were entered as Dr. Henry and Miss Henry last month.

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* * * Communications, &c., relating to the supply of the JOURNAL should be addressed to the Hon. Treasurer; other communications to the Editor of the JOURNAL, 17 & 18, Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, Westminster.

MARYBOROUGH JUSTICE.

THE sentences passed by Mr. Justice Gibson at Maryborough will not have the effect of increasing respect for the law in Ireland. One man has been sentenced to ten years' penal servitude, two others to seven years' penal servitude, and another to five years' penal servitude; six others to six months' imprisonment with hard labour, and three others and a woman to two months' imprisonment with hard labour. Father McFadden has been allowed to stand out on his own recognisances. It is difficult to understand what theory of punishment guided the judge in giving such sentences. "The two elements to be considered," says Sir James Stephen, in his 'History of the Criminal Law,' "in distinguishing between the more and the less heinous forms of an offence are public danger and moral guilt; and to these must be added a third, which is specially important in cases of homicide

—namely, the shock which the offence gives to the public feeling and imagination." Did considerations of public safety require that four men should be subjected to long terms of penal servitude on account of the death of Inspector Martin? Those who say so must believe that the circumstances of the case are likely to recur. But the vital circumstance of the case is that the calamity was caused by the police attempting to arrest Father McFadden in a situation which made such a step an outrage on the religious feelings of the peasants who witnessed it. The outrage produced a blaze of passion; and if such an outrage be repeated in Ireland, the same passion will again blaze out, unrestrained by any recollection of the punishments inflicted by Mr. Justice Gibson. What the public safety requires is that the officers of the law should display ordinary decency in the performance of their functions. Was the moral guilt of the prisoners such as to merit these punishments? The provocation which they received may not have been that kind of provocation which in the eye of the law renders an act justifiable which would otherwise have been culpable. But in estimating the moral guilt of the offence, who will say that it was not provocation as extreme as if it had taken the form of physical violence? If to be excitable and to have strong religious feelings is evidence of a degraded nature, then the moral guilt of these peasants was great indeed; otherwise let us frankly recognise

that their outburst of passion had an excuse if not a justification, and that a punishment cannot be just which treats them as if they had been actuated by the basest of personal motives. Lastly, did their offence give such a shock to public feeling and imagination in Ireland as to necessitate sentences of extraordinary severity in order to restore the public peace of mind? That is a question of fact, and the answer admits of no doubt. There was no such shock. It was not the conduct of the peasants, but the conduct of the police which shocked the public feeling and imagination of Ireland. It was the provocation, and not the offence, which excited popular indignation. Thus the severity of the sentences passed by Mr. Justice Gibson is not to be justified by considerations either of public danger, or of moral guilt, or of public feeling; and these are declared on high authority to be the considerations which determine the comparative heinousness of an offence, and, consequently, its appropriate punishment. Irishmen are publicly describing the sentences as savage and vindictive; and no wonder.

The other incidents of the trial are well-known. The offence is committed in Donegal; to ensure a conviction the trial takes place in Queen's County, whose inhabitants can but faintly realise the circumstances of the prisoners and their devotion to their priest. The priest himself is charged with murder, and imprisoned; the charge is dropped, and eventually his offence becomes that of technically obstructing the police. The prisoners are devout Catholics; the Crown so uses its power of challenge that on the first jury there is not a single Catholic, and on the second only one. These are merely the incidents of procedure; but we cannot forget what happened immediately after the death of Inspector Martin, and how for weeks the whole district was subjected to a brutal reign of terror. Can such a story be

paralleled in the modern history of criminal trials in England? Can we prevent Irishmen from seeing the glaring contrast between the administration of the law in their country and its administration in ours? And can we wonder that, with this contrast present to their minds, they regard the law not with respect but with distrust and suspicion?

IRISH ROMAN CATHOLICS AND THE UNION.

BY GEORGE COFFEY, B.A., M.R.I.A.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT'S letter to the *Times*, in support of his statement that at the time of the passing of the Act of Union there was not one honest man in Ireland in favour of the measure, and touching the attitude of the Catholics, was admirably supplemented by the Rev. Prof. Galbraith, at the meeting of the Irish National League, Tuesday, October 8th. Unfortunately, the condensed report published omits the most conclusive portions of his argument. I have, therefore, thought it worth while to extract from the published correspondence of Lord Castlereagh the letters quoted by Prof. Galbraith, adding a few extracts from the *Cornwallis Correspondence* to clinch the matter.

I pass by the question of corruption; it has been sufficiently dealt with by Sir W. Harcourt. Further, the fact that the Union was carried by corruption, even though applied on a scale of which Lecky says, "in the entire history of representative government there is no instance," does not particularly affect the present Home Rule controversy. It is otherwise with the fact that the overwhelming majority of the people of Ireland, Catholic and Protestant, "were opposed to the destruction of their national Parliament." This bears directly on present issues. If it were true that the Catholics had been in favour of, or neutral to, the Union—opposition being confined to the Protestant minority, who at that time held exclusive monopoly of political power in Ireland—then Irish nationality is a recent and sub-union growth. Perhaps Englishmen do not sufficiently realise how intensely national opposition to the Parliamentary Union was—how unconstitutional it was to force it, by corruption or otherwise, on an unwilling people. It is necessary to realise the national expression of that opposition to understand the persistence during the century of the demand for the restoration of Grattan's Parliament—a body in which no Catholic had place—by the Catholic masses of the

country. Nor is it otherwise possible to understand the reality of the national movement in Ireland to-day, not to be bought off by concession of land reform, or other.

Lord R. Churchill (Perth, October 5), replying to Sir W. Harcourt, no doubt carried his audience with him by the apparently conclusive statement, "Now, it is a historical fact that the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork, of that day, wrote letters strongly in favour of the Parliamentary Union, and in writing those letters they represented the Roman Catholic opinion of Ireland at that time." Lord Randolph might have added to his list the Archbishop of Cashel. Sir W. Harcourt, in his letter to the *Times*, appears to admit the "neutrality or acquiescence" of the Catholics, but asks, "How was this acquiescence obtained?" Now let us have the facts. What do the archbishops say for themselves? Do they represent the "Roman Catholic opinion of Ireland at that time"?

Dr. Bray, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel, writes to Dr. Troy, Archbishop of Dublin:—

"Thurlis, July 1, 1799.

"My dear Doctor,—I received the letter with which you favoured me at the request of Lord Castlereagh, expressing his hope that I will discreetly exert my influence in the counties of Tipperary and Waterford to procure the signatures of respected Catholics to an address in favour of a legislative union between this kingdom and Great Britain.

"I need not observe to you, who know so well the dispositions of our respectable Catholics, what little influence we have over them in political matters, and with what reserve and secrecy we should interfere on the present occasion in order to ensure any degree of success to it and to avoid censure.

"If we act in any ostensible capacity in the business of union, either by personal signature to an address in favour of it, or otherwise, in my humble opinion, instead of serving the cause, we may injure it. [As far as I understand the measure, it will be productive of substantial benefits to both countries, and, therefore, it meets my good wishes], and shall have the whole of my little mite of assistance, but with due attention to the necessary cautions and hints so wisely suggested by Lord Castlereagh.

"I remain, &c.,

"THOMAS BRAY."

("Castlereagh Correspondence," Vol. iii., p. 344.)

A correspondent, who signs himself "D.", writing in the *Times*, October 10th, under the heading "History and Historians," quotes from

Dr. Dunbar Ingram's "History of the Irish Union" certain letters of the Irish Catholic Bishops in favour of the Legislative Union of Ireland with Great Britain.*

The writer remarks: "As these letters are in existence, there can be no dispute about them." Certainly; but how about "D.'s" extracts from this "excellent book"? The passage in the preceding letter in brackets is given, the rest suppressed!

But to continue. The Rev. Dr. Dillon, Archbishop of Tuam, one of Lord R. Churchill's representatives of Catholic opinion in Ireland, writes to Dr. Troy:—

"Cong, July 9th, 1799.

"Most Rev. and Dear Sir,—On receipt of your last letter I wrote to Dr. Reilly and to Dr. Bray, formerly my Metropolitan, whom I am in the habit of consulting on every important occasion, to request their advice.

"That I, who am the youngest and, in every sense of the word, the last of our Archbishops, should be the first to sign these resolutions, would, I apprehend, be considered the height of rashness and imprudence. I have waited from day to day for Dr. Bray's answer, but have not heard from him; he is probably employed in visiting some remote parishes of his diocese. Dr. Reilly is of opinion that I should sign the resolutions. I perceive, however, that by such a step I should draw upon myself the censure of a large portion of the inhabitants of this diocese, and I am certain that our Bishops could more effectually promote any great measure which the Government may adopt for the benefit of our country by not appearing so publicly to take an active part in the present political contest.

"It would only give a handle to the enemies of subordination, who have already endeavoured to counteract any little exertions which I may have employed to bring back the people to a sense of their duty by styling me an Orange Bishop, the tool of Government, well paid for my services, &c. These considerations, together with the difficulties in which, by such a precedent, I should probably involve some of our brethren more immediately exposed to the wrath of our enemies than I am, have left me wavering and uncertain for many days. Supported, however, by your sanction and that of Dr. Reilly, I think I may venture to request of your Lordship to sign it for me.

* * * * *

— I have the honour to be, &c.,

"EDWARD DILLON."

* Dr. Dunbar Ingram's *history* has been literally riddled by Mr. Gladstone and others. See especially a review of the book in the *Church Quarterly*, January, 1883, the writer of which tracks Dr. Ingram through his "original materials" with most surprising results.

("Castlereagh Correspondence," Vol. ii., p. 347.)

It is right to mention that Dr. Dillon writes, September 1st, in a more encouraging tone. He says : "I feel myself each day less shy of publicly declaring my sentiments and wishes relative to the Union. I have had an opportunity, in the course of the parochial visitation of this diocese, which is nearly finished, of observing how little averse the public mind is to that measure." The foregoing passage is quoted by "D." in his letter to the *Times*; Dr. Dillon's previous letter is quietly ignored. It is impossible to believe that the "public mind" in such remote parts of the country as Mayo, Galway, and Roscommon (the Archbishop's diocese) could have greatly changed within a space of less than two months. The explanation of the letter is to be found in the letter itself. It is a letter of apology for not attending the co. Galway meeting. He says : "Had I been in due time acquainted with the wishes of Lord Castlereagh, I would certainly have attended the co. Galway meeting, though I must confess I should have felt out of my sphere in a meeting of that description." ("Castlereagh Correspondence," Vol. ii., p. 386.)

In this passage we read the pressure of the Castle, not a change of the "public mind." It is plain the Archbishop had been taken to task for not attending the Galway meeting; hence, when apologising for not doing so, he naturally adds some "smooth words," and no doubt magnified in his mind what were but chance expressions in conversation with a "Government Bishop" into evidence of change of opinion favourable to the Union.

The following letter does not point to any decided progress of Unionist opinions among the Catholic laity. The isolation of the clergy in Meath is frankly admitted. The Rev. Dr. Plunkett, Bishop of Meath, to Lord Castlereagh :

"Navan, October 29th, 1799.

"My Lord,—I am but lately returned from my annual visitation, &c. . . .

"The motives which your Lordship assigns to induce the Roman Catholics of Ireland to address in favour of a legislative union with Great Britain are strong and forcible. They have often occurred to me these few months past, and have made a deep impression on my mind. The sketch which accompanies your Lordship's letter of an address to be founded on these motives conveys a clear outline of the substance of what ought to be said on the occasion.

"On the part of the Roman Catholic clergy there is no obstacle to the wish expressed by your Lordship. The obstacle is on the part of the inhabitants of this county in general. The Roman Catholics of Meath are too near Dublin,

and too much accustomed to listen to the opinions of the Protestants at Meath, to be as yet willing to declare in favour of the Union. They are not strangers to the principal arguments used to oppose it, and many of them believe these arguments to be unanswerable. The clergy depend upon the people, and they say here they would act imprudently did they wound the feelings of their respective flocks by stepping beyond their own sphere, and abetting a system to which the people are not yet reconciled. 'We cannot separate from our parishioners,' add they. 'In political questions, it becomes us rather to *follow* than to *lead*.' To this kind of reasoning, my Lord, I must confess it is not easy to reply. For my part, I will heartily join the Roman Catholics of Meath the instant they will show a disposition to declare in favour of the Union. Until then, your Lordship perceives I must content myself with defending and supporting the measure when opportunities offer of doing so with advantage.—I have the honour to be, &c.,

"C. J. PLUNKETT."

("Castlereagh Correspondence," Vol. ii., p. 437.)

The Rev. Dr. Maylay, Bishop of Cork, appears to have been an ardent, if somewhat gushing, supporter of the Government. His letter (September 14th, 1799) is too long for quotation; it extends to three pages of print ("Castlereagh Correspondence," ii., 399). Its over-hopeful tone and length do not, however, reflect much credit on his head, and his discernment may be judged by the statement :—"In this city [Dublin], where the outcry against it [the Union] has been so violent, it is becoming every day less unpopular, and I am persuaded that the Roman Catholic inhabitants will in time testify their approbation of it." A further passage is worth quoting from the Bishop of Cork's letter. It explains the action of the clergy, and the words in italics point to the unpopular position they had taken up :—"The provision intended to be made for the Roman Catholic clergy of this kingdom is a measure worthy an enlightened Government, and we cannot but be thankful for it. I apprehend, however, that it will not serve to preserve and strengthen their influence over these poor people unless something be done, at the same time, for their relief. Their enemies, and the enemies of the peace and good order of the country, would avail of it to estrange the minds of the poor people from us by insinuating to them (as it appears by the report of the Secret Committee they did before) that we were pensioned by Government to support its measures against the people, and that we attended only to our own interests, 'without any attention to their miseries and distress.'—" ("Castlereagh Correspondence," ii. 401.)

The opposition of the Catholics of Dublin to the Union, notwithstanding the active support given to the measure by their Archbishop, Dr. Troy, was persistent. The Marquis of Cornwallis, in a letter to Major-General Ross, December 12th, 1798, writes:—"The opposition to the Union increases daily in and about Dublin, and I am afraid, from conversations which I have held with persons much connected with them, that I was too sanguine when I hoped for the good inclinations of the Catholics."—(Cornwallis Correspondence, iii. 16.)

January 13, 1800, a largely-attended meeting of Catholics was held in Dublin against the Union, Mr. Abrose Moor in the chair; and on the 21st of the same month Lord Cornwallis writes to the Duke of Portland:—"The Guild of Merchants have entered into strong resolutions against the measure of the Union, couched in the most insidious language, urging strenuously a coalition of all sects in opposition to it, and offering their warmest thanks to 'their Roman Catholic fellow-citizens' in Dublin for their manly and patriotic conduct."—("Cornwallis Correspondence, iii. 168.)

Just a word on the subject of addresses in favour of the Union referred to in the above letters. It is notorious that the Government exercised every influence to procure such addresses. The country was under martial law, and the pressure brought to bear may be inferred from the following passage from the Cornwallis Correspondence. The Duke of Portland, writing 17th January, 1799, after the defeat of the measure in that year, states he is directed to desire the Lord-Lieutenant "to take care it should be understood that it [the Union] neither is, nor ever will be, abandoned, and that the support of it will be considered as a necessary and indispensable test of the attachment on the part of the Irish to their connection with this country."—("Cornwallis Correspondence, iii. 47.) But, martial law and all, the supporters of the measure dare not face popular opinion.

Lord Cornwallis writes to the Duke of Portland, June 22nd, 1799:—"I have most earnestly recommended the friends of the Government to exert themselves during the summer in their respective counties, and have regard to them, *without asking popular meetings*, to obtain declarations similar to those of Cork and Galway favourable to the measure."—("Cornwallis Correspondence," iii. 105.) Yet, as Lecky says (quoted by Sir W. Harcourt): "Notwithstanding all this, twenty-eight counties, twenty of them being unanimous, petitioned against the Union, and the petitions against it are said to have had more than 700,000 signatures, while those in its favour had only 7,000." Dr. Dunbar Ingram, the partisan his-

torian of the Union, on whom "Unionists" appear to draw exclusively for "facts," admits that of the forty-eight petitions to the Irish House of Commons, forty-six were against the Union, and only two in its favour!

The materials are by no means exhausted. The Castlereagh and Cornwallis correspondence will well repay reading, touching corruption and the national character of the opposition to the Union; but sufficient has been laid before your readers to place beyond question that the Catholic signatories to addresses in favour of the Union did not represent the Catholic opinion of Ireland at the time. The letters of the Archbishops contain the significant admissions—strange, no doubt, to English ears—how "little influence" they had over the Catholic laity in political questions, that in "political questions" it became them "rather to *follow* than to *lead*." In fact, the correspondence but adds an instance, unhappily in this case unsuccessful, to others during the century—the veto question, their action in the early stages of the Parnell movement, &c.—in which it has been necessary to jog the memories of our Bishops, and recall to them the fact that they had a country as well as a Church.

The correspondent of the *Times* speaks of Mr. Lecky's "Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland," as a youthful work. In conclusion, here is a passage from Mr. Lecky's "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," Vol. v., published in 1887, some time after the author had declared himself on the Unionist side:—"Carried by gross corruption, at a time when the country was under martial law, without a dissolution, and in evident opposition to evident manifestations of popular opinion, it [the Union] arrayed against itself almost all the genius, patriotism, and virtue of Ireland, and it left undying animosities behind it."—(Vol. v. 69.)

THE ISLAND OF ACHILL.

By J. W. WELSFORD, M.A.

(Late Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge).¹

FOR more than fifty years Achill has been the scene of the labours of a Protestant mission. For about forty years this mission has owned three-fifths of the island and a considerable portion of the mainland. The rents of the Catholic tenantry have been used to further Protestant truth as taught by the late Established Church of Ireland, and in Achill, if anywhere, the blessings of our rule should be obvious. The exact value which the Irish should place on these blessings may be gathered from the following notes on the island and the mission:—

"A wild island of bog and mountain, with

patches of land here and there where thin crops grow, having an area of rather over 35,000 acres and a population of about 6,000 ; that in one sentence is the Island of Achill. As you approach the new bridge over the Sound after the twenty Irish miles which divide it from the nearest railway station, Westport, you feel inclined to wonder why any human being should live in such a place. How life was supported before the turf was cut from that part of the land where anything edible can be grown is an apparently insoluble mystery."

In a book called "A Tour in Connaught," published in 1839, and written by a warm admirer of the mission, there is an account of the condition of the island which is substantially true to-day.—"All the occupiers of the land held in common from the landlord ; there was a portion of the ground nearest the village enclosed from the rest for the growth of potatoes and oats, and a wild range of boggy and mountain land ; outside was commonage on which each family had the right of pasture for a certain number and quality of cattle. The enclosed land was also in a measure in common, for though each family had its own ridge, no family had a field to itself ; this was somewhat like the ancient Rundale system in England." When they evict to-day in Achill, they cannot evict from the holding, but only from the wretched cabin which serves as an apology for a cottage. The bailiffs and agents do not know where the tenants' holdings lie. The only change in the condition of the people is that the mission and Major Pike, whose father bought nearly two-fifths of the island when the mission purchased its three-fifths, have increased the rents which the tenants pay to a terrible extent, have at the same time taken the grazing ground from the people and let it to large farmers, and now charge for grazing on the miserable common land which has been left. On the Pike estate the rents have been raised from £300 to £1,700. On the mission estate, in the evidence which Father O'Connor, P.P. of Achill, was prepared to give to the Special Commission, a case is quoted where the rent of a piece of ground was raised from 12s. to £60. The Pike estate and mission estate together tried to collect £3,000 from the poor of Achill. Over the altar of the mission churches the only text which should be written is "From him that hath not shall be taken even that which he hath." In the book "A Tour in Connaught," the mission is described as follows :—"Here comes a Protestant clergyman altogether unconnected with church property of any sort, not drawing one penny from the 'blood stained tithes,' but depending on the voluntary system as much and infinitely more than the priests themselves, and he takes from a Protestant landed proprietor a piece of ground in a totally neglected island, and

there he opens schools into which he don't drive, he merely invites children ; he sets about an improved system of culture, encourages industry, discourages drunkenness and disorderly conduct, and, as far as possible, requires that all within his influence should abstain from violence, injustice, or breaches of the peace." This zealous missionary and self-constituted magistrate was the Rev. Edward Nangle, "whose life as the 'Apostle of Achill' contains a most instructive history of the mission." On the strength of descriptions such as that given above, the credulous English public subscribed sufficient funds to transform the missionary into the landed proprietor, with the most fatal results to the real success of the mission and the peace of the island. Whether it was not on the whole an excellent thing that, even at the cost of some suffering to the people, this mission should have failed, is suggested by the biography of Mr. Nangle. One of his first acts was to start a paper called the *Achill Missionary Herald and Western Witness*, with this additional title : "A Monthly Journal exhibiting the Principles and Progress of Christ's Kingdom, and exposing the Errors and Abominations of that section of the Rival Kingdom of Antichrist, commonly called THE PAPACY; together with a practical exposure of the Civil, Social, and Political Delinquencies of the Pope's Emissaries in attempting to establish his wicked usurpation throughout the world generally, AND ESPECIALLY IN THIS KINGDOM." Lest the good people of Achill, owing to their limited acquaintance with English, should not fully grasp the insults levelled at their faith, "number after number of the paper appeared having on the front page a woodcut representing a mouse in the act of devouring a wafer, and two ecclesiastics looking on in an attitude of bewilderment. Great offence was taken at this woodcut." And no wonder. How even an Irish Protestant could fancy he was likely to extend Christ's kingdom on earth by such arguments is difficult for an Englishman to understand.

It is not surprising to read in the biography of Mr. Nangle, that the trustees of the mission property objected to expending all the rents derived from the island in payments to missionaries and Scripture readers, and desired that part of the funds should be devoted to improving the condition of the people themselves ; but it is somewhat surprising to find that so reasonable a contention should have been strongly opposed by the missionary, who at one time "did not depend on blood-stained tithes," and that as the result of a chancery suit, in which Mr. Nangle proved victorious, the trustees resigned, and new trustees were appointed who could be relied on to carry out Mr. Nangle's views. The mission as a spiritual power is, however, dead to-day. It exists

only as a body of absentee landlords, and its legitimate spiritual work amongst the coastguards and the handful of Protestants in that part of Ireland has been taken over by the Irish Society. After fifty years of soup distributing and other forms of persuasion, only 2 per cent. of the population, including all imported families, are Protestants. Father O'Connor, the priest of the island, who was my most kind host and guide during the two days I spent in driving through the Achill villages, is virtually the king of the remaining 98 per cent. Carlyle describes the sort of king Father O'Connor is when he says "He is practically the summary for us of all the various figures of heroism, priest, teacher. Whatsoever of earthly or of spiritual dignity we can fancy to reside in a man embodies itself, here to command over us, to furnish us with constant practical teaching, to tell us for the day and hour what we are to do." Such a king to the Achill islanders is this good priest. He knows them all—men, women, and children, and they all love and trust him as the truest and best friend they have on earth. In 1885 and 1886, famine would have depopulated Achill had not Father O'Connor, after vainly trying to induce the Government to help, laid the case of the poor islanders before Mr. Davitt. Money came from the United States and from our Colonies in answer to Mr. Davitt's appeal; and Father O'Connor superintended the making of roads, &c., which were started as relief works. It is a striking fact that Mr. Green, who was one of Mr. Nangle's successors, was Father O'Connor's right-hand man during the distress, and it has been said that the spectacle of the Protestant missionary and the Catholic priest united in the work of relieving distress was not as cheering a sight as it should have been to the powers that be in the Protestant world in Ireland.

The first day of my stay in Achill I spent in visiting Keel, Dooach, and Dukenella, three villages which lie on the south-west shore of Achill. The villages are all close to the shore, and are mere clusters of Achill huts—poor buildings which the tenants, unaided by their landlords, have raised to keep the wild weather from them. There is scarcely an outhouse or shed for cattle, sheep, or pigs, and the reason is not far to seek. It is a condition of their tenancy that "no outhouse be erected without permission of the agent." So the caution reads which is now printed on their receipt; "On no account," the printed caution ran as late as 1887. Those who read both cautions can judge whether the permission would or would not mean increased rent. As you approach the villages you pass the little Catholic church, the centre of holy thought for over 300 families. The humanising influence of the mission is conspicuous by its absence, if you except the series of

notices which meet the eye outside the police barracks in Keel. There, with all due legal formality, you read that eviction decrees have been obtained against half a dozen of the inhabitants at the suit of the trustees of the mission. These certainly give food for thought to the villagers, but the thought can hardly be described as holy. I talked with one of the tenants—Pat Kane (the big)—who was under eviction. He was sixty years old, as far as he remembered. His broken health made him look older. He is in arrears owing to the famine years of '85 and '86, but that he is anxious to pay what he can is proved by receipts, which he produced, for rent on two of his holdings up to September, '86. He understood when his rent was fixed that no charge would be made for grazing, and certainly on his two rent receipts over the printed word "grazing" the words "25 per cent. alld." are written; thus the agent himself strengthened the poor man's belief that no charge would be made. In the spring of this year a bill was sent him for £1 19s., arrears due for grazing from September, 1885, to March, 1889. He walked sixty Irish miles to Castlebar and back to defend the action which promptly followed. Through some legal technicality he was not heard, and the case was given against him. The result of the fatigue and exposure he underwent was that his health broke down, and his son, a fine manly young fellow, was obliged to stay at home during the summer months, and was not able to earn in Scotland the money for the rent, as he had done in past years. The family are ruined, and our Chief Secretary can have the satisfaction of assisting a Christian mission in tearing the roof off Pat Kane's humble cabin, and pulling down its walls because arrears of rent and grazing contracted during famine years have not been promptly paid.

The other cases I heard of were of the same heartless cruel character. These people have not only made the cabins they live in, they have made the very lands they till, and have then paid for them over and over again by the exorbitant rents of the past; and now professors of our religion show them no pity even when famine desolates the land. The rent is never earned from the land itself; the young men go to save the harvest in England and Scotland, the young women go to service abroad, and it is their earnings which the mission appropriates. It was truly touching to notice the interest the people took in the dock strike, and to hear them say, "There's the finest fishing in the world just off the coast; had we but a proper harbour and proper boats we could stay at home and work, and we need not make it harder for the poor in England to earn their bread by competing for their work."

Three of the cabins are used as schools by

Father O'Connor, and wonderfully bright and intelligent the children seemed. It was almost marvellous when contrasted with the poverty which reigned without. Father O'Connor is building a new school, having with great difficulty obtained from the mission a piece of waste land for the purpose. The mission does not encourage "Papist" education, though its own schools are nearly empty.

Major Pike and the mission between them own, as has been explained, nearly all the island. There are, however, two other estates, one of 1,500 acres, belonging to the Catholic Church, on which the priest's house and a monastery stand; and the other, of 2,000 acres, called the Valley Estate, belonging to a Mrs. Macdonnell. In the spring of 1888, Mrs. Macdonnell bought the Valley Estate, and found it in much the same condition as the mission property and Major Pike's estate are at present. She submitted all disputes to arbitration, and now the happiest relations exist between her and her tenantry. She has reduced her rents 75 per cent., and has given free grazing and free turbary, that is to say, her sense of justice has led her to grant the demands that the tenants all over the island are making; and as a consequence of having made it possible for her tenants to live decently, she is served by them with the utmost devotion and affection. The monastery is a proof of what can be done even in Achill if the land tenure were such as to allow human energy to reap a fair share of reward for work done. The six brothers have fifty acres of reclaimed land on which fair crops grow, and they devote their time to a school for the poor in that part of Achill. Brother Peter, the oldest monk, is, I am told, a recent convert to Home Rule. About eighteen months ago, when he was driving the car in which the member for the county was trying to escape the attentions of the police while he addressed his constituents, an accident occurred. Brother Peter was left in the car whilst the member pursued his journey on foot. The police, finding the broken car an obstacle in the way, began to abuse the brother. His reply bears the stamp of truth. He said to the police note-taker, "Put this in your notebook. You are the only rascals in the island yourselves. I am an old Tory, but after what I've seen, from this day I am a Nationalist." Brother Peter is not the only convert to Home Rule Achill has made. As Father O'Connor drove me towards the evicted cabins he called another old man, a peasant, to the side of the car, saying, "This is one of our heroes; let him tell you his story." The man was a tenant on the Valley Estate, and cattle were being seized by the police to pay fines for trespass, which had been incurred in order to assert the right of free grazing which Mrs. Macdonnell at

once granted when she bought the Valley. The old man was digging potatoes, and as the cattle hurried by with the police after them, he sprang on the dyke and shouted with an Irish oath, "Give the baste fair play!" For obstructing the police in this way he had six weeks' hard labour at Castlebar. But his trouble was forgotten in the comfort in which he was living under his new landlady. "Look at my coat," he said, "my lady gave me this and my trousers. I've left my waistcoat at home, and she's given me a better house than the one I had before." On Major Pike's estate at Dooagha, the conditions of life were the same as at Keel, but to these were added roofless cabins, tearful women, and maddened men. The horrible cruelty of it all is enhanced by the fact that about a mile from Dooagha as much land as the whole Catholic village has to live on is monopolised as the settlement by an ex-agent, a Scripture reader, and an ex-Scripture reader. At Dooagha you can see the land from which Catholics have been driven, you see the mountain grazing ground which has been legally stolen from them, you look at the coasts without harbours to shelter a boat of any size. In the peaty soil you can see the struggle the Achill folk must wage with nature in the broken walls of the roofless cabins, the still harder struggle they wage with man, and the conviction is forced upon you that but for Father O'Connor Achill would be a matchless example of that Arcadia of which William O'Brien has told us, where the Government and moonlighter reign supreme.

NOTES FROM IRISH CORRESPONDENTS.

DUBLIN, October 28.

ATTENTION is divided between the Gweedoore trials and Mr. Davitt's speech before the Commission. The verdict of manslaughter in the case of William Cole has, no doubt, allayed somewhat the feeling of anxiety which the action of the Crown in the selection of the jury must have produced in English minds. But it was practically impossible, on the evidence for the prosecution, for the jury to have found a verdict on the graver charge; and in any case the verdict should not weigh in our judgment on the conduct of the Crown in the selection of the jury. The letter of the law was observed, but its spirit was violated. Forty-two Catholics were ordered to stand aside by the Crown, and an exclusively Protestant jury empanelled. Of course, the question of the creed of the jurors is not that on which the packing of the jury turns. Catholics have no objection to be tried by Protestant or Jew, as such. But in cases into which political

considerations enter, the Crown assumes every Catholic a Nationalist, and, in fact, deliberately imports politics into judicial proceedings. Under the plea of securing an impartial jury, every suspected Nationalist is excluded; and to secure this end the jury panels are much longer than in England. At Maryborough the panel contained some 230 names. It is obvious that the *selection* of the jury by the Crown—for that is what it literally comes to—could not take place if the panel only amounted to forty or fifty, as, I believe, is the case in England. If there is any excuse for the action of the Crown in Ireland, we are simply brought back to the fact—not unknown in England—that trial by jury breaks down in political cases. And it would be infinitely more straightforward for the Government to institute trial by a tribunal of three judges than to so strain the principle of trial by jury as to deprive it of all moral and binding force upon the conscience of the country.

The Protestant Home Rule Association held their annual meeting in the Ancient Concert Rooms on the 22nd, Mr. T. A. Dickson, M.P., in the chair. Over the platform were placed Mr. Holiday's now famous cartoons, "Coercion" and "Conciliation," kindly lent by the Home Rule Union, together with other decorations of the St. James's Hall "Protest" meeting. The cartoons were much admired, and considered a specially interesting feature of the meeting.

The second resolution of the meeting deserves to be printed in full. The Protestant Home Rule Association has done much, by leaflets and meetings, to press home upon the Protestants of Ireland the position taken up in the resolution. I referred, in a previous letter, to a speech by Mr. T. W. Russell, at Belfast, which showed indications that the Protestants of Ireland may be gradually pushed into a corner on the question of local government, and eventually see it is more to their interest to accept Home Rule. The resolution runs:—

"That this meeting desires, in the interests of Irish Protestants, to protest against any measure that substitutes a system of local government for the single Parliament demanded by the Irish people, on the special ground that it must immediately deprive Irish Protestants of all practical influence over local affairs in this country except only in one part of Ulster."

Mr. Pierce Mahony, M.P., supported the resolution in a very able speech. He pointed out that three out of every four Protestants lived in Ulster. But even in Ulster they were not evenly distributed. Londonderry, Antrim, and Down contained half the Protestants of the whole of Ireland. But what were the facts in the other provinces? In Leinster the Protestants were to the Catholics but as 1 to 6, in Munster but as

1 to 15, and in Connaught as 1 to 20. "He did not believe that even under these circumstances the Protestants would receive anything but the most generous treatment at the hands of the Roman Catholics. (Applause.) But he asked them if their opponents were afraid of those petty annoyances, would not the danger of petty annoyances under county government, when there was only one Protestant to twenty Catholics, be vastly increased, so that if there was any fear—if there were people who were nervous—the safest system would be a National Government, in which the Protestants would certainly have a very considerable voice." (Applause.)

NOTES BY THE WAY.

If this had happened in Ireland.—"On Saturday, James Toomey, Chairman of the Strike Committee, appeared at the Thames Police-court to answer a summons charging him with intimidating Thomas Flower Maltby, to prevent him from carrying on his lawful business. Mr. John Burns occupied a seat at the solicitors' table. Mr. Besley, barrister, in opening the case for the prosecution, said Mr. Maltby was a very large employer of labour, and his special duty was to take contracts from ships. There had not been any friction between Mr. Maltby and his employés, and he was not a sweater in any sense of the term. In fact, Mr. Maltby was a master stevedore, and paid 9d. for labour and made a 1d. per ton. His men went out on strike because other men did. When it was over they returned to work. On the 8th October his client received the following letter from Mr. Toomey, which he (Mr. Besley) thought must have been written under considerable misapprehension. The letter complained of was as follows:—

"Amalgamated Stevedores' Branches, 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 23, Wade's Arms, Jeremiah Street, Poplar, E., Oct. 8, 1889.—Mr. Maltby. Sir,—It has come to the knowledge of the above branches that through your action work is being done at Charlton and Church Hole, discharging copper ore and phosphate rock by non-union men, and if not stopped, steps will be taken to stop ship in dock in London by calling members off.—By order of the Committee,

"JAMES TOOMEY, Chairman."

That meant if Mr. Maltby did not comply with the demands of the letter, steps would be taken to get his men to strike. This kind of tyranny was not in the interests of the working classes. Mr. Young, for the defence, said the letter did not come within the terms of the Act. He submitted threats of violence were necessary to bring it within the terms of the section. A long legal

argument then ensued as to the legal interpretation of the Act bearing on the subject, after which Mr. Besley maintained the threats in the letters in the words "If not stopped, steps will be taken to call the men off." If the magistrate held there was no threat in the letter he would be doing more harm to the working classes than had been done to them during the last fifty years. He should ask for an adjournment to cite cases showing a letter to be intimidation. Mr. Young: I shall object to any adjournment. The words of the Act say "wrongfully and without legal authority." Mr. Mead: I shan't trouble you, Mr. Young. If I had the slightest doubt in the case I would have it adjourned, that it should be more fully argued. What I am surprised at is that Mr. Besley should have put before me the arguments he has done. I shall dismiss the summons, with £1 1s. cost. The decision was received with loud applause, which the court officers had great difficulty in repressing."—Reported in *Daily News*, Oct. 14th.

What Home Rule means.—To those who are constantly complaining that the country is being kept in ignorance of what the Liberal leaders mean by Home Rule, we commend the following statement, summarised from a recent speech of Lord Spencer:—"It was now said that the Bills were dead. That was true in one sense, but it was not true that the spirit and principles belonging to the measure were dead. The principles involved in Mr. Gladstone's measures were as full of vitality now as on that memorable night when he came down to the House of Commons and made his famous statement of his policy. (1.) The first great principle was that we were to create a subordinate Parliament in Dublin to deal with purely Irish local affairs, retaining for the Imperial Parliament Imperial measures and functions. That was still the great principle, which might be carried out in two ways. We might either specify the functions which the Irish Parliament should possess and retain all others for the Imperial Parliament, or we might reserve certain general powers of the Imperial and leave all others to the Irish Parliament. He still preferred the principle adopted in the Bill of Mr. Gladstone—to particularise the powers which were to be kept in London, as this would give greater powers to the Parliament in Dublin than the other method. It seemed to him of great importance that we should give as far as possible ample powers to the Parliament in Dublin. (2.) If a legislative assembly was to be established in Ireland it seemed to him of vital importance that we should make the Executive there responsible to it. That was one of the principles involved in Mr. Gladstone's measure. It was one of the defects of Grattan's Parliament that the Executive was composed of men not

drawn from the majority in the Parliament, but named by the Government in England. The same defects had occurred in Canada, where the Executive was named by the Governor quite independent of Parliament, and thus there arose the dissatisfaction which culminated in the disorders of 1838. (3.) It might be necessary for a time, in order to conciliate opposition and smooth over difficulties, to reserve from the Irish Executive the control of the police and the nomination of the judges or high judicial functionaries, but ultimately the responsibility must be thrown on the Irish Executive. He would only admit of these reservations as temporary measures, for he thought all these things ought to be dealt with by the responsible Executive in Ireland. (4.) Then, with respect to the constitution of the Legislature, he maintained that Mr. Gladstone's proposals were perfectly practicable. At the same time he admitted that there was a great deal to be said on such a question as the establishment of two assemblies. There seemed to be a very general feeling that two assemblies would be desirable in order to protect the minority and prevent Bills from being rushed through Parliament. They might, for instance, have two different assemblies elected on two different franchises and for different terms. Indeed this question of detail might be solved in a great many different ways; but all these questions which seemed so complicated would, he believed, in practice work out smoothly. Nothing could be more complicated than the constitution of the United States Government, a Federal tribunal and State tribunals sitting side by side, and yet on the whole, this complicated arrangement worked perfectly smoothly, because the people of the country were determined that it should work. He admitted that these particulars did not constitute a good subject for a platform speech, but it was all the same a subject of great importance. (5.) Referring to the question of the retention of the Irish members in or their exclusion from Westminster, he admitted that there was a good deal to be said in favour of excluding them. It was very difficult to frame a perfectly logical measure. When Home Rule was first spoken of it was taken for granted that they were to be retained. Mr. Gladstone had proposed that they should be excluded, and the Irish Members themselves had not desired to be retained at Westminster. They had, they should have, an immense deal to do in Dublin for many years, and could not afford to leave their best men in London. It was further said at the time that one of the greatest attractions of the Home Rule Bill was the exclusion of the Irish from Westminster Parliament; but, looking to the strong opinion that had been expressed in the country, it seemed

perfectly inevitable that the Irish must be retained, and there seemed to be no middle course between their total exclusion and retaining them as they were.

DIARY OF THE MOVEMENT.

October 1.—Coercion Court at Tipperary dismisses fifty-nine persons charged with rioting.—Evictions on the Kenmare Estate.—Mr. Chamberlain at Newcastle on the Irish Question.

October 2.—Thirty Loughrea tenants (Lord Clanricarde's) served with ejectment processes.—Dr. Kelly acknowledges £1,500 from Mr. Dillon in Australia.—Lord Hartington at Aberdeen, and Mr. Chamberlain at Newcastle, on Ireland.

October 3.—Eight boys sentenced at Tipperary to from six weeks to three months' imprisonment for rioting.—Sir William Harcourt replies to Mr. Chamberlain.—Mr. Labouchere at Bexhill.

October 4.—Lord Hartington at Stirling.

October 5.—Three men sentenced by Crimes Court at Tipperary to two, three, and six months for rioting.—Lord Randolph Churchill at Perth on the Union.

October 7.—Publication of Mr. Parnell's letter to Mr. Sexton on the Tenants' League.—The police, while suppressing a demonstration at Kilrush to welcome Patrick McGrath, returning from imprisonment under the Crimes Act, cause a riot.—Liberal victory at Peterborough.

October 8.—After holding out for nearly three years, Sir James Mackey (Knockagee Estates) yields to the Plan of Campaign.—Great demonstration at Limerick on the release of Mr. Moran, sentenced to six months under the Crimes Act.—Liberal victory at Elgin and Nairn.

October 10.—Baptist Union protests against sectarian endowments in Ireland.

October 11.—National League suppressed in Tipperary.—A further sum of £700 received from Mr. Dillon for the National League.—Liberal victory at North Bucks.

October 12.—Forty-eight ejectment notices served on the Ponsonby tenants at Youghal.

October 13.—Two "suppressed" meetings held in Tipperary.

October 14.—Full list of bye-elections published in *Daily News*.—Lord Herschell in Durham on the administration of law in Ireland.—Mr. Labouchere in Glasgow.

October 15.—Lord Spencer at Bury on Foreign and Irish Policy.

October 16.—Sir Charles Russell at Bury on Ireland.—Mr. Chamberlain at Plymouth charges Mr. Gladstone with bribery.

October 17.—Maryborough trials resumed; William Coll in the dock.—Sir William Harcourt in Wales; meetings of the Welsh National Council and North Wales Liberal Federation.

October 18.—Sir Charles Russell at Brighton in support of Sir Robert Peel.—Mr. Labouchere at Edinburgh.—Mr. H. H. Fowler at Wolverhampton on Home Rule.

October 19.—Large number of notices of ejectment served on the Smith-Barry tenants.—Mr. Balfour at Manchester on Irish administration.

October 22.—Maryborough trials: Coll found guilty of homicide.—Eight families (fifty-three persons) evicted at Falcarragh.—Sir G. O. Trevelyan at Aberdeen.

October 23.—Mr. Gladstone at Southport on Foreign and Home affairs.—Two Catholics fined at Maryborough for protesting against jury-packing.—Further evictions on the Olphert Estate.—Sir W. Harcourt presides at a dinner at the National Liberal Club to the four new Liberal members.

October 24.—Parnell Commission resumes: Mr. Davitt begins his defence.—Third day of the Olphert evictions.—Lord Spencer at Stockton.

October 25.—Father McFadden under examination at Maryborough.—Ten families evicted on the Olphert Estate.—Brighton election.

October 26.—Olpfert Estate agent celebrates the Brighton "victory" by setting fire to several tenants' houses.—Mr. Gladstone at Saltney on the Progress of Seventy Years.

October 27 (Sunday).—Another evicted tenant's house set on fire on the Olphert Estate by the land agent.

October 28.—First convention of the Irish Tenant's League at Thurles.—Maryborough trials: jury disagree and are discharged.—Release of Dr. Tanner.—Lord Spencer at Lancaster on Ireland.

October 29.—Maryborough trials.—Father McFadden pleads guilty to obstructing the police, and the Attorney-General asks that he be released on his own recognisances. Six plead guilty to manslaughter, and the Crown declines to proceed against four.—Mr. John Morley addresses a great Liberal demonstration in Bristol on Irish affairs.—Mr. Goschen at Hull and Lord Hartington at Wolverhampton on the bye-elections and Ireland.

October 30.—Sentences passed on the Gweedore prisoners.—Five families evicted on the Massy Estate, co. Cork.—Mr. Morley at Bristol.—Home Rule Union delegates to Ireland at the Memorial Hall, Speech by Mr. Stansfeld.—Mr. Goschen at Hull.

MEETING OF THE HOME RULE UNION.

A SPECIAL general meeting of the Home Rule Union was held at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon-street, London, Professor Stuart, M.P., in the chair.

The chairman, in his opening remarks, said that the meeting was called in order to hear a report from Mr. Stansfeld and others of the recent deputation to Ireland, which went over on behalf of the Home Rule Union. Several statements had been made of late by Tory speakers and by the Tory Press that they in London were feeling less keenly on the Irish question, and that they were determined to abandon it in favour of a programme of reform for themselves. Surely the personality of some on that platform was more than an adequate reply to such a baseless and worthless assertion. (Cheers.) But there had been another line of attack. It had been insinuated by Mr. Balfour in his last speech—and it had been more openly ventured upon by others—viz., that all their London programme, all their proposals of reform, all their sympathy with the poor, was a cloak of deception, was a means to an end, and only a temptation held out to bait the hook of Home Rule, and to bring about by the votes of the vast population, charmed but doomed to be deceived, that separation of Ireland from England which it was supposed was the ground of their legitimate desires. There never was greater nonsense or greater misconception. It was not, as Mr. Balfour said at Manchester, that they were endeavouring to win London to that cause by adopting the programme which should be calculated to that end. It was that the cause of Ireland and the cause of London were one (cheers), that suffering humanity, wherever it was, appealed to the self-same people and the self-same interests (hear, hear); that those who were deaf to the cry of the people in one place were deaf to its cry in another, and that the hope of the poor in Ireland or London planted its anchor in the same soil. The Irish question waited because there was a Government in power which had as little sympathy with the people of one country as of the other (cheers), which was afraid of the people of London as of the people of Ireland, which restricted as far as it could popular government in either place so soon as it discovered that that government was no longer to be the home of privilege or the patron of Government, which, while it could not understand the vivid enthusiasm of Irish nationality, failed to appreciate the dangers of London poverty. The Irish question waited, but while it waited it gathered force (hear, hear). The first great necessity was that the people should be instructed in the facts of the case. The object of the Union was to diffuse that information, and the recent deputation served to show the sympathy of England, in a concrete form, with their Irish friends. (Cheers.)

Mr. Stansfeld, M.P., moved—"That the Home Rule Union hereby expresses its warmest gratitude for the great kindness shown to the mem-

bers of its recent deputation to Ireland." He spoke with great warmth and admiration of the hospitality of the Irish people, and went on to refer to Mr. Balfour's statement that they appeared to have no report to make on what they had seen in Ireland. "Well, they were there to repair any omissions in that respect. (Laughter.) Mr. Balfour spoke of his policy as having exceeded his expectations. He would accept Mr. Balfour's words, and say that what the deputation had seen and heard in Ireland had exceeded their most sanguine expectations. (Cheers.) Wherever they went they were met by redoubled assurances in the speeches of the leading Nationalist members, and by the leading Nationalist papers, that no matter what inducements or bribes were offered, nothing on earth would tempt the Irish people away from the pursuit of their great object of national self-government and Home Rule (cheers), or tempt them from their alliance with the Liberal Party, and the great democracy of this country. (Cheers.) The people of Ireland had found themselves allied with a great party, the greatest party in the State, the party which had never deserted a cause which it had once taken up, a party which, when deserters left it, became purified (cheers), strengthened by that very desertion. (Cheers.) Their mission to Ireland had proved to demonstration that the Irish question was simply a national question, and that the alternative of resolute government for any number of years would not diminish their demand or the accomplishment of that great result. (Cheers.) He begged to report that Ireland was loyal to the Crown, and looking at the past he marvelled at the great loyalty of that people. The people of Ireland did not seek separation. (A Voice—"They aren't such fools.") Wherever they went they put the question, and they always received the answer—"We don't seek separation. We believe in union. We rejoice in the future of the union. The union which we have not had we long for." There can be no union except that based upon free will, mutual respect, and recognition of mutual right. If it was not libellous he would almost say that the policy of Mr. Balfour was intended to irritate the population to transgress the law. He did not mean that Mr. Balfour wanted serious transgression of the law, but he wanted a certain amount of transgression of the law to satisfy the longings of his supporters. If Ireland got Home Rule, law would be vindicated and obeyed as Mr. Balfour's Coercion law had never been obeyed. But the present law was not vindicated, although Mr. Balfour stated that it was, because that meant that the law should be impartially applied; whereas Mr. Balfour chose his occasions and victims, and when it was worth his while he picked and chose his judges. (Cheers.) And that was

what was called law. (Laughter.) In conclusion, he said there were two great armies. It was now no use arguing. Each side disbelieved the other. When that state of things was reached there must be some appeal, and that appeal must be to the people. They all demanded that appeal, and it could not come too soon. (Cheers.)

Lady Sandhurst seconded the motion, and was supported by the Hon. Ashley Ponsonby, both speaking with the greatest admiration of the conduct of the Irish peasant, Mr. Ponsonby remarking in this connection that he, although a Protestant, was ashamed of the action of the Protestants in Ireland.

The resolution was carried with enthusiasm.

Mr. E. J. C. Morton moved—"That the Home Rule Union hereby expresses its keen gratification at the failure of the attempt of the Government to procure the conviction, on a capital charge, of innocent men by packing the juries at Maryborough, and pledges itself to increased efforts to jealously watch in Ireland and expose in England the policy of the present Administration, and declares its conviction that Home Rule for Ireland is the only fair and honourable solution of the Irish question."

Mrs. Bateson seconded the motion.

Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., supported the resolution. He said he wished to add his testimony to the useful work done by that association, and to the great results achieved by the recent deputations. These deputations were, he felt, destined to play an extremely important and momentous part in the settlement of the Irish question. Referring to the trials at Maryborough, he said it was the almost universal expectation of the friends and counsel of the prisoners there that at least four innocent lives were about to be sacrificed at those assizes (shame), but the thing broke down. And why? Because there were Englishmen in court who would bring back to England an account of what they saw, and to whom, he maintained, those poor peasants owed their lives (hear, hear), he was sorry he could not also say their liberties, because the most cruel, barbarous, savage, and vindictive sentences had been passed upon them, sentences which greatly reduced the estimation formed at first of Judge Gibson by the English visitors. Mr. Balfour only held his power under the Septennial Act, and the people of England were longing to absolve their souls from the wickedness of his policy. (Loud cheers.) In conclusion, he impressed upon them the importance of forming English Vigilance Committees to visit Ireland.

The motion was carried with great enthusiasm.

A vote of thanks to the chairman concluded the proceedings.

THE VANS.

DURING the first week in October all these Vans were at work. Van No. 1 was in North Bucks, where it materially assisted the success of Captain Verney. The chief speakers during that week were Dr. Bernard O'Connor, Messrs. J. Dillon O'Flynn, and J. C. Flynn, M.P. More than one meeting was held on most days.

During the same week Van No. 2 completed its extremely successful tour in south-west Norfolk. On Monday, September 30th, a meeting was held at Fincham, where an audience of 150 people stood out in the rain to listen to Mr. E. J. C. Morton, who was the only speaker, with the exception of the chairman. The audience, composed almost entirely of agricultural labourers, were evidently eager to learn, but there was evidence of the boycotting to which they were subjected in their reluctance to come near the lamps hung outside the Van, where that could be seen and recognized from a distance. On Tuesday, October 1st, the meeting was at Gooderstone in a room which was inconveniently crowded. Mr. H. Lee Warner, the candidate, attended and spoke. On Wednesday, October 2nd, the Van moved on to Stoke Ferry, where no Liberal meeting had been held since the present Liberal candidate was selected. An excellent meeting was held in a chapel. On Thursday, October 3rd, the meeting was held at Feltwell, where again a large audience gathered in the local Board school-room. On Friday the Van moved on to Southeby, where no Liberal organisation existed, and the officers of the Liberal Association had no correspondent.

An afternoon canvass, before the meeting, discovered a number of earnest Liberals who undertook to form the nucleus of an association. On Saturday, the 5th, the last meeting of the tour, was held at Helgay. All the meetings of the last week of the tour, with the exception of those on Monday and Friday, were addressed by Mr. H. Lee Warner, and all, with the exception of that on Saturday, by Mr. E. J. C. Morton. The value of the Van as an instrument of organisation was conspicuously shown during the tour in south-west Norfolk. Before it visited the division there were no less than forty parishes which had never been touched by any Liberal work since the last General Election. Every one of these has been visited by the Van.

On Monday, September 30th, Van No. 3 commenced a tour in the Isle of Thanet Division of Kent, and continued for a fortnight, during which thirteen meetings were held. They were all addressed by Mr. R. Hammer. Two meetings at Margate on October 10th were addressed by Mr. E. J. C. Morton, and one at Birchington

on October 12th by Dr. Bernard O'Connor. The places of meetings were as follows :—

Monday, September 30th..	Sandwich.
Tuesday, October 1st ..	Minster.
Wednesday, October 2nd ..	Monkton.
Thursday, October 3rd ...	St. Nicholas.
Friday, October 4th ...	St. Lawrence.
Saturday, October 5th ...	Ramsgate.
Monday, October 7th ...	St. Peters.
Tuesday, October 8th ...	Broadstairs.
Wednesday, October 9th ..	Reading Street.
Thursday, October 10th ...	Margate (two meetings).
Friday, October 11th ...	Westgate.
Saturday, October 12th ...	Birchington.

CROYDON BRANCH OF THE HOME RULE UNION.

SECOND ANNUAL REPORT, OCT., 1889.

IN presenting the second Annual Report your Committee are pleased to congratulate the members upon the undoubtedly progress of the Home Rule cause. This is evidenced by the continued interest which all politicians are now taking in the question, and more particularly by the result of the bye-elections of the past twelve months.

Whilst your Committee regard the work of this Association as fairly satisfactory, they are compelled to point out that it must necessarily be absolutely restricted to the extent of its funds.

PUBLIC MEETINGS. — Two meetings have been held under the auspices of the Union. The first was held on the 19th February in the Good Shepherd Schoolroom, Union Road, the President of the Union (Mr. T. W. Dobson) being in the chair, and Mr. E. W. Grimwade, J.P., delivered an address on his experiences in Ireland. The meeting was well attended, and a resolution in favour of Home Rule carried unanimously.

The second meeting was under the joint auspices of the Union and the Liberal and Radical Association, and was held on the 14th March, 1889, at the Skating Rink, which was crowded. The meeting was called to protest against the brutal treatment of the Irish political prisoners. The principal speakers were the Right Hon. G. J. Shaw Lefevre, M.P., and Mr. J. Spencer Balfour, M.P., and the local speakers included Mr. E. W. Grimwade, J.P., Mr. J. Judd, J.P., Mr. Alderman Coldwells, J.P., and Rev. C. J. Street, all these gentlemen being Vice-Presidents of the Union.

The Committee also organised a Soirée, which was held in the Public Hall on 22nd May, and

although it was not a financial success, was attended by a large number of people. Political speeches were delivered by Mr. J. Spencer Balfour, M.P., Mr. E. W. Grimwade, J.P., and Mr. Councillor T. W. Dobson. The hall was decorated with the beautiful banners which were used at the large Home Rule meeting at St. James's Hall.

CIRCULATION OF LITERATURE. — Good work has been done in this direction. In the early part of the year a packet of carefully selected pamphlets was sent to every new elector upon the register, by which means over 10,000 pamphlets were distributed. Advantage has also been taken of the numerous meetings held in Croydon to distribute large quantities of the HOME RULE UNION JOURNAL.

The Committee caused to be printed and circulated throughout the borough 5,000 copies of an extract from a speech delivered by Mr. Leonard Courtney, M.P. (Liberal Unionist), in which he referred to the Special Commission, and strongly condemned the conduct of the *Times* newspaper. This portion of the speech was omitted from the *Times*, although it was published in the other London newspapers, and the Committee thought it desirable that public attention should be called to such unfair conduct on the part of the *Times*.

The Committee have also supplied the Women's Liberal Association with a large quantity of literature, which has been systematically distributed over the borough.

With a view to further the cause in Croydon, the Committee made arrangements for the sale of the *Star* newspaper in the streets, but the project was not carried out, because in the meantime it was taken up by private enterprise. Mr. Tullett, newsagent, of Surrey Street, has accepted the agency for the sale of the HOME RULE UNION JOURNAL.

The Committee have much pleasure in informing the members that during the summer months steps were taken to keep the question of Home Rule prominently before the electors by means of the Home Rule Truck, a movable structure upon which have been exhibited placards and striking cartoons dealing with the various phases of the Irish Question. The truck has occasioned considerable comment in the district where it has been exhibited, and the attendant in charge has been enabled to distribute some thousands of pamphlets, &c., containing sound information.

In accordance with the resolution passed at the last Annual Meeting, the Committee proceeded to raise subscriptions towards the Parnell Defence Fund, and have the pleasure to report that the total amount received was £26 8s. 1d. It is satisfactory to learn that the total amount of subscriptions contributed towards the Fund from

all parts of the world has been sufficient to defray the whole of the expenses of the defence.

There have been three meetings of the members, and the Committee have met fifteen times.

The Committee desire to urge upon every member the desirability of increasing the number of members of the Union, so that much more active work may be taken in hand in the ensuing year. In spite of the protestations of the Coercionist Party, a General Election cannot be much longer delayed, and notwithstanding the justice of our cause, victory can only be obtained in Croydon by educating voters as to the iniquities perpetrated in the name of England upon our unfortunate fellow-countrymen in Ireland, and also by maintaining and improving our political organisation.

The Home Rule cause is fortunate in having secured so good a candidate for Croydon. It remains with those who desire to see him elected, and the cause thus practically advanced, to assist us in gaining new members, and adding to our funds. Experience has unmistakably demonstrated that the quiet but effective teaching which associations like this continuously carry on, are more potent than any amount of enthusiasm which can possibly be aroused during the short period usually allotted to an election contest.

The following is the Statement of Receipts and Expenditure :—

	RECEIPTS.	£ s. d.
To Balance	2 10 0
„ Subscriptions	<u>35 7 4</u>
		<u>£37 17 4</u>
	EXPENDITURE.	£ s. d.
By Books	0 4 9
„ Postages—General	3 11 0
„ „ Special Distribution of Literature	4 14 10
„ Purchase of Literature	3 0 0
„ Telegrams	0 4 10
„ Meetings	7 16 2
„ Printing	3 14 0
„ Soirée	10 9 3
„ Home Rule Truck	1 5 0
„ Collector's Commission	2 0 10
„ Miscellaneous Expenses	0 16 8
		<u>£37 17 4</u>

Examined and compared with vouchers,
October 25th, 1889.—D. MURPHY.

THE HOME RULE UNION.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.—At a meeting of the Executive Committee, held on Tuesday, October 8th (present: Dr. Bernard O'Connor in the chair, Mrs. Bryant, Rev. J. S. Jones, Mr. T. Eccleston Gibb, and the Secretary), the Secretary read the minutes of the only meeting of the vacation sub-committee, which was held on August 27th, as their report to the Executive, and the Chairman was directed to sign them.

It was proposed by Mr. Gibb, seconded by Mrs. Bryant, and carried unanimously, "That the Executive Committee of the Home Rule Union hereby expresses its satisfaction at the great success of the late deputation to Ireland, and feels that special thanks are due to the Right Hon. James Stansfeld, M.P., Lady Sandhurst, Mrs. Bateson, the Hon. Mrs. Ponsonby, the Hon. Ashley Ponsonby, Mr. William Summers, M.P., Mr. William Woodall, M.P., and Mr. J. Carvell Williams, for their great exertions, which ensured the success of the deputation; and that the Secretary be directed to forward a copy of the resolution to the members named."

It was proposed by Mrs. Bryant, seconded by Mr. Jones, and carried unanimously, "That the Chairman, Hon. Treasurer, and Secretary be appointed a sub-committee to consider the form in which the thanks of the Home Rule Union should be conveyed to those bodies in Ireland who had received the members of the deputation, and to report to the next meeting of the Executive." The question of printing the addresses received by the deputation in Ireland was referred to the same sub-committee.

It was proposed by Mr. Jones, seconded by Mrs. Bryant, and carried unanimously, "That the same sub-committee be instructed to take all necessary steps to hold a meeting of the Home Rule Union, to receive from the members of the deputation an account of their work in Ireland."

The Treasurer submitted the usual financial statement, from which it appeared that the balance at the bank and in hand amounted to £92 5s. 3d.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee, held on Tuesday, October 22nd, 1889 (present: Mr. J. Allanson Picton, M.P., in the chair; Dr. Bernard O'Connor, Dr. Summerhayes, Messrs. W. Martin Edmunds, Thomas Lough, G. P. Macdonell, and the Secretary), the Secretary read a letter announcing the resignation of Mrs. Beesly from the Executive and the ladies' committees; whereupon it was proposed by Mr. Picton, seconded by Mr. Macdonell, and carried unani-

mously: "That this Committee accept with profound regret the resignation of Mrs. Beesly from the Executive Committee."

It was proposed by Dr. O'Connor, seconded by Dr. Summerhayes, and carried unanimously: "That Miss Holcroft be elected a member of the Executive Committee in place of Mrs. Beesly, resigned."

It was proposed by Mr. Lough, seconded by Dr. Summerhayes, and carried unanimously: "That a resolution of thanks to the various Irish bodies who so hospitably received the recent deputation from the Home Rule Union to Ireland be engrossed on card-board sheets, and that one be presented to each of the said bodies."

It was proposed by Mr. Macdonell, seconded by Mr. Lough, and carried unanimously: "That 1,000 copies of a verbatim report of Mr. Stansfeld's Belfast speech and portions of his other speeches in Ireland be printed in pamphlet form, at a cost not exceeding £7."

It was proposed by Mr. Picton, seconded by Mr. Macdonell, and carried unanimously: "That this Executive Committee of the Home Rule Union expresses its deepest sympathy with Father McFadden in the persecution which he is at present suffering; expresses its utmost indignation at the packing of the Jury by the Government; and pledges itself to bring all the facts before the electors and people of Great Britain." The Secretary laid before the Committee the suggestion of Lady Robinson for a permanent Vigilance Committee for Ireland; and on the motion of Mr. Lough, seconded by Mr. Macdonell, the further consideration of it was unanimously referred to the sub-committee entrusted with the arrangements of the Special General Meeting.

It was proposed by Mr. Lough, seconded by Dr. Summerhayes, and carried unanimously: "That the Secretary be directed to arrange for lectures on the present régime in Ireland, to be illustrated with magic-lantern views; and that he be authorised to spend a sum not exceeding £10 in purchasing magic-lantern slides for the purpose."

It was proposed by Mr. Picton, seconded by Mr. Lough, and carried unanimously: "That the Secretary be instructed to arrange a new course of lectures on the Irish Question, to be carried out on the lines of the four-lecture course given by the Union during the year 1887."

Mr. Martin Edmunds brought before the Committee the subject of preparing additional literature to be published by the Home Rule Union.

On the motion of Mr. Picton, seconded by the Secretary, the whole subject was unanimously referred to a sub-committee, to consist of Dr. Bernard O'Connor, Messrs. W. Martin Edmunds and Thomas Lough, and the Secretary.

It was proposed by Mr. Martin Edmunds, seconded by Dr. Summerhayes, and carried unanimously: "That the salary of the clerk be raised to 35s. a week."

The Secretary, in the absence of the Treasurer, submitted the usual financial statement, from which it appeared that the balance at the bank and in hand amounted to £72 9s. 2½d.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS SINCE LAST ISSUE.

	£	s.	d.
Ames, A. G.	1	1	0
Aston Manor Women's Liberal Association	0	5	0
Aubrey, Dr.	1	0	0
Blake, W. H.	1	1	0
Brooks, H. E.	0	10	0
Cameron, Mrs., collected by	0	10	6
Cobden, Miss	1	1	0
Greer, Miss E. M.	0	5	0
Greer, Miss F. L.	0	5	0
Hindley, F. W.	1	1	0
Hooper, A. G.	1	1	0
Innes, T.	2	2	0
Lupton, Miss M. G.	0	5	0
McCarthy, Justin, M.P.	0	10	0
Marsden, M. E....	0	10	0
Otter, F.	2	0	0
Otter, Mrs.	1	0	0
Pontis, E.	1	1	0
Rawlings, R. C.	0	10	0
Shaw-Lefevre, Miss Emily	0	5	0
Tillyard, A. J.	0	5	0
Watson, Dr. Spence	2	2	0
Wolverton, Lord	10	0	0
Worthington, Mrs.	0	2	6

SPECIAL VAN FUND.

Ipswich Women's Liberal Association	1	0	0
Lupton, Miss M. G.	0	10	0
Slatter, Miss	1	0	0

Subscriptions to the Home Rule Union should be sent to the Secretary, 17 & 18, Palace Chambers, Westminster. Annual Subscribers of Five Shillings and upwards to the Home Rule Union will receive the Monthly Journal free.

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* * * Communications, &c., relating to the supply of the JOURNAL should be addressed to the Hon. Treasurer; other communications to the Editor of the JOURNAL, 17 & 18, Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, Westminster.

IRELAND AND THE LIBERAL PROGRAMME.

THERE is a notion abroad that the people are getting tired of the Irish question. It has been overdone, we are told; the stream of speeches has produced lassitude; and audiences at public meetings are beginning to demand other subjects than Coercion and Home Rule. This is an opinion frequently expressed by our friends as well as by our opponents. Is it well founded?

There is no doubt that during the past year there has been an awakening of interest with regard to our own affairs. A new life has been infused into the Liberal body. The reform of our system of registration, the housing of the poor, the re-adjustment of taxation—these and other questions are being discussed with a vigour which shows that the time of their settlement is drawing near. In London especially is the change appar-

ent. The dwellers in this province of houses, now beginning to enjoy those municipal privileges which more than half a century ago were conferred upon provincial boroughs, are being roused to a sense both of their old needs and their new powers, and are successfully urging their claims upon both political parties. It is in London, indeed, that we hear most frequently the opinion that the Irish question is being crowded out. Londoners, as their manner is, gauge public opinion by a metropolitan standard, and are inclined to be sceptical of the existence of sustained enthusiasm for an unselfish cause. There is no reason to doubt, however, that not only in London but throughout England and Scotland, our own social questions are more and more engaging attention.

But to say that this means a slackening of interest in the Irish question is a very different thing. All our experience leads to a contrary conclusion. From the nature of the case, of course, any exact demonstration is impossible; but now and again one finds an opportunity of submitting the matter to a simple test. Such an opportunity occurred at Manchester the other day. At the conference of the Federation the whole Liberal programme was discussed in detail, and to a casual observer Home Rule must have seemed to occupy only a subordinate position. But on the evening before the regular work of the Conference began, some twenty or thirty incidental meetings were held in or near

Manchester, and were addressed by all sorts and conditions of speakers. What did they talk about? In nearly every case the subject was the government of Ireland. One may fairly presume that the speakers, being free to follow their own devices, chose the subject which in their opinion would be of greatest interest to their audiences, and, with striking unanimity, they chose the very subject of which the English people are said to be growing tired. We are inclined to think that this gives a true indication of the general state of feeling. To a great extent the people have made up their mind about Home Rule, and rightly think it their duty to take up the consideration of their own affairs. But the question of the pacification of Ireland still remains supreme in point of interest as it is supreme in point of urgency. The political change which is taking place before our eyes is a broadening, and not a shifting, of interest.

Ireland will benefit by the change not less than England. The further we carry the political education of the people, the firmer will grow their conviction that the present mode of governing Ireland is intolerable. The more keenly that they care for their own affairs, the more eager will they be for that clear field which they cannot secure till a fair attempt has been made to satisfy the Irish claim. The Irish question, in short, is an English not less than an Irish question.

LEAVES FROM A LECTURER'S NOTE-BOOK.

By R. HANMER.

THE visit of the Home Rule Van to the St. Augustine's division of Kent has been a source of great irritation and annoyance to the Tory Party, and particularly to the Primrose League. Their contemptible attitude at the meetings indicates their conviction that the cause they profess to espouse will not bear discussion, and is therefore lost. It is often asserted that the working popu-

lation of the rural districts are strongly opposed to Home Rule, but I must candidly confess that my experience as a speaker in several constituencies has convinced me that when once properly explained and the secrecy of the ballot made clear to them, it will require something more than the tyranny of the Primrose League to prevent them from voting for a just cause. For profoundly impressing them with the injustice of the present rule in Ireland, I believe magic lantern illustrations of eviction scenes, accompanied by a lucid explanation, to be the most effective. They carry more conviction in five minutes to the rustic mind than it is possible to convey by half-an-hour's talking; and I would earnestly solicit the assistance of Home Rulers in extending the Magic Lantern Lecture scheme, formulated by the Home Rule Union. At the close of one meeting at which I had used lantern slides showing the battering-ram and police at an eviction, an intelligent-looking man came to me and seriously asked, "Be those pictures true, Maister?" and when I had satisfied him that "photographs could not lie," he went away exclaiming, "Shameful," "shocking," "done in a Christian country, hey?"

The tour opened at Northbourne, on November 1st, when Dr. Aubrey and the Hon. Walter James, M.P., were the speakers. The meeting at Eastry on the following evening evidently raised the choler of the Primrose Leaguers, for it was honoured with nearly two columns by a "special" correspondent of a local Tory organ. At Eastry, too, the conductor of the Van was unable to obtain any meals during the day, or accommodation for the night, a fact which filled the local "Special" with high glee, for he says that in consequence of this treatment, the conductor was compelled "to take his departure in search of more 'congenial climes,' which we think he will fail to find in this loyal constituency." The "Special" in question evidently did not think that consistency or accuracy in catering for the edification of a small section of Kentish Tories was requisite, so we find him saying that the Eastry meeting was "attended principally by the labourers of Betteshanger," and later, when ridiculing the distribution of literature, he describes the audience as consisting "mostly of children and youths." During the following week the Van continued its journey. Several meetings were held under great difficulties, owing to the tactics of the Primrose League. At Barham a Liberal friend allowed the Van to stand in his field, and although a number of opponents were present, they furnished a pleasing exception to the general rule by conducting themselves in a decorous manner. At Shepherd's Well, however, a contrary disposition was manifested; but owing to the presence and activity of Mr. Jacob, sen., an

enthusiastic supporter of Home Rule, and one of the most respected inhabitants of the parish, the "disturbers" lost heart, and the interruptions were confined to one stalwart individual who, for the greater part of the day, had been worshipping at the shrine of Bacchus. Towards the close of the meeting a grocer's van from Canterbury arrived in the village, and the driver for about ten minutes amused himself by lustily hammering a tin tray at a safe distance from the meeting. At Ash a large and very successful meeting was held, the Congregational minister presiding. One of the audience called out "bosh" in reply to a remark made by the speaker, but he received a castigation in return, which prevented a repetition of the interruption. At Elham we experienced a good deal of opposition from the churchwarden (who, it appears, had left a tithe-audit dinner in order to air his feeble wit), and his efforts were vigorously seconded by some half-dozen fat-faced boys employed at the village "stores." The meeting was held on the village green, and the magic-lantern was used with good effect. I am quite satisfied that there are good Liberals at Elham. At Lyninge we had an unusual experience. There is a very large inn, capable, I should think, of supplying the requirements of the inhabitants for miles around, but it was undergoing "restoration," and so no accommodation could be had either for man or beast. This was a genuine case of inability on the part of "mine host of the inn" to supply our requirements, for he is too intelligent to be "cowed" by the *ukase* of the Primrose League. In the end we found refuge at Folkestone, some miles out of our way. We were compelled to miss Alkham, sorely against our will, but we visited instead Shorncliffe and Cheriton, not so much with the intention of holding a meeting as for distributing literature, and in this locality alone some thousands of leaflets were disposed of, not, as the Tory "Special" said, "to youngsters who scrambled for the pamphlets, each one endeavouring to get more than the other," but by means of a house-to-house visitation. As the shades of evening fell, the horse had a short rest in the stable of the "White Lion," Cheriton, where we also preferred a modest request that we might be supplied with "the cup that cheers yet not inebriates," but we were busquely informed by the landlord himself that he could not "be bothered with tea; there was a 'cook-shop' down the road where tea could be obtained," and thither we went. The bar of the public-house was full of soldiers from the adjacent camp of Shorncliffe, and their boisterous merriment betokened disaster to any enthusiastic Home Ruler rash enough to attempt a meeting near there. Strangely enough, we could not discover any place in Cheriton where we could hold a meeting with-

out creating an obstruction (which we are always anxious to avoid) save the public-house yard.

On Monday, in the last week of the tour, the Van made its way to Buckland, which we found was part of the borough of Dover, and a borough police constable informed us that if we attempted a meeting in Buckland we should require a strong force of police to preserve order, which we could not have that evening as no notice had been given to the "chief." We also found that an opposition had been organised, and so, yielding to the advice of a Liberal friend, we decided to move on to Kearsney and Ewell. In both places the meeting was announced by our boy-crier, and was held at Ewell, where a magic-lantern lecture was given. In Ewell there is a public-house kept by three sisters who are locally known as the "Three Graces," and one of them entered into a spirited discussion with the conductor of the Van upon the subject of Home Rule, in the course of which she plainly told him that she was ruler in her own home, and if every home had a ruler of a similar spirit she did not think there would be any necessity for the van to go about the country. The bearing of this fact upon the Irish question is not very obvious, but the prim old lady thought that the few words she had uttered should settle the question to everybody's satisfaction, and she angrily told us that our real object was to create strife in the quiet little village of Ewell, nor could we convince her of her error.

The following night St. Margaret's was the scene of our operations, and in spite of a bitterly cold wind, indication of an approaching snow fall, we had a fairly good audience, several ladies being present. Whether they were dames of the Primrose League or not I do not know, but in the course of a short speech delivered prior to the lantern lecture, I experienced several interruptions from some of them. After a delay of two or three hours, occasioned by a fairly heavy fall of snow, during which we had to get the horses' snow shoes put on, we got on the road next day for Kingsdown, a small fishing village on the coast "betwixt the Forelands." On our way we called at Ringwould, and left a packet of literature at every house, in spite of the threat of a narrow-minded Tory shop-keeper, that if we dared to go to Ringwould he would "get his band together" and make it impossible for the Van to travel any further. But he had received a friendly hint to avoid a *rencontre* with the "Home Rule slogger"; so, regarding "discretion as the better part of valour," he modestly came, inspected the Van, and meekly accepted a packet of literature that was offered to him, but his "band" did not put in an appearance. We proceeded to Kingsdown, where the customary distribution of literature was accomplished from house to house; but owing to the intense cold

and fall of snow, the meeting was abandoned, to the evident disappointment of the fishermen. At the "Zetland Arms" we were cheerfully supplied with a substantial tea, and as a great favour "sprats fresh from the net," a repast which I am not likely soon to forget.

The tour in St. Augustine's practically came to a close at Kingsdown, as the remaining meeting on the following night was held in St. George's Hall, Deal, and addressed by the Right Hon. James Stanfield, Lady Sandhurst, Hon. Walter James, and others, and therefore cannot be called a "Van" meeting. But all the same, it was a thorn in the side of Primrose Leaguers, who, not satisfied with specially printing and distributing a placard headed "Englishmen! Do you know what Home Rule means?" and then answering the question by stating just what Home Rule does *not* mean; employed a band of men to stand outside St. George's Hall to hand out a scurrilous and meanly lying black-bordered leaflet issued by the so-called Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union (the London secretary of which negotiated for the publication of the Pigott forgeries, and destroyed the compromising correspondence before he dared to appear in the witness-box at the Commission) headed in bold type, "Murdered on Duty; the Action of Savages" (note the last word), and referring, of course, to the death of Inspector Martin. The circulation of this mendacious document at the doors was promptly stopped, though few Englishmen would trouble to read, and still fewer to believe, any publication emanating from "The Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union."

Never was the necessity for placing all schools in receipt of National aid under popular control more clearly demonstrated than during this tour. Not only were we unable to obtain the use of the schoolrooms, but our presence in some of the villages was scarcely tolerated, and manifestations were not wanting to convince us that had it been possible we should have been expelled therefrom as *mauvais sujets*. All along the line the Church influence was against us, and although, as a rule, it was not openly used, still we came across instances in which it was only very thinly veiled. Indeed, I was told of one parson who had organised an opposition of a very rough character, and perhaps this gentleman will be thankful that he had not the opportunity of carrying out the projected rowdyism when I say that steps had been taken by local Liberals (as I afterwards learned) for giving him a submersion not ordained by the Church.

It is an imperative duty of the Liberal party to take some steps to effectually stop the intimidation practised upon the agricultural labourers. Everywhere they are anxious to obtain information concerning the real state of Ireland, and although they come to the Van meetings they are

obliged to hide away in corners and dark places, because, as I have been told more than once, "we don't know who may be watching us, and you know what that means."

I am quite sure the "Van Mission" is doing a great work, for it carries the truth concerning the mis-government of the Irish people into remote places, and English agricultural labourers are not the men to support by their votes a Government which oppresses their fellow citizens in Ireland. But they require to be first freed themselves from the tyranny of the squire, the parson, the land agent, and the Primrose League; and the Liberal party will do well to take steps, before the next General Election, to impress upon the labourers the absolute secrecy of the ballot, and to prevent a violation of the law relating to intimidation and undue influence which, under the fostering care of the Primrose League, has been, and is, violated to an alarming extent in rural districts.

ORANGE LOYALTY.

ON November 17th a statue of William the Third was unveiled at Belfast, and after the ceremony some remarkable speeches were delivered. They were of such a character that they deserved the serious consideration of the legal advisers of the Government. Here are some passages from the speech of that very fiery warrior, the Rev. Dr. Kane:—

"We dedicate this statue to liberty, and to the cause from which liberty in this country is inseparable—the cause of the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland. And, fellow countrymen, the first vow we register before that unveiled statue, with the memories of heroic sufferings and deeds crowding our minds—sufferings and deeds which point out the path of duty to successive generations of loyal Irishmen—is that we shall never trust our lives and liberties to the care of a Parliament conceived and composed of men who are steeped to the lips in treason and in crime. We reiterate to-day, solemnly and deliberately, that there is a limit with respect to us which even the three estates of the realm have not authority to overstep. And if, by any extraordinary misconception of the contract between us and them, they should overstep that limit, we vow that we shall never recognise any Act passed by them in excess of their powers over us. We are subjects—attached and devoted subjects—of this nation of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. We acknowledge that we owe dutiful allegiance to the Parliament of this United Kingdom. We have ever been, and we shall ever be, eager to do loyal and loving service to our Most Gracious Sovereign Lady Queen Victoria, but we altogether

and emphatically deny the competence of any power or person to transfer us to another nation, and to set up another Parliament over us. If we are expatriated by the nation in which we were born, and disowned by the Parliament under the jurisdiction of which we were born, we shall claim the right to say who our future masters shall be, and what shall be the conditions of our future national existence. That is the indisputable right of freemen, and we have yet to learn that we are not freemen, that we are mere chattels and slaves."

This, to be sure, is pretty doctrine to come from the law and order party. Conditional loyalty! Allegiance upon terms! Orangemen will respect the law so long as the law is on their side, and no longer. But Dr. Kane goes further still; so far as we understand the following remarks, they appear to be an incitement to Lord Wolseley to join in a rebellion.

"Gentlemen, our emphatic protest that we shall maintain the ordinary rights of freemen may be sneered at."

We think this is very likely. People have not forgotten the terrible warnings of what Orangemen would do if the Irish Church were disestablished. The pious and warlike doctor goes on:—

"It may be thought that we are powerless to make any effectual protest against any bargain which our owners, and those who desire to become our owners, may conclude with respect to us, but let those who take this view of the situation not reckon without their host. The most illustrious soldier of the present day is an Irish Loyalist. Sundry questions have been asked with respect to the course he would pursue in certain contingencies. These questions reveal a great amount of uneasiness in the minds of the advocates of Separation. I am sure I know nothing about the course that distinguished man would take in the eventualities suggested, except what I may infer from the universally recognised fact that Lord Wolseley is a patriotic and enlightened man, as well as a brilliant officer, and that therefore he would oppose in every way in his power a policy which means the lowering of the flag of the Empire to a contemptible band of rebels. But I do know that there are 600,000 Orangemen in the British dominions who can be confidently counted upon by their brethren in this country; and I further know that in every arm of Her Majesty's service, both by sea and land, there are men who, in the mystic bonds of the Orange Institution, are pledged to maintain the Protestant religion and the constitutional liberties of the people of these realms. And I submit it is of more consequence to ascertain what course this powerful association will take than what any individual, however illustrious, will

do. Here, then, to-day, inaugurating the bicentenary statue of the immortal hero of civil and religious liberty, we vow in the face of mankind and in the face of high heaven that we shall never surrender to any political arrangement which would destroy or even circumscribe our civil and religious liberties."

The rest of the oration appears to be legally harmless. With much unction Dr. Kane dwells upon the blessings of religious toleration, and upon the glorious memory of William III. Can anybody imagine a funnier spectacle than that of an Orangeman defending the principles of civil and religious liberty, and denouncing religious persecution as "that abominable thing"?

The other speeches were very much in the same vein. Mr. W. Johnston, M.P., declared that if Mr. Gladstone's policy were to prevail, "they should grasp their rifles, take the rifle in one hand and the Bible in the other, and fight over again the battle of the Boyne." For military purposes the equipment seems just a little embarrassing, but that is a detail. Colonel Saunderson followed, and repeated his often-used threat, that "if it came to the worst, and if the Parliament of England in a moment of insanity should consent to set up in Ireland an alien authority, an alien Parliament, as long as we have right hands to strike with they should never rule us."

Considering these statements of the intentions of Irish Orangemen, we may fairly ask whether this was not a seditious meeting, and whether Orange lodges are not seditious associations.

TYPICAL CASES OF INTIMIDATION.

WE take from the *Freeman's Journal* the following report of some extraordinary judicial proceedings:—

"At the Petty Sessions, Cappoquin, on Thursday, November 28th, District-Inspector Clayton made an application under a Statute of Edward III. to have a man named Thomas Edwards bound to the peace, the charge being for boycotting the sale of some pigs at the fair on that day. The magistrates were Mr. J. W. Irwin, R.M. (in the chair); Major Tanner, Major Cearnley, Captain Power, and Sir R. F. Keane, Bart. Constable Denis Lee was sworn, and on being examined by District-Inspector Clayton, deposed that he was on duty in plain clothes at Cappoquin fair that day. *His duty was to 'shadow' the defendant, who was suspected of boycotting.* He (witness) saw the defendant come up to a pig-buyer named Thomas Fitzgerald, from Waterford, after he had bought certain pigs, and he heard the defendant say to Fitzgerald, 'The pigs you are after buying are boycotted.' He was quite close to the defendant

when he made use of these words. He (witness) immediately informed Sergeant Nash of what had occurred, and then, acting on instructions from Sergeant Nash, he arrested defendant and brought him to the barrack. Sergeant Nash was sworn and gave some corroborative evidence. District-Inspector Clayton said that this was his case, and on the strength of this evidence he should ask the magistrates to bind the defendant to the peace. The pig-buyer, Mr. Thomas Fitzgerald, of Waterford, was sworn, and deposed in reply to Mr. Slattery that *the defendant, Edwards, did not say one word to him about the pigs, and he did not hear the defendant make use of the word "boycott" at all.* The whole case was a fabrication on the part of the constable. Chairman—You have no right to make such a statement. You should remember that the constable was on his oath. Mr. Fitzgerald—*It was I who stopped the defendant to speak to him, instead of he coming to me, as has been sworn. The defendant in no way interfered with me in the buying of the pigs.* Chairman (to Constable Lee)—How near were you to the defendant when he made use of the words you allege about the pigs being boycotted? Constable Lee—As near as I am to him now. Chairman—Have you any doubt about the words being used? Constable Lee—None whatever. *The bench considered the case proved,* and the order of the court was that defendant be bound to keep the peace for twelve months, himself in £20, and two sureties in £10 each, or, in default, to be imprisoned for two months in Waterford Gaol. Mr. Slattery said his client would appeal against the ruling of the court. Chairman—There is no appeal in a case of this kind. The defendant said he would give no bail, as he considered the case against him was a trumped up one, because he had on a former occasion reported Sergeant Nash to District Inspector Clayton. The defendant was then removed in custody, and conveyed by train to Waterford. An immense crowd accompanied him to the railway station and cheered vociferously. No sooner was this case disposed of than two respectable men were ushered into court by the police and similarly charged. Constable Pollard heard them say to a man in charge of a drove of cattle, 'They are nice animals, and it is a pity they are boycotted. Only for that we might buy them.' The strange buyers who were present then said to the owners, 'Good morning to ye, gentlemen,' and left the place. The bench dismissed the case."

Why the Bench dismissed the second case, after their decision in the first case, we cannot imagine. The only substantial distinction seems to be that in the second case there was absent any counter evidence to show that the words in

question were not spoken. No policeman's veracity was disputed, and the law could afford to be merciful. But perhaps the worthy magistrates only meant to bring out into stronger relief the remarkable points of Edwards's case. It has some very remarkable points.

(1.) There is no evidence of intimidation beyond the words alleged to be spoken: "The pigs you are after buying are boycotted."

(2.) The pigs were already bought before Edwards was said to have spoken; the words were thus evidence of Fitzgerald's having been retrospectively intimidated from buying the pigs!

(3.) The words themselves merely convey information of the fact that the pigs were boycotted; no threat, and no attempt to connect Edwards with the boycott, except that he "was suspected of boycotting." Evidently, therefore, the legal proposition to be deduced from the case is that it is illegal to pronounce the word "boycott" in Ireland—at least, out of doors.

(4.) The intimidated person was not intimidated at all. But there is plenty of authority among coercion cases for the principle that it is for the judge, not for the person principally interested, to say whether there was intimidation or not. If Fitzgerald was not intimidated he ought to have been.

(5.) A constable on oath always speaks the truth. This simple maxim is clearly established by the case, for Fitzgerald's evidence, which gives a very reasonable account of the affair, could not otherwise have been disregarded. It was not shaken by any cross-examination.

And so Thomas Edwards will lie in Waterford Jail for two long winter months.

IRISH AGRICULTURE—1851 to 1888.

At the opening meeting of the Irish Statistical Society, the President, Dr. Grimshaw, delivered an address on Irish Agricultural Statistics, of which the following is a summary:—

I consider it advisable to commence this review with the figures furnished in the year 1851, thus giving us thirty-eight clear years of agricultural returns, which, I believe, are as accurate as any such large series of figures are likely to be in this or any other country. I propose to analyse these figures, and from the results thus arrived at, in combination with information regarding standard prices of agricultural produce, to lay before you materials by which an approximate opinion may be formed as to the relative value of Irish agriculture in past and present times. In order to obtain a clear view of the question, I shall deal with three five-year periods, namely, 1851-55, 1881-84, 1866-70. Taking these three quinquennia,

and adding together the stock and crops for each, we have the following results :—

	1851-55.	1866-70.	1884-88.
Crops...	£ 58,537,000	£ 45,365,000	£ 35,752,000
Stock...	39,348,000	59,630,000	55,827,000

Total 97,885,000 104,995,000 91,579,000

As it was the production of these crops which afforded employment for the greater portion of the population of Ireland in former times, it is interesting to note that the population has decreased about 21·0 per cent. during the period under consideration, namely, between the census of 1851 and 1881. As the great decrease of the population commenced immediately on and after the great famine of 1846-47, while the change of tillage land into stock-producing land cannot be said to have been established until some years after, it is an interesting fact that the estimated population decreased from 8,295,000 in the year 1845, before the famine, to 4,778,000 in 1888, or to the extent of 3,517,000, or 42·4 per cent.—a ratio very closely corresponding with that (38·9 per cent.) representing the decrease of the value of tillage products. Turning to the value of live stock, we find that the rise in the average annual value between the first and second quinquennia amounted to £20,282,000, or 51·5 per cent.; but when we compare the second and third periods in the latter, we find there is a diminution in the value to the extent of £3,803,000, or 6·4 per cent. Comparing the first period with the third, we find the increase in the latter over the former amounts to £16,479,000, or 41·9 per cent. Thus the gain in the value of live stock, amounting to £16,479,000, has been more than counterbalanced by the loss in the value of tillage products, amounting to £22,785,000, leaving a net loss of £6,306,000, or 6·4 per cent., as I have already stated. I have thus pointed out how these annual averages have varied during the selected periods. Let us now see how they are related to the population. Assuming the figures to be reasonably correct, we find that the value of agricultural produce per head of the population would be as follows :—

	1851-55.	1866-70.	1884-88.
Crops ...	£ 9,443	£ 8,299	£ 7,313
Stock, &c. ...	6·347	10·909	11·419

Total ... 15·790 19·208 18·732

From which we may fairly draw the conclusion that, while the aggregate value of agriculture has diminished, the agriculturalists, as a class, were individually better off in the second than in the first quinquennium to the extent of £3·418 per head of the population, worse off in the third than in the second to the extent of £0·476 per

head, and better off in the third as compared with the first to the extent of £2·942 per head. Thus, even in this calculation, the recent depression of agriculture is a very real misfortune to all concerned. In the year 1866 I made estimates of the value of the out-put of Irish agriculture in 1885, with the view of providing the means of estimating the annual profits derived therefrom. These estimates were, of course, only approximate. They were founded partly on published figures, such as I have used in compiling this paper, and partly on statements and information supplied by experienced agriculturalists, salesmasters, and others whose opinions were considered to be of special value. Assuming that a certain portion of the live stock are sold off each year at a certain value, and placing values on certain products of live stock, such as milk, &c., already mentioned, sold or consumed during the year, and deducting from these the value of crops consumed by those animals in producing these saleable articles, we arrive at the following result—

AVERAGE ANNUAL VALUE OF CROPS, STOCK, &c., DISPOSED OF.

	Average Annual Value in the Years		
	1851-55.	1866-70.	1884-88.
Crops ...	£ 43,663,000	£ 27,935,000	£ 16,466,000
Stock, &c.	28,325,000	44,279,000	37,548,000

Total 71,988,000 72,214,000 54,014,000

This table is arrived at by estimating the elements already referred to, as dealt with by me in 1885, and applying estimates to the averages for each of the selected quinquennial periods. We see here that, after allowing for the portion of the crops consumed by the stock, the estimated average value of the crops and stock, and products of stock sold or otherwise disposed of, was, in the first period, £71,988,000 per annum; in the second, £72,214,000 per annum, showing an increase of £226,000, or 0·3 per cent.; and in the third, £54,014,000 per annum, which amount is £18,200,000 or 25·2 per cent. under the average value for the second period, and £17,974,000, or 25·0 per cent. under that for the first.

Dealing with these estimates as with the previous series of figures, and making estimates of the average annual value per head of the population, we have the following table :—

ANNUAL AVERAGE VALUE PER HEAD OF THE POPULATION.

	Average Annual Value in the Years		
	1851-55	1866-70	1884-88
Crops...	£ 7·044	£ 5·111	£ 3·368
Stock, &c. ...	4·569	8·101	7·680

Total ... 11·613 13·212 11·048

I quite admit the crudeness of these estimates, and, in making them, wherever I have had a doubt I have cast that doubt against the value of agriculture. In bringing these remarks before the Society, I do so more for the purpose of suggesting lines of investigation, and how these lines may, I think, be followed up, than with any intention of insisting on the exactness of the methods I have pursued, or drawing any positive conclusions from my estimates.

NOTES FROM IRISH CORRESPONDENTS.

DUBLIN, November 27.

THE appointment of Mr. Peter O'Brien as chief justice of the Queen's Bench is freely commented on. It is admitted he has earned his promotion. He never shrank from the duties of jury packing, and had, certainly, the courage of the convictions of the Government. But, to take a combatant straight from the arena of politics, at a time when the administration of justice in Ireland is gravely questioned, and place him, at a single step, at the head of the Irish judiciary, is, to say the least, a startling proceeding; and one not likely to increase the respect for law and order in Ireland, on which the efforts of the loyal party are at present supposed to be concentrated.

The decision of the Court of Crown Cases Reserved, as the case of Wm. Coll, furnishes some obvious points of criticism. The court decided in favour of the Crown by a majority of one, the judges being divided—four against the admissibility of the evidence questioned, and five, that it was legally admissible. The majority included two ex-crown prosecutors, and with the exception of Mr. Justice Harrison, the Junior Members of the Bench; also the judge who tried the case. The minority included the three judges of longest standing, two of whom—the Lord Chief Justice, and the Lord Chief Baron—not only by position, but in legal knowledge, are admittedly at the head of the Irish Judicial Bench.

The prospects of the winter are decidedly gloomy. Evictions have been renewed on the Olphert, Kenmare, Ponsonby, and other estates. The trouble in Tipperary is only beginning. The people of Tipperary have entered into the fight with Mr. Smith-Barry, in a spirit which forecasts victory, but there is determination on both sides, and lives may be lost before it is over. A new feature in the tactics of agrarian struggle has been introduced in the case of the Smith-Barry dispute; the development of which will be watched with interest. On the 14th, a series of what are described "extraordinary demonstrations," took place in Tipperary. The tenants under notice of eviction removed their furniture

and other effects, and cleared their holdings of all stock and produce in anticipation of the sheriff's visit. The people of the surrounding districts came to their assistance. Every locality sent its contingent. The Doon district supplied some sixty horses and carts, and in all it is stated about 400 horses and carts, with about 800 hands, joined in the work of clearance. But measures do not stop here; steps have been taken to erect temporary houses and shops for the evicted tenants. Every shopkeeper evicted is to be given temporary premises in which to carry on his business, so that there is a chance of a considerable portion of the town being, so to speak, bodily shifted. These facts refute with a practical eloquence the Unionist assertion that the Smith-Barry fight is simply the result of the coercion agitators.

Father O'Reilly, the Treasurer of the National League in America, has been in Dublin during the past few weeks. The Unionist cry that the sources of the League Funds are drying up in America is effectually contradicted by the fact that Father O'Reilly paid into the Irish account on arrival in Dublin the sum of £8,000.

By the way, Mr. Chamberlain or his friends have not returned to the charge touching the failure of Mr. Dillon's mission to Australia, and that the amount collected did not suffice to pay hotel expenses. Up to the present some £14,000 has been received from Australia by Dr. Kenny, M.P., one of the Treasurers of the Irish National League, for the Evicted Tenants' Fund, and the subscriptions, according to an Australian paper, recorded there had reached last month just £20,000.

THE LEGAL POSITION OF IRISH TENANTS.

THE following circular has been issued by the Government, and distributed and posted throughout Ireland by the Constabulary :—

"THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE IRISH FARMER UNDER THE LAND ACTS."

1. "Yearly tenants, and tenants holding under leases, with not more than 99 years to run, from 22nd August, 1881, can apply to the Court, i.e., the County Court, or the Court of the Irish Land Commission, to have a fair rent fixed. A fair rent can also be fixed by agreement between the landlord and tenant, on forms prescribed by the Irish Land Commission.

(a) "The fair rent when fixed by the Court dates from the gale day after the tenant applies to the Court. If the fair rent is less than the former rent, and the landlord, pending the decision of the Court,

has compelled the tenant to pay the former rent, he must allow for or refund the difference.

- (b) "The fair rent, when fixed by agreement under the Act of 1881, commences from the gale day next after the agreement.
- (c) "The rent so fixed is subject to revision every fifteen years by the Court, on application of either landlord or tenant.
- (d) "The application to have a fair rent fixed can be made at any time by yearly tenants so long as their tenancy exists.
- (e) "Applications by tenants holding under leases should be made before the 31st December, 1890.
- (f) "When a fair rent has been fixed, a statutory tenancy is created, and the tenant cannot thereafter be removed from possession of his holding by his landlord except for non-payment of the fair rent, or for breach of the conditions which the Legislature has enacted should be observed. Breach of such conditions, if the Court sees fit, can be satisfied by the payment of damages instead of forfeiture of the holding.

"EJECTMENT PROCEEDINGS AND ARREARS.

2. "If the landlord takes proceedings to dispossess for non-payment of rent a tenant whose rent has not been fixed by the Court or by statutory agreement :—

- (a) "The tenant can apply to the Court in which the landlord has so proceeded, and it has power to stay the proceedings until a fair rent has been fixed.
- (b) "The tenant can apply to the Civil Bill Court if the ejectment proceedings are brought there to fix the fair rent, at the same time as it disposes of the ejectment proceedings.
- (c) "If the tenant's holdings are valued under £50 per annum and he can satisfy the Court in which a judgment has been given against him, that his inability to pay does not arise from his own conduct, act or default, the Court has power to put such stay upon the execution of the judgment as it thinks reasonable.
- (d) "The Court can also in ejectment cases under similar circumstances order that the arrears of rent and costs shall be payable by such instalments as it may appoint.

"A landlord who has obtained a judgment in ejectment for non-payment of rent may serve upon the tenant a notice constituting the tenant a caretaker, which will determine the tenancy and have the same effect as if a writ of possession had been executed by the sheriff.

"A tenant evicted for non-payment of arrears of rent may—

- (a) "Within six months redeem and make the landlord account for any profits he could have reasonably made out of the lands since the eviction.
- (b) "Within the same period sell his holding to a purchaser, who can also redeem on the same terms, and subsequently, if not already done, apply to have a fair rent fixed.
- (c) "If the tenant neither redeems nor sells he can apply to the Court for payment by the landlord of compensation for his improvements under the Act of 1870, and in some cases where the rent does not exceed £15 per year, if the Court certifies that the non-payment of rent arose from the rent being an exorbitant rent, the tenant may also claim compensation for disturbance under the Act of 1870, as amended by the sixth section of the Act of 1881, of a sum not exceeding seven years' rent of a holding, as the Court, in view of all the circumstances of the case, shall think just.

"PURCHASE OF HOLDINGS.

"The Land Commission may advance to tenants of agricultural holdings all or part of the price for which such tenants have agreed with their landlords to purchase their holdings.

"For every £100 advanced the purchasing tenant will be bound to pay £4 a year for 49 years to the Irish Land Commission.

"Thus a purchaser may change his position from that of a perpetual rent payer to that of an owner, subject to an annuity that will terminate in 49 years.

"The annual sums payable to the Land Commission instead of a rent of say £20 purchased at 20, 18, or 16 years' purchase would be respectively £16, £14 8s., and £12 16s., equivalent to reductions of 20 per cent., 28 per cent., and 36 per cent. respectively.

"On the other hand, purchasing tenants will become liable to the proportion of taxes formerly deducted by them from the rent.

"IMPROVEMENT OF HOLDINGS.

"All tenants whose rent is £7 and upwards can obtain loans from the Board of Works for the improvement of their farms and farm houses on the security of their interests in their holdings, such loans to be repayable in 22 years by an annuity of £6 10s. per £100. Tenant purchasers can also borrow money on similar terms."

CORRESPONDENCE.

IRISH ROMAN CATHOLICS AND THE UNION.

To the Editor of the HOME RULE UNION JOURNAL.

SIR,—We are indebted to Mr. Coffey for his paper in your Journal. He shows us that the language of the Irish Bishops in 1799 was not that stout opposition to one Parliament that the present Bishops offer. Why? Because they see how delusive were the beneficial consequences suggested by Lord Castlereagh. It is impossible to read the Bishops' letters of 1799 without tracing the present deplorable state of Ireland—socially, politically, and in its material condition—to the creation of one Parliament, instead of the improvement of the then existing Irish Parliament. Cause and effect with a vengeance.—Your faithful servant,

CHARLES FORD, Lieut.-Col.,
Late candidate for Devonport.

NOTES BY THE WAY.

The Plan of Campaign on the Olphere Estate.—The Unionist press has been full of rejoicing over the reported break-down of the Plan of Campaign on the Olphere Estate. The tenants, it was said, were dissatisfied with the plan, and were bringing their rents and costs without any question of reductions. So far, however, from the facts affording any cause of rejoicing to the landlord's friends, they tend only to show the increasing care with which the plan is being conducted. Experience on other estates proved that it was disadvantageous to allow a general clearance to be made; for many reasons it was desirable that in each case several farms—one in each townland—should remain in the hands of friendly tenants. This has been secured on the Olphere Estate. With the approval of the leaders, four or five farms have been redeemed, and the tenants of these remain in possession in order to give more effectual assistance to evicted tenants. A similar precaution has been taken on the Coolgreany Estate. A correspondent, who has recently visited it, writes as follows:—"The Coolgreany estate has lent itself to a masterly stroke of strategy, by which the evicted tenants have been enabled to entrench themselves in the very midst of the property, and even to enjoy a certain proportion of the privileges they have forfeited by eviction. The grazing of Croghan Mountain was one of the most important means the tenant had of making the rent. Each farm carried with it the right to the grazing of a certain

number of acres on Croghan, but the boundaries of these acres were in no case defined. In practice, therefore, each tenant had the right to the run of the whole of the mountain. This was the key to the position, for by retaining a single farm the right of grazing Croghan was preserved for the tenants just as fully as if every tenant on the estate remained in possession of his holding. Two of the farms were thus retained, selected specially on account of their advantageous position in respect of Croghan and the number of outbuildings they contained which could be rendered suitable for the shelter of the evicted tenants. There were also retained a number of small cottier holdings running around the base of Croghan. These enabled the estate committee to provide for a good many more of the evicted."

The New Irish Judge.—It would seem as if the Government were determined to omit no occasion for expressing their contempt for Irish feeling. Sir Michael Morris has been chosen to fill the post rendered vacant by the death of Lord Fitzgerald; and in place of Sir Michael Morris, the Attorney-General, Mr. Peter O'Brien, has been made Chief Justice. Mr. Peter O'Brien has gained an unenviable notoriety among his countrymen as "Peter the Packer." As Attorney-General he has had to take a prominent part in the administration of the Coercion Act, and in public opinion his name is associated with the many cases of injustice which that Act has covered. He comes to the bench fresh from the achievements at Maryborough. Could a worse appointment have possibly been made? The law not only should be, but should manifestly appear to be, impartial. Those who administer it not only should be, but should bear the reputation of being, free from suspicion of prejudice. That reputation the new Chief Justice cannot gain. Do what he may, his countrymen will not believe that his past political associations have produced no permanent influence on his mind. By placing him at the head of the Irish judiciary, we have continued the bad tradition by which a seat on the bench has been made the reward of party service, a tradition which has done much to undermine respect for the law.

A Monstrous Case.—Irish magistrates have performed some extraordinary judicial feats, but this puts everything else in the shade:—

On Friday, November 29th, at Crossmaglen Petty Sessions, a man and his wife were brought before Dr. Palmer, J.P., and Mr. James Hunter, J.P., a local landlord, charged with singing a ballad with the refrain, "We'll have good times in Ireland when the landlords go." They were sentenced to three months' imprisonment each. See "Freeman's Journal," December 2nd.

There may be some facts unreported which would throw a new light on the case. It may be that the singing of the ballad was accompanied with significant gestures or winks tending to intimidate some landlord or landlords unknown : and then, of course, the decision would be fully covered by the authority of well-established cases in coercion courts. But to make a criminal offence out of the mere singing of a ballad containing so excellent a sentiment does seem very strange. "We'll have good times in Ireland when the landlords go." Why, it is only a prophetic way of protesting against dual ownership. It is merely a versification of the Ashbourne Act. "The party with which I am connected," said Lord Salisbury, at Nottingham, the other day, "has always had the strongest view in favour of the multiplication of small owners." It is certainly news that the landed party have always or ever desired to multiply small owners ; but be this as it may, the object is an excellent one, and the poor ballad-singers of Crossmaglen were only putting the politician's reason into rhyme. It is a case for a Christmas pantomime, not for a court of justice.

Equal Laws.—Writing to the *Daily News*, November 13, the Rev. J. Page Hopps puts a striking case of the different meaning which liberty of speech has in England from what it has in Ireland. "Will any member of the Government," he asks, "while last Sunday's proceedings in Hyde Park are fresh in people's memories, repeat their favourite falsehood that the law and administration of the law in Ireland are the same as in England ? Will even Lord Salisbury or Mr. Balfour do it ? John Burns, speaking of the bakers' strike, said that 'he did not want to inconvenience the people of London, but if they wished to avoid inconvenience they must boycott the unfair shops. If the master bakers did not concede the terms, the millers' men would be taken out and the supply stopped, and the lightermen, stevedores, and dockers would not handle the corn and flour. He then went on to explain how the boycott must be carried out, and said trades Unionists must take care that their wives did not deal at unfair shops. The fair shops must exhibit certificates, which should be to them like the sign shown by Rahab ; and the names of the unfair shops must be made known to the public. He would not mind being a sandwich man for twenty-four hours. Mr. Burns called for a show of hands of the men who would not surrender, and then of those who were not bakers who would support the boycott. The response seemed to be a general one in each case. The resolution was carried by a considerable show of hands, without a dissentient.' Here is the open advocacy of boycotting of every kind,

and of a deliberate conspiracy to boycott, which puts the Irish advocacy of boycotting into the shade. What is the Government going to do about it ? It was notorious that during the late strike at the docks boycotting of a very severe kind was a necessary and successful part of the strikers' plans. The Government then did nothing, and it will do nothing now. It dare not lose London for its party. Let the Government serve John Burns as it has served William O'Brien, and at the next election it would not carry ten seats out of London's fifty-nine."

Resident Magistrates and the Law of Conspiracy.—The following condemnation of the present administration of the law in Ireland is peculiarly noteworthy, inasmuch as it comes from one who has been, and will be again, Lord Chancellor of England. Referring to the common Unionist retort, that many of the resident magistrates were appointed by Mr. Gladstone's Government, Lord Herschell said in his speech at Reading (November 11) :—"There had been entrusted to them duties—not by the Government of Mr. Gladstone, but by the Government now in power—for which they were not fitted, and which he maintained were not such as ought to have been entrusted to those Magistrates. The law of conspiracy was a law that resident magistrates were not set in former times to administer, and it was a law most dangerous to the liberties of men. He was not going to think boycotting worse in the Irish peasant than it was in the English lady or gentleman. For the Irish peasants, with their training and surroundings, there was far more excuse and justification, and he could hardly bear with patience the hypocrisy of those who lifted their eyes in horror at the thought of the Irish peasant boycotting his neighbour, at being so unneighbourly and unchristian, and who were animated in many cases by precisely the same spirit. (A Voice : "The question is whether boycotting is legal or justifiable.") If done by a number of individuals independently, whatever they might think of it morally, no one could suggest that it was otherwise than perfectly legal, and the man who did it was within his rights, and if he did it in England he could not possibly be punished. But the test of its being legal or illegal would depend whether it was the individual impulse of a number of people actuated by the same sentiment, or whether it was by combination or conspiracy. On making these distinctions, justly or unjustly, men's liberties at present depended, and it had been said that the only way the law of conspiracy had been prevented being an intolerable tyranny in England was trial by jury; whereas its administration in Ireland was left to the resident magistrates. It was this

system which was breeding distrust of the law, discontent with the law, and hostility to the law. He was himself satisfied that there had been cases in which men had been convicted of offences which had not been proved against them. It was said the other day by an eminent speaker in Cornwall that no honest man had suffered by the Coercion Act. He denied it unless they gave to honesty some unnatural meaning which it had never had amongst Englishmen or in the English language. Then the expression was changed, and it was said no loyal man had suffered. But he did not think any opponent of the speaker ever said anything so hard of the Coercion Act as that. The safeguards of the law were most needed in the case of those who were most obnoxious to the Government of the day, and if all that could be said of the present system was that none of the loyal minority had suffered, but that as for the others, if they did not commit the offences with which they were charged they deserved to suffer for their want of loyalty, all he could say was that that was a doctrine to which he would never subscribe.'

Irish Crime.—In one of his Manchester speeches, Mr. Gladstone produced some significant statistics with regard to the alleged effect of the Coercion Act in reducing ordinary crime:—“What I find is this—I look to those counties where the Coercion Act has been most active, and I ask what is the movement of ordinary crime in those counties as compared with Ireland at large? I find that for the year 1887 the four counties most advanced—if I may say so—in the matter of agrarian offences were Clare, Cork, Kerry, and Galway, and they had of ordinary crimes 1,045 in 1887, and they had 992 in 1888. That shows a diminution in those four counties of ordinary indictable offences—I am not speaking exclusively of agrarian crimes—a diminution of 53, or a percentage of 5 per cent. But while that was the case I turn to another return showing the number of persons punished for serious offences in Ireland in 1887 and in 1888. I find they were less in 1888 by 191 in Ireland at large, or 13½ per cent. off; and therefore, gentlemen, you will see that, so far as these figures instruct us, the amount of decline of ordinary crime was much less in those counties where the Coercion Act was most active than it was in Ireland at large, where, happily, as to many parts of it, it is scarcely in action at all.” In the same speech he gave the following amusing illustration of how the law is administered:—“I am going to quote from an unquestionable authority—viz., the *Police Gazette* in Ireland, or the *Hue and Cry*, dated October, 1889, headed ‘County Tipperary.’ It is an advertisement containing a description of a tramp, but this tramp had been guilty of a very

serious offence. He was a tramp who had very seriously assaulted Martin Marr by stabbing him and cutting him with a knife, thereby endangering his life. A very serious affair. Consequently, and very properly, an advertisement was issued for this tramp. He was informed that he was what was called ‘wanted.’ At the close of the advertisement it stated—and stated very properly—what was his height, what was his make, what was his hair, ‘about 33 years of age,’ and so forth; and then it goes on to say that he is believed to have such and such plates on his boots and that he went towards Limerick. But what I want to call your attention to is this—‘It is most important that this man be arrested.’ No doubt it is. I quite agree so far; but look at the reason—as there is another man in custody for the same offence who is believed to be innocent.’ So that the officers of the police in Ireland, by their own authentic and official declaration, when they cannot get hold of the right man that is guilty of a crime, rather than have nobody at all, they keep in confinement a person whom they believe to be the wrong man, and to be innocent of that crime.”

Boycotting in England.—Mr. Logan, the Home Rule candidate for a division of Leicestershire, has been boycotted so persistently through the instrumentality of the Primrose League that he has been compelled to resort to an altogether novel contrivance in order to address village meetings. The National school-houses are the only buildings available in most English villages for political meetings, and wherever the Tories have command of them in a district they almost invariably refuse the use of them to the other side. This policy was successfully adopted against Mr. Logan, but he has had a portable room built capable of accommodating a hundred persons, and, as it is constructed in sections, he now sends it on in advance in a dray to the place fixed for the meeting, and everything is ready when he arrives himself. Of course, this is only required in the small villages, but it has proved most useful for its purpose.

An Example of Unionist Facts.—What is the biggest mis-statement ever made about Ireland? It would be hard to say, but we are inclined to give the palm to the statistics on Irish education, contained in a pamphlet by a certain Dr. Wylie. Referring to the children in Irish schools, he says, “Only eight in the hundred passed in reading, only eight in the hundred passed in writing, only six in the hundred passed in dictation, and only four in the hundred passed in arithmetic. . . . Compare this with the state of education in Scotland. The report for last year bears testimony that ninety-five in the hundred passed in the several

departments of study. In Scotland ninety-five in each hundred pass; in Ireland ninety-six in each hundred are plucked." We take this amazing passage from the extracts quoted by Archbishop Walsh in his reply to Dr. Wylie; and we presume that they are correct. The fact is that the percentage of passes in arithmetic is 82 (4 according to Dr. Wylie), in reading 94 (8 according to Dr. Wylie), and in writing 96 (8 according to Dr. Wylie). Even on the Unionist side Dr. Wylie might have found some friend to save him from his blunder. "The education report just issued," says Mr. Hill, in the *Nineteenth Century*, "shows that though the percentage of children in attendance in schools in Ireland is somewhat less than in England and Scotland, yet it is advancing so rapidly that in six or seven years it may be expected to reach the English level. Proportionally more children in Ireland remain at school beyond ten years of age than in England and Scotland. *In the three R's the percentage of passes is greater than in England and Scotland.*"

Mr. Balfour and Catholic Education in Ireland.—It was expected that Mr. Balfour would sooner or later climb down from his position with regard to the higher education of Irish Catholics. He has done so by stating that the Government will undertake the question only on three conditions:—"The first condition is, that the advantage we propose to those desiring higher education in Ireland should be cordially accepted by them as a solution of their difficulties. The second condition is that the proposal of measures of that description in Parliament should not be used by any party in Parliament as a means for inflicting a political blow upon their adversaries. And the third condition is that the general opinion of Englishmen, of Scotchmen, and of Irishmen should all concur in desiring that this particular boon should be granted to the Roman Catholic population of Ireland. And unless those three conditions are granted, unless those three conditions are fulfilled, I, for one, would never counsel my colleagues to embark in so difficult and so arduous an enterprise as that of dealing with the education question." The conditions are obviously impossible, and so the question drops. Mr. Balfour, as the rest of his speech shows, is convinced that justice requires a concession to the Catholic claims; but justice to Irishmen must yield to consideration of party danger.

Sectarian Charity.—"At one time the Uttoxeter Vestry made it a rule that the Irish labourers passing through the town should not be relieved at the vagrant office. Mr. Bladon, a highly respected draper, went, therefore, in haste to my father to fix on some mode of relief, and

they jointly undertook to provide a small fund, could anyone be found to act as relieving officer. My mother immediately offered her services, and, aided by her husband, assisted in the course of time four hundred Irish. Famine was then prevalent in their country, and she took care to inquire of each applicant how much he or his friends had received of the money sent from England. She always obtained the same answer; the funds were entrusted to the Protestant clergy, who refused to dispense them to those who did not attend their ministry. My mother, warning the labourers to speak the truth, as she should commit the statements to paper and make inquiry, carefully noted the name and address of each clergyman mentioned. Joseph Burtt, a Friend connected with Ireland, after assuring her that she had been terribly imposed upon, took the written statements for the purpose of obtaining their contradiction or confirmation. He brought them back the next time he visited Uttoxeter, with a written remark affixed to each, such as: "This is true," "This is correct," "Sad, but true."—Mary Howitt's *Autobiography*, Vol. I., p. 239.

Amount of Land Purchases in Ireland.—A return in connection with the Purchase Department of the Land Commission shows that between November, 1885, when the department came into operation, and the 1st of October of the present year the number of applications was 19,681 and the sum sought to be borrowed £7,915,678. Purchases were sanctioned by the department in 14,240 cases, involving loans to the extent of £5,981,383. Out of the foregoing the number of purchases actually completed is 11,012, and purchase money has been paid out to the extent of £4,629,654. It also appears that the department refused, up to 31st August last, not less than 2,021 applications for purchase, considering the sums sought to be borrowed were too high. Subsequently 697 of these applications were sanctioned, the aggregate purchase money having been reduced from £635,344, the amount originally sought, to £284,241, the sum actually lent to buy the properties in question.

Gweedore.—Two admirable pamphlets have recently been issued on what is truly described as the Reign of Terror in Gweedore. One is "A Sketch of the Donegal Land War," by Jeremiah MacVeagh (id.: published for the Gweedore Vigilance Committee by the Home Rule Union); the other is "The Gweedore Hunt: a Story of English Justice in Ireland," by H. W. Massingham, special commissioner of the *Star* (id.: published by T. Fisher Unwin). Both are excellent, and deserve to be wisely read. We shall be glad to receive communications from anyone who can assist in their distribution.

DIARY OF THE MOVEMENT.

November 1.—Privy Council meet in Dublin and issue order for the construction of light railways, under the Bill of last session.—Anniversary of the death of Patrick Ahern, killed by a constable at Midleton, co. Cork, celebrated, and on the police trying to suppress the demonstrations, they came in frequent conflict with the people.—Sir Charles Russell, at Hackney, replies to recent ministerial speeches.

November 2.—Order made by the Queen's Bench Division that John Gallagher, tried at Maryborough for the murder of Inspector Martin, and about whom the jury disagreed, be liberated on bail.—A meeting of Irish landlords, at Waterford, pass resolutions asking the Government to extend the Ashbourne Act, in order to establish peasant proprietorship in Ireland.

November 4.—Recorder of Cork delivers judgment on the appeal of Father O'Dwyer and others. Father O'Dwyer's sentence of three months for advising people to have no dealings with the tenants of evicted farms confirmed. J. Mayes' sentence of six months reduced to five, and E. Cahill's of six weeks increased to two months.—Opening of the Tory-Dissident Conference at Birmingham. Mr. Chamberlain addresses it on behalf of his party.—Mr. Morley interviewed by a labour deputation.—Publication of Sir Henry Parkes' dispatch on Australian Federation.

November 5.—Sixty head of cattle, belonging to tenants who had allowed their interests in their farms to go to the landlords, seized by Mr. Smith-Barry at Tipperary.—Three hundred and fifty notices of ejectment served by the Drapers' Company on their tenants in Draperstown, Maghera, and Magherafelt.—Fifty ejectment processes granted at Midleton Quarter Sessions for Ponsonby Estate.—Drs. Coffey and O'Dwyer successfully adjust the differences between the tenants under notice of eviction on the Glensharrod Estate and the agent.—Mr. Morley and Lord Spencer at Newcastle. Mr. Smith at Glasgow.

November 6.—Motion made in the Queen's Bench Division for a new trial of O'Brien *v.* Salisbury.—Mr. Molloy at Sheffield states that the Irish Members are possessed of evidence associating responsible Government officials with the conspiracy against the Irish Party.—Mr. Morley, at Middlesborough, criticises the Government's proposed Irish legislation.

November 7.—Sir Charles Russell speaks at Epping on the bye-elections, the labour programme, and the Coercion Act.

November 8.—Committee of the Birmingham Conservative Association endorse the attitude assumed by the Conservatives at the Conference, and resolve to maintain the present Conservative representation of the borough.

November 9.—Thomas Carroll's sentence of six months for conspiracy confirmed by the Exchequer Division—Chief Baron Pallee dissenting. Carroll had been sentenced to two weeks for assault, and on his release had received a further sentence for conspiracy on the same evidence as had been formerly brought against him.

November 10.—Meeting of Ponsonby tenants in Cork resolves to build houses and make arrangements to receive those about to be evicted on the Smith-Barry Estate.—Eighteen tenants served with writs for rent arrears on the Smith-Barry Estate, in Tipperary.

November 11.—Resumed meeting of the Birmingham Conference decides to ask Lord Hartington and Lord Salisbury to arbitrate in the dispute.—Smith-Barry obtains seventeen ejectment processes at the Tipperary Quarter Sessions.

November 12.—Sir Wm. Harcourt at Stratford on the Tory policy, the Birmingham Conference, and the Liberal programme.—Mr. Balfour at Ipswich defends the administration of the Coercion Act.

November 13.—Lord Rosebery and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach at Bristol.

November 14.—Great demonstration in Tipperary; the houses of the tenants about to be evicted cleared of furniture, &c.

November 15.—Lord Rosebery addresses the City branch of the Imperial Federation League.—Mr. Goschen in South Wales on the Liberal party and working-class savings.

November 18.—The case of W. Coll, sentenced to ten years' penal servitude, at Maryborough, for the murder of Inspector Martin, re-opened in the Court for Crown Cases Reserved. It is urged that one of the witnesses for the prosecution gave inadmissible evidence.—Eight families—fifty persons—evicted on the Woodford Clanricarde Estate.

November 19.—Mr. Morley at the Eighty Club on the relation of Liberalism to social politics.

November 20.—At the Magherafelt Quarter Sessions the Drapers' Company make eighty-five applications for ejectment decrees. Thirty-two are struck off, and the consideration of the others adjourned.—Sir George Trevelyan at Glasgow on the bye-elections.

November 21.—Meeting of Smith-Barry tenantry at Tipperary passes resolution to pay

no rent until their demands are granted.—District Inspector Carter and Constable Tuohy charged at the Tipperary Local Petty Sessions Court with the murder of Stephen Heffernan during a riot, on the 5th September. The Coroner's jury had found them guilty, and they had been arrested, but admitted on bail.—Sir Wm. Harcourt at Hanley replies to Mr. Goschen's recent speeches.

November 22.—End of public sittings of Parnell Commission,—Lord Rosebery at Glasgow on Scottish business and Scottish Home Rule.

November 23.—Duke of Abercorn issues an appeal to Irish landlords to support Mr. Olphert in his struggle to maintain "the rights of property."

November 24.—Anniversary of the Manchester "martyrs." Meetings and processions proclaimed throughout Ireland.

November 25.—The Court for Crown Cases Reserved decided by a majority of one that certain evidence given against Coll was admissible. The Lord Chief Baron was in the minority, and Justice Gibson, the Maryborough judge, in the majority.

November 26.—Lord Salisbury at Nottingham on the National Party and Toryism and social politics.

November 27.—Lord Salisbury visits Conservative Clubs about Nottingham and delivers a few speeches.

November 28.—The judges of the Exchequer Division give decision in the case of Byrne and nine others, sentenced to from five weeks' to two months' imprisonment for carrying torches and playing instruments at a procession on the occasion of Mr. Carew being lodged in Kilkenny jail on the 21st February last. The sentences were confirmed, but no costs granted the Crown, as Mr. Justice Andrews thought if the case had been before an appellate tribunal the prisoners might have been acquitted.—Mr. Meldon gives decision in the Carter and Tuohy murder trial. The "action of the constables were not by malice aforethought," and he would acquit them.—At Waterford Crimes Court, Mr. C. P. Redmond, proprietor and editor of the *Waterford News*, imprisoned for £3 months for intimidation.

THE VANS.

ON the 1st November, Van No. 3 commenced a four weeks' tour in the St. Augustine's Division of Kent.

The speakers included the Hon. Walter James, M.P., Dr. Aubrey, Mr. W. Martin Edmunds, Mr. E. Haviland Burke, Mr. R. Hanmer, and Mr. Wybroo.

Upwards of 80,000 leaflets were distributed by house to house visitation.

Places and dates of meetings as follows:—

November 1st	...	...	Northbourne.
" 2nd	...	...	Eastry.
" 4th	...	...	Staple.
" 5th	...	...	Adisham.
" 7th	...	...	Barham.
" 8th	...	...	Shepherds' Well
" 9th	...	...	Tilmanstone.
" 11th	...	...	Whitfield.
" 12th	...	...	Sutton.
" 14th	...	...	Ash.
" 15th	...	...	Wingham.
" 16th	...	...	Bridge.
" 18th	...	...	Littlebourne.
" 19th	...	...	Stelling.
" 20th	...	...	Elham.
" 21st	...	...	Lyminge.
" 22nd	...	...	Newington.
" 23rd	...	...	Alkham.
" 25th	...	...	Kearsney.
" 26th	...	...	St. Margaret's
" 27th	...	...	Kingsdown.

The tour was wound up by a great meeting held in the St. George's Hall, Deal, on November 28th, at which the chief speakers were the Right Hon. James Stansfeld, M.P., and Lady Sandhurst.

Mr. Stansfeld's address dealt mainly with Lord Salisbury's recent speeches at Nottingham.

Besides the meetings held with the Van, a series of seven lectures were delivered by Dr. Aubrey (Liberal candidate for the Horncastle division of Lincolnshire) in North Ayr. The selected Liberal candidate, Sir William Wedderburn, was present at most of these meetings. Mr. Joseph Brown delivered his lecture on "Ireland," illustrated with limelight views, at West Islington and Christchurch.

Besides these, lectures were delivered at De Beauvoir Town Reform Club, the Eleusis Club, Chelsea, and North Islington Central Liberal Club in London, and, in addition to these, lectures were delivered at Methwold, in South-west Norfolk, Windsor, Harrow, Enfield, Broadstairs, Spalding, and Gosterton.

The speakers were Michael Conway, Esq., M.P., Messrs. R. Hanmer, W. M. Crook, Dr. Bernard O'Connor, J. W. Welsford, Miss Chapman, and E. J. C. Morton.

HOME RULE UNION.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.—At a meeting of the Executive Committee, held on Tuesday, November 5th, 1889 (present: J. Allanson Picton, M.P., in

the chair; Mrs. Bryant, Miss Holcroft, Miss Monck, Dr. Bernard O'Connor, Mr. T. Eccleston Gibb, and the Secretary), the Secretary reported that he had received a letter from Mr. Holiday offering to execute a design to contain the resolution of thanks to the Irish hosts of the recent deputation from the Union, but refusing to accept any fee for the same; whereupon it was proposed by Mr. Allanson Picton, seconded by Mrs. Bryant, and carried unanimously: "That the Committee offer their sincere thanks to Mr. Holiday for his very generous offer."

The Secretary reported that he had already procured forty-six magic lantern slides, containing reproductions of photographs of Evictions, and that a large number of others, not to be obtained in the market, had been promised by gentlemen who had themselves taken the photographs. That Messrs. Costelloe, Crook, Hanmer, Lough, Scotter, and the Secretary had undertaken to prepare lectures to be illustrated by their slides.

The Secretary reported that in accordance with the resolution passed at the last meeting of the Executive, courses of three or four lectures on each of the following subjects—

- (1.) History of Ireland,
- (2.) The present condition of Ireland,
- (3.) Experiences of effects of Home Rule,
- (4.) The Remedy,

could be supplied by the Union, and in particular that Mr. Costelloe was at once ready to give a course of three lectures, entitled "The Remedy." Subjects as follows :

- (1.) The Principles of Home Rule;
- (2.) Mr. Gladstone's Bill of 1886;
- (3.) The next Home Rule Bill as foreshadowed in the speeches of the Liberal Leaders.

After some discussion the suggestion was approved of.

The Secretary was authorised to issue a circular inviting English ladies and gentlemen to form themselves into a permanent Vigilance Corps, a contingent of which should continually be maintained in Ireland under the direction of the Union.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee held on Tuesday, November 19th; present:—Mr. H. Holiday, in the Chair, Miss Monck, Dr. Bernard O'Connor, H. Boyd, and the Secretary, the Secretary gave an account of the arrangements that had been made to hold illustrated lectures on Irish evictions, whereupon it was proposed by Miss Monck, seconded by Mr. Hugh Boyd, and carried unanimously, "That the Secretary be authorised to expend a sum not exceeding £12

in purchasing a limelight lantern apparatus for the Union."

The affiliation of the Knowle and District Liberal Association to the Union was formally sanctioned.

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Subscriptions to the Home Rule Union should be sent to the Secretary, 17 & 18, Palace Chambers, Westminster. Annual Subscribers of Five Shillings and upwards to the Home Rule Union will receive the Monthly Journal free.

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* * * Communications. &c., relating to the supply of the JOURNAL should be addressed to the Hon. Treasurer; other communications to the Editor of the JOURNAL, 17 & 18, Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, Westminster.

THE WORK OF THE HOME RULE UNION.

THE Home Rule Union has now completed the third year of its existence. During that time the cause it has at heart has made great strides forward. The veil of ignorance and apathy that hid the true condition of Ireland from the English electorate has been rent asunder. The Home Rule Union can claim to have contributed more than any other organisation to that result. Opponents of Home Rule are in the habit of declaring that the country is tired of the Irish question. If there be any element of truth in this assertion it lies in the fact that the inhabitants of the great centres of population, who are the easiest to approach by educational methods, and can most rapidly indicate the conclusions they have come to, have by this time

learned the facts as to the misrule of Ireland, and have made up their minds in favour of Home Rule, and consequently are not now so eager to attend meetings held for the purpose of giving instruction in the facts of the Irish question as they were two or three years ago, before they understood them. Moreover, they know that the Septennial Act is still in force, and that the next Parliament will not take more than two sessions, probably no more than one, in passing Home Rule for Ireland, and they are naturally anxious to ascertain how the Home Rule Parliament they will elect will spend the remaining five or six years of its existence; hence, other questions are also beginning to interest them. But that these questions are secondary to Home Rule is sufficiently evidenced by the fact that every Liberal Candidate at every bye-election puts Home Rule for Ireland in the forefront of his programme, that at every bye-election the constituency is flooded with Parnellite Members of Parliament who talk of nothing but Ireland, and who form the chief attraction at the meetings, and at every bye-election the Liberal cause improves its position. Further, the requests for Parnellite M.P.'s to address meetings held in constituencies where no election is pending increases every month, and the Irish Press Agency is at its wits' end to satisfy the demands that are made upon it.

But the most striking illustration of the fallacy of the assertion that the country is tired of the Irish question is

to be found in the experience of the Home Rule Union. When the Home Rule Union was founded, it was the only organisation doing the work of education on the Liberal side. The Eighty Club was inactive owing to the fact that it had not then got rid of its coercionist members, and a large part of the meetings addressed by Parnellite M.P.'s during 1887 were arranged by the Union. During the year 1889 the Eighty Club did more work than in any previous year; very few of the meetings supplied by the Home Rule Union were addressed by Parnellite M.P.'s: the home counties' branch of the National Liberal Federation has been taking up the work of education and organising meetings; many local Liberal associations have been organising meetings and carrying on educational work of their own; and yet in spite of all this competition such has been the demand for information on the Irish question that the Home Rule Union has held more meetings and done far more educational work during the year 1889 than it did during either of the previous two years of its existence.

During the past year we have supplied the chief or only speakers to 503 meetings. Of these 337 were held with our travelling literature vans in country villages, where, in the majority of cases, no meetings could have otherwise been held. Each of these 337 meetings represent a greater amount of educational result than any ordinary meeting, inasmuch as it was held in connection with a systematic attack by means of a series of meetings, and an elaborate distribution of literature upon some one constituency. Forty of the 503 meetings were held in Ireland, in connection with the recent deputation, during the month of September. These meetings were of distinct value, insomuch as they gave the Irish people patience—the patience of hope—under the terrible provocation they have been receiving from the Government. The remaining

126 meetings were ordinary political meetings, for the purpose of listening to speeches or lectures on the Irish question. Of these 23 were lectures on Irish evictions, illustrated with photographs, shown by means of the lime-light, of actual eviction scenes that have taken place during the last three years. The Home Rule Union was the first organisation to adopt this method of political education. Mr. Joseph Brown, of Dewsbury, who we believe first started the idea, and who has always lectured gratuitously, illustrating his lectures with photographs he himself has taken, suggested that the Home Rule Union should take up the work, and generously offered to lecture under our auspices. He has done most valuable work for us during the past three years, and we have during the past month decided greatly to extend our efforts in this direction. The opponents of Home Rule have recently adopted the same method; but it is a significant fact that while all our illustrations are photographs of actual eviction scenes, all their illustrations are cartoons.

But the holding of meetings is by no means the only, nor perhaps the chief, educational work done by the Home Rule Union during the past year. The National Protest, which was the only movement that has actually influenced the policy of the Government and forced them to change the prison rules, was mainly carried out by the Union. The exhibition of the beautiful cartoons presented by Mr. Holiday to the Union, and which have been lent to a large number of great meetings throughout the country, has been in itself of educational utility. But, perhaps, among our most important achievements may be reckoned the distribution of literature by our travelling vans.

Whatever element of truth may underlie the assertion that the country is tired of the Irish question, certainly it does not apply to the country districts.

They have not yet learned the facts of our misrule in Ireland. They are difficult to get at by ordinary educational methods, and until we started our vans, eighteen months ago, no attempt had been made to educate them. But by our vans we bring information to the cottages of the electors. We have held tours of the vans in twenty-five constituencies during 1889, and in the course of these tours our vans have visited about 100,000 cottages, each of which represents at least one elector. The magnitude of this work will be realised when we point out that the total majority of the electors of the United Kingdom against Home Rule at the last General Election was only 84,000. By this house-to-house visitation we have distributed upwards of a million leaflets.

In the various educational efforts which we have described we have had many imitators. The illustration of political lectures by means of the magic lantern has been taken up all over the country, and the Home Counties Division of the National Liberal Federation has started a literature van. The Buckrose Division of Yorkshire and the county of Wiltshire have also started vans of their own. We have no jealousy of this imitation. We rejoice that the work should be done by whoever it is done, provided only it is done well. And this leads us to speak a word of caution. It does not follow that those who are the best organisers in the world are necessarily capable of doing good educational work. A mistake in a statement of fact, or an exaggeration that can be exposed, does incalculable harm to the cause. It is absolutely necessary that those who have charge of educational work should be complete masters of the subject it is their business to teach; and it is well that they should have experience in educational work. It is this that the Home Rule Union claims to guarantee in those who direct its efforts,

and it is on this ground that it makes its chief claim to support.

A great amount of work still remains to be done. With all our efforts we have as yet but touched the fringe of the country districts. Wherever our vans go they meet with earnest audiences anxious to learn the facts and eager to question the lecturer. This is the work that most needs doing.

In the present impoverished condition of the Liberal Party we suppose we have no right to complain of the smallness of the pecuniary support we receive, and, all things considered, we are probably as well off as other political organisations on our side, but the fact remains that we have to spend about three-quarters of our energy in raising the funds to enable us to spend the other quarter in doing the work.

The present year is likely to be the last we shall have in which to educate the country for the next General Election. We therefore appeal for the sinews of war to enable us to carry on and increase the work we have in hand.

THE ROOT OF OPPOSITION.

BY ALFRED WEBB.

YOUTHFUL politicians must feel puzzled at much of the opposition they encounter. Their course would be easy if they had to contend only with fools and knaves. But they find they must differ from some of the good and wise—often from the near and dear. Their elders know that some of the best movements have had to be carried in face of bitter opposition from excellent and cultivated men.

In this Home Rule cause of ours, what is a young man to answer when he is told by practical business men and experienced scholars, from the north and other parts of Ireland, that the Protestant intellect of the country will never submit to the measure? He will probably feel impressed and discouraged. If somewhat older, he would remember that the same language was used when it was proposed to emancipate the Catholics, to reform the Corporations, to abolish Tithes, to disestablish the Episcopal Church in Ireland. It

was said of each of these measures that it would "never, never be endured," and that it "would turn the country." Once passed, however, they have successively been accepted with equanimity; it has always been proved that no injury was done, and that the ordinary course of life has flowed on as before—but deepened, sweetened, and purified. And so will it be after Home Rule is established. Sir Walter Scott was one of the best and noblest of men. It is impossible to read his life without being struck still more by his lofty character and his common-sense wisdom, than by the splendour of his genius. Yet all the important measures passed within the present century upon the greatness of which the United Kingdom now undoubtedly rests, were either opposed by him, were by him regarded with suspicion, or were looked forward to with dread.

Take again the parrot-cries against "strong language." "My dear fellow, you know I would be with you but for the strong language of your friends." Great wrongs have never been effectually combated without the use of strong language, the unavoidable outcome of strong feelings; and without strong feeling no cause can succeed. The slaveholders in America cared nothing for the mild expostulations of philanthropists like Channing; the Jericho of slavery did not begin to totter to its fall until the trumpet was sounded by Garrison and his followers. A man who wishes to assist in good public work must be willing to stand shoulder to shoulder on the same platform with men whose intense convictions often cause them to make use of language stronger perhaps than that which he himself would think fit to use.

No form of political attack is more common than calling in question the character and intentions of opponents. How often one is greeted with "I am as much a Home Ruler as you"; or, "I would be as much for Land Reform as you, but how can you expect me to work with so and so?" This attitude should always be resented. It seeks to conciliate the persons to whom it is addressed (who generally feels himself to be an insufficient worker), while depreciating men under whom it is an honour to serve. It arises from ignorance. There never was a more high-minded set of patriots than the present Irish leaders and their British allies. Moreover, such strictures mean nothing. Home Rule was as fiercely opposed when it was in the hands of men whose character and intentions history has entirely vindicated; and those who say they are Home Rulers, and who, upon such grounds refuse to help, only want some excuse for their inaction or opposition. They never really sympathised with the cause, and never would under any circumstances. They gave just as little assistance in the days of the "mild" and "gentlemanly"

Home Government Association as they give at present.

There could be no better proof of the hollowness of such arguments than the conduct of Conservatives and Coercionists since the Piggot fiasco. For months we were deafened with arguments drawn from the appearance of the "letters." But since they were conclusively shown to be fabrications, it does not appear that the disclosure has touched the hearts or altered the position or action of any appreciable number of our opponents.

The resistance to Home Rule is really based, not upon the conduct of the National League or its supporters, the fear of Catholic domination or dread of separation, but upon the determination to retain ascendancy of the class in whose interest Ireland has hitherto been governed. There are in Ireland about thirty thousand heads of families (apart from the military) depending for support or advancement upon Government favour. They may be said to enjoy an heredity of patronage. They hoped to hand on their places to their children. Considering the position and influence* of these individuals, it is not surprising that they can make large and imposing demonstrations, can support newspapers, and move a political party. They have dominated the country to their own satisfaction. The higher classes of them represent much that is apparently most cultivated and advanced in the social order of Ireland. No wonder that their position is supported by many neither directly nor indirectly interested in the maintenance of the class. They are so blinded and bewildered by their fears, passions, and prejudices, that they cannot foresee, what they will soon find, that in the new Ireland before us they will have their share, and more, of the good things of life, without being troubled, as many of them must be at present, by the chronic misery, political turmoil, and constant unsettlement of their country.

The wider our views (whether drawn from personal experience or from reading) of the course of events in Ireland, the more clearly we can see through the sophisms of opponents, and recognize that the necessity of Home Rule is based primarily, not upon the existence of coercion, or upon the recurrence of heart-rending scenes at evictions, or upon any other symptoms of the evil of the present state of things, but radically upon the history, the relations, and the requirements of the two islands.

* Some time ago I was applied to by a poor working girl to interest myself in procuring for her a situation. Not hearing again from her, and making inquiries, I was told that her brother, a "constabulary man" had come to town, and, "as he had influence with the Government," I need not trouble myself further.

THE HISTORY OF THE ACT OF UNION.

BY GEORGE COFFEY.

From the *Church Quarterly Review*.

"UNIONISTS" commonly take their "facts" concerning the Union from Dr. T. Dunbar Ingram's "History of the Legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland." The writer of this so-called *history* should not be confounded with the eminent scholar, Dr. J. Kells Ingram, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin. The book is from beginning to end an infamous suppression and perversion of fact. It has no position with historians; but, as it has been much quoted by Unionists, and recommended to the English people as a handbook of the question, we think it necessary to briefly expose the imposture.

The following specimens of Dr. Ingram's *history* are taken from an excellent review of the book published in the *Church Quarterly Review*, January, 1888. The *Church Quarterly* cannot be accused of Home Rule prejudice on the subject. The article is not written in support of any political party, but simply in the vindication of truth, to clear the fame of history from the libels Dr. Ingram has published in its name.

Dr. Ingram states:—

"The Penal Code was enacted by the Irish Parliament after their ineffectual attempts to obtain legislative union with England (page 8).

"When England refused, or made no answer to the Irish request for a legislative union in 1703, the Irish Parliament, despairing of their power of maintaining themselves among a hostile people, resolved to reduce their opponents to political impotency by the enactment of the penal laws" (page 50).

Now what are the facts?

The first petition for a union was framed, as Dr. Ingram admits (page 10), October 20, 1703. The Penal Laws date from 1695. In 1697 it was enacted that "all popish archbishops, bishops, vicars-general, deans, Jesuits, monks, friars, and all other regular popish clergy, should, before May 1, 1698, depart out of Ireland. To remain entailed imprisonment, preliminary to transportation. To return was death. On the 28th September, 1703, before the petition of October 20, the terrible Act, subsequently passed, was introduced 'for preventing the further growth of Popery.'

"It aimed at the utter beggary and social degradation of the Catholics."

But what was this Petition of 1703. Dr. Ingram states:—"After enumerating their distresses they [the Commons] implored the Queen to concede the only means which could remove them—a firm and strict union with England" (page 6).

Again, what are the facts?

So far from representing a Union as the only remedy for their distresses, the Irish House of Commons merely named it as an alternative to the "restoration" of their legislative independence. The petition states:—"We, your Majesty's dutiful subjects, are fully convinced that nothing but frequent parliaments, with permission for them to sit and do the work of the nation, can prevent or reform so great and notorious abuses." And they conclude:—"We cannot despair of your Majesty's goodness being extended towards us in such prudent and gracious methods as may afford us relief according to the exigency of our condition, and by restoring us to a full enjoyment of our constitution, or by promoting a more firm and strict union with your Majesty's subjects of England," &c.

This is Dr. Ingram's petition for a union, the rejection of which necessitated the Penal Laws.

Take another instance of Dr. Ingram's method of writing *history*.

In 1785 certain proposals relating to English and Irish trade were drawn up in the form of eleven resolutions, and submitted by the Ministry to the Irish Parliament, by whom they were accepted with Grattan's cordial approval. The resolutions were viewed with much disfavour by the English manufacturers, who opposed the free admission of Irish goods; and so strong was the agitation against the resolutions that Pitt was forced to withdraw them when introduced in the English House of Commons, and re-cast them in the form of twenty modified resolutions.

Now for Dr. Ingram's account of the transaction. He says:—"These resolutions differed in number from those of Ireland, but they were practically the same" (page 64).

"They were received," he writes, "with an Irish howl" by the Irish Parliament. He speaks of the "fanatical" folly of Grattan's opposition. "Charles James Fox took," he says, "a very different view. Here are his words:—'The whole tendencies of the proposals appeared to him to go the length of appointing Ireland sole guardian of the laws of navigation, and grand arbitress of all the commercial interests of the empire'" (page 66).

But, again, how are the facts? Dr. Ingram actually applies to the twenty resolutions a speech of Fox upon the eleven resolutions which Grattan approved. This is singularly unfair, for Fox actually denounced the twenty resolutions when brought before the English Parliament in these words:—"I will not barter English commerce for Irish slavery; that is not the price I would pay, nor is this the thing I would purchase."

We have given three instances in particular of Dr. Ingram's method of writing *history* for Unionist circulation. Let us now take him in the bulk. He states that the Union was passed by methods

"free from any taint of corruption" (preface vii.). This statement embodies one of the main arguments of his book.

In spite of the wholesale destruction of evidence referred to by the editor of the "Cornwallis Correspondence," Mr. Ross's ample documentary evidence survives to refute this astounding statement, out of the very mouths of the chief actors in the transaction of the Union.

In January, 1799, Lord Castlereagh sent the Duke of Portland an analysis of a division, unfavourable to the Government, on an address containing the proposition of the Union. In this analysis occur the entries—

Against, or absent enemies ... 129
Of these, might be bought off... 20

June 19, 1799.—Lord Cornwallis, the Lord Lieutenant, wrote to General Ross:—

"If Lord D[ownshire] declares against us many of our recruits will insist on higher bounty."

June 21, 1800.—Lord Castlereagh wrote to his under secretary (Mr. Cooke):—

"If they (the Ministry) imagine they can take up popular grounds by disappointing their supporters, and by disgracing the Irish Government, I think they will find themselves mistaken. *It will be no secret what has been promised, and by what means the Union has been secured.* Disappointment will encourage, not prevent disclosure, and the only effect of such a proceeding on their part will be to add the weight of their testimony to that of the anti-Unionists in proclaiming the *profligacy of the means by which the measure has been accomplished.*"

We have confined our references to the *Church Quarterly Review*, the impartiality of which on the subject cannot be questioned by "Unionists."

It is, we believe, only necessary to place the above facts before the English people to dispose effectually of the "facts" and arguments concerning the Act of Union and the methods by which it was secured — unblushingly put forward on Unionist platforms.

UNION OR SEPARATION.

THE weakness of our opponents' cause is evidenced, among other ways, by the discourtesy and obvious unfairness of the nicknames they give us. They choose to call themselves "Unionists," and although the name, to a certain extent, begs the question, and implies an approval of their policy, yet we universally accord them the title they choose, and it is the name by which they are described in Radical as well as Tory, in Nationalist as well as "Unionist," newspapers. Yet they persistently insult us in the names by which they describe us and our policy. We call ourselves "Home Rulers," and the title is one which

carries with it no implication of approval or censure—it is a simple statement of our position and our claim. Yet the *Times* and the *Standard*, and all the smaller fry of Tory newspapers, universally call us "Separatists," although we not only deny that we desire separation, or that our policy tends towards it, but among the strongest reasons why we advocate Home Rule for Ireland is the one that we believe it must tend to increase the strength and the actual and available unity of the Empire.

The charge involved in the nickname "Separatist" is, however, missing its mark, as the electors of England are learning what is the policy that has tended towards the unity of this Empire in the past, and to recognise that, while blind Coercion lost us America, Home Rule has created the present loyalty of the Colonies to the mother country. But perhaps it is not sufficiently recognised yet that the unity of the Empire is only possible if the parts are united, and that those who are producing bitter alienation and hostility between two factions in any one part are rendering any real unity of the whole impossible. We shall therefore be able to see who in Ireland are best promoting the unity of the Empire at large by considering who are best promoting the unity of Ireland itself.

There is one piece of evidence, to which perhaps sufficient importance is not attached on this point,—viz., the songs of the two parties in Ireland. It is a curious fact that the idea of the dignity and well-being of Ireland as a whole never enters into any of the popular songs of the Irish opponents of Home Rule. The theme of the Unionist poets is everlastingly hatred and contempt for the religion of the vast majority of their countrymen, and their enthusiasm spends itself always in the attempt to feed the demon of religious discord. Here is an extract from "The Protestant Boys' Song Book," that may have suggested to Lord Salisbury his celebrated simile about "Hot-tentots":—

"More savage than New Zealanders, that cunning, ruthless race,
Like tigers, watching for their prey, spring from their lurking place;
United by a private oath their leaders to obey,
And, at the shortest notice, rise the heretics to slay.
Then band together firmly, and Popery over-threw,
Like to your gallant brethren, the boys of Sandy Row."

Or take the virulence contained in the following from a song entitled "A Word in Season," which should have been sufficient in itself to warn Mr. Balfour from his illstarred proposal for a Catholic University:—

"Why, why, oh Protestants! should we be taxed to pay a host
Of priests; to spit and trample on the truth we value most;

To teach sedition, blasphemy, and crime to all their slaves;
Why, why should we be forced to rear this gang of priestly knaves?"

The unity of the Empire could scarcely be promoted by cherishing the memory of deeds of violence long past, even if they had ever taken place, or by enshrining in song such allusions as are emphasised in the following lines:—

" By the dread recollection of horrors long past,
By the bigot, who still is as true to his cast ;
By the Pope and his minions, who plot to betray,
Up, Orangemen ! up ! and in battle array.
* * * * *

" By wife, home, and children, by friends and by kin,
By the one sacred triumph, of which Britons sing ;
By the laws as they were made to keep Papists down—
Up, Orangemen ! up ! and defend faith and crown."

The naïveté of the assertion in the last line but one, is delicious coming from one who professes to be a Protestant.

But perhaps the Separatist tendencies and wrong intentions of the Irish "Unionist" are still more clearly evident in the appeal to the fears of his co-religionists which are constantly cropping up in his songs, as for instance in the lines from "The Orange and Blue":—

" The demon of Popish rebellion
Again would his orgies begin ;
And the slaves of a vile superstition
Would rival the Sepoys in sin.
And the bold Orange sons of old Erin
The fight of the free shall renew,
And the cowardly traitors shall vanish,
At the sight of the orange and blue."

But on the other hand, in the Nationalist popular songs there is not to be found a passage appealing to factious feelings or religious animosity.

There is one poet whose songs are known and loved in every cottage in Ireland, and yet the spirit of true Unionism breathes in every line of Thomas Davis. Compare with the lines we have quoted from the "Unionists" songs, the following:—

" What matter that at different shrines
We pray unto one God ;
What matter that at different times
Our fathers won this sod —
In fortune and in name we're bound
By stronger links than steel ;
And neither can be safe nor sound
But in the other's weak.
* * * * *

" And oh ! it were a gallant deed,
To show before mankind,
How every race and every creed
Might be by love combined —
Might be combined, yet not forget
The fountains whence they rose,
As, filled by many a rivulet,
The stately Shannon flows."

Or, again, contrast the following from "Orange and Green," with the passage already quoted from "Orange and Blue":—

" Rusty the swords our fathers unsheathed—
William and James are turned to clay—
Long did we till the wrath they bequeathed ;
Red was the crop, and bitter the pay !
Freedom fled us !
Knaves misled us !
Under the feet of the foeman we lay.
Riches and strength,
We'll win them at length,
For orange and green will carry the day.
Landlords fooled us ;
England ruled us,
Hounding our passions to make us their prey ;
But in their spite,
The Irish unite,
And orange and green will carry the day."

It is precisely because of the fact asserted in the last verse—the fact that English Governments in the past have tried to cause separation and hostility among the people of Ireland, that Ireland is the standing menace to the unity of the Empire to-day; but English Governments have not yet finally succeeded in their effort. Irish Nationalists can still address their Orange opponents in the noble words of the "Song for the Twelfth of July":—

" Come pledge again thy heart and hand,
One grasp that ne'er shall sever ;
Our watchword be—"Our native land"—
Our motto—"Love for ever."
And let the orange lily be
Thy badge, my patriot brother—
The everlasting green for me,
And we for one another.
* * * * *

" Ev'n thus be, in our country's cause,
Our party feelings blended ;
Till lasting peace, from equal laws,
On both shall have descended.
Till then the orange lily be
Thy badge, my patriot brother—
The everlasting green for me,
And we for one another."

It is largely because we believe that Home Rule, when it is carried, will force the "Unionists" of Ireland to forego their bitter animosity, and to learn to live on terms of mutual goodwill and equality with their nationalist fellow countrymen, that we believe that Home Rule must tend towards the unity of the Empire.

THE STRUGGLE IN TIPPERARY.

As they were returning to Dublin at the conclusion of the tours of our deputation last September, those members of it who had visited Tipperary at the beginning of the tour, and an account of whose experiences there was given in the October number of this journal, found themselves at Limerick Junction one evening, and took the opportunity of driving out to Tipperary to see how matters were progressing.

They found that Mr. Cullinan, whose great organising abilities and energy makes him a

special mark for "law and order" prosecutions, had been served with another summons for inciting the mob to throw stones at the police during the "riots" from the 2nd to the 5th of September. Of course, he was absolutely innocent, and had done his best to prevent any rioting. In the presence of the delegates from the Home Rule Union, he happened to meet a professional gentleman in the town who had been with him on the night on which he was accused of inciting to rioting, and this was the conversation that passed between them :—

"They are going to have me up again. You were with me the whole of the night of September 4th, were you not?"

"Yes."

"Did I incite the people to attack the police in any way?"

"No! We were both of us doing our best to stop it."

"You could swear I was doing my best to stop it?"

"Yes."

"Then I shall want you to do so at my trial before the Removables."

"Och! begorra I won't."

"Why not?"

"Sure, I won't recognise these courts in any way whatever."

"Well," said Mr. Cullinan, as coolly as if he was considering a proposition of purely philosophical importance, "perhaps you are right."

This represents the attitude of mind of the Irish people towards the existing administration, and the spirit in which they are carrying on their resistance to it. During the same conversation we asked the gentleman whose conversation with Mr. Cullinan we have just recorded, what the people of Tipperary would do if Mr. Smith-Barry were to evict all his tenants, and practically clear the town. "Oh!" he said, "we have thought of that; and we will carry the town down to Limerick Junction"; and events have proved that this was no vain boast.

In the meantime the forces of the Crown have been all used against the tenants.

On September 30th, fifty-nine persons, including Mr. Cullinan, were tried for rioting on September 3rd, 4th, and 5th. O'Neill and Doherty, two tenants who had bought in their holdings, and had been boycotted ever since, in spite of the efforts of Mr. John Redmond, M.P., and others, at last obtained a chance of proving their desire to stand shoulder to shoulder with the other tenants. They were called as witnesses by Mr. Bolton, on behalf of the Crown, and they refused to give evidence, publicly stating in court that they regretted the mistake they had made in buying in their holdings. The evidence was, however, so strong, that the accused persons had

done their best to prevent stone throwing, that even the Removables had no alternative but to dismiss the cases. But Dublin Castle was not content to let matters rest there, so on October 3rd, and again on October 5th, nine young men in all were sentenced to terms of imprisonment, varying from two to six months, for the part they were alleged to have taken in the disturbances at the beginning of September.

On the other hand, a coroner's inquest had found District Inspector Carter and Constable Tuohy guilty of the murder of Heffernan, the boy who died of buckshot wounds inflicted by the police during the disturbances. Carter and Tuohy were arrested on October 2nd, but were at once admitted to bail; and on November 27th, two Resident Magistrates, before whom they were charged, refused the information, and they were released.

An act of folly, which those who had been watching events in Tipperary had been for some time expecting, was perpetrated by Mr. Balfour on October 11th, when he suppressed the National League in Tipperary and the two adjoining parishes that just comprised Mr. Smith-Barry's estate. As we pointed out in the October number of this journal, the whole organisation of the National League in the district was used to preserve order and prevent violence, and its suppression is only another proof that Mr. Balfour prefers meeting the methods of violence to meeting constitutional opposition.

On October 13th two meetings were held to protest against the suppression of the League, in spite of the fact that they had been proclaimed; and a large force of police was endeavouring to prevent their being held.

In the meantime the fight with Mr. Smith-Barry has been maintained with increasing spirit. At the quarterly pig fair held at Tipperary on October 7th, the people refused to pay tolls to Mr. Smith-Barry, the lord of the soil on which the fair was held; and although Mr. Smith-Barry's servants were assisted by the police, all that they were able to collect did not pay the day's expenses.

On October 17th a special meeting of Mr. Smith-Barry's tenants was held, at which, by the strong advice of Messrs. John Redmond, Gill, and Condon, Members of the Irish Parliamentary Party, the boycott was at last removed from the tenants who had bought in their holdings.

On the 19th a large number of notices of ejectment was served on Mr. Smith-Barry's Tipperary tenants, and on November 10th and 11th process of ejectment were obtained.

On November 4th sixty cattle belonging to six tenants who sold their holdings were seized at two o'clock in the morning for the difference between what they owed in rent and what their houses were bought for. This was the sign that the

landlord was hardening his heart, and, accordingly, on November 14th, a great crowd of men, gathered from ten miles round, and supposed to number about 800, assembled with 400 horses, and cleared the houses of the tenants threatened with eviction.

The goods so cleared were stowed away in a temporary shed, and now a large market is in process of construction upon a plot of land on the outskirts of the town, which does not belong to Mr. Smith-Barry. The evictions have taken place, and the old town of Tipperary is now forsaken by its wealthiest inhabitants. The first man to be put out was Mr. Michael O'Brien Dalton, who has sacrificed at least £5,000 by the determined stand he has taken. Since the evictions Mr. Smith-Barry has tried to "plant" the town. Placards have been posted on each of the evicted houses, with the following intimation: "To be let, pending redemption. Apply to the Smith-Barry Estate Office." Besides this a second public notice was issued by him, setting out the names of the evicted tenants, and stating that the premises of one and all were to be let. Yet these notices are without any effect whatever. Anyone taking the evicted holdings would be absolutely boycotted, and this, as we explained in our last article, by no form of conspiracy, but simply by the instinctive avoidance by the whole population of anyone who would so play into the landlord's hand. What can Mr. Balfour or any other anti-Irish administrator do against such a spirit and such a condition of things as we have described?

Throughout all this struggle the Government has exerted itself on the side of the landlord. This is how a correspondent on the spot described the state of things in the *Daily News* towards the end of December:-

"The town is overridden with constabulary. There are displays of armed men at every corner. None of the prominent evicted shopkeepers can walk down the street without having a policeman at his heels. Every visitor is closely watched, and is made to feel at every turn that a policeman's eye is upon him. Outside cars, driven by policemen, are constantly on the streets ready to follow any of the leaders of the movement who may have a reason to go out into the country. Police notetakers are scattered over the town with ready book and pencil to take notes which they cannot afterwards transcribe. Mr. M. O'Brien Dalton, the chairman of the Town Commissioners, sees his large premises in the main street used as a 'straw lodge' for the constabulary, and gutted and defaced every day before his eyes. Bailiffs who assisted at the evictions swagger in the gaiety of their hearts through the town. Tipperary, however, keeps its temper. It is devoting all its energies now to running up the new town. Mr.

D. Sheehy, M.P., has arrived to give assistance to the local leaders in directing the movement, and they have also the valuable aid of their near neighbour, the Mayor of Clonmel. By the time evictions may be again resumed the new town will be in existence, housing the tenants at present dispossessed and welcoming the new victims. During the last few days the police, with a view of getting up prosecutions for conspiracy, have visited several of the principal shopkeepers still in possession of their business premises, and demanded to be served. They were refused in every case. A funny incident occurred during the visit to the grocery establishment of Mr. Michael O'Dwyer, the secretary to the National League. A sergeant, attended by two constables and a note-taker, entered the shop. 'Give me two dozen of porter' said he, laying two shillings on the counter. 'No,' replied Mr. O'Dwyer emphatically. 'Take that down,' said the sergeant, addressing the note-taker, and the latter made an entry in his book. Turning to Mr. O'Dwyer the sergeant asked, 'Will you assign a reason for refusal?' 'Certainly,' replied Mr. O'Dwyer. 'I have always done without the custom of the police, and I can do without it now.' 'Have you that down?' said the sergeant again to the note-taker. 'I think I have,' answered the note-taker in doubtful tones; 'he went too fast, get him to say it again.' 'Read what you've got,' said the sergeant. 'He said,' answered the note-taker falteringly, he said, 'Oh yes, I've got it; he said, I have always been in the—in the—custody—yes, custody of the police, and I can do without 'em now.' 'All right,' remarked the intelligent sergeant, 'that will do,' and taking up his two shillings, he said to Mr. O'Dwyer, 'You'll hear more about this,' and left amid the ironical laughter of the parties in the shop. Mr. O'Brien Dalton, who may be described as the leader of the townspeople, was interviewed, and in reply to a question as to the probability of a settlement, he said "We don't think of that. We are now working to make ourselves independent of a settlement, and we shall succeed. We don't care how remote a settlement may be. When a settlement does come—for, of course, the present state of things will not continue always—the shops, what with the opening of the new town and the shifting of trade, will have lost one-half or two-thirds their value. As a first condition of a settlement we shall insist on Mr. Smith-Barry making compensation for this depreciation of property in the rents. In the event of the fight lasting three years, Mr. Smith-Barry's capital loss will be not less than £60,000. It is safe to say that every sufferer from eviction from shop or farm will in the end be restored to the exact position of which Mr. Smith-Barry has deprived him."

And in spite of all this struggle, and the pecuniary loss it entails on them, the first instalment of the subscription of the parish and town of Tipperary to the new Tenants' Defence League, collected at the chapel gate, amounted to the sum of £405.

FOUR MONTHS FOR BLOWING HORNS.

AT Conna Petty Sessions, on Friday, December 6th, before Colonel Longbourne, Colonel Desbarres, and Mr. Braddell, two young men named John Cahill and Pat Donovan were summoned under an Act of Edward III., the charge being as follows:—"That you intend to break the public peace, and to cause annoyance to certain persons at Towermore, inasmuch as you did, within two months past, take part, with certain other persons unknown, in disturbing the public peace, in and near Towermore, by blowing horns; and did, on 21st November, 1889, at Towermore, unlawfully disturb the public peace by blowing a horn with the intention of causing annoyance to certain persons residing at Towermore."

The summons went on to command the defendants to appear at Conna to-day, to show cause why they should not be required to give bail to be of good behaviour, or in default of so doing, to be imprisoned for such period as the justices should by order adjudge.

District-Inspector Ball, Fermoy, prosecuted, and Mr. Richard Rice defended.

The cases excited intense interest, as they arose out of the taking of an evicted farm at Coole by Mr. M'Causland and his steward, Mr. Brown, in connection with which Rev. Father O'Dwyer and others are at present suffering long terms of imprisonment in Cork Jail. The case against Cahill was first heard.

Constable Fahy deposed—I am at the protection post at Towermore to protect Mr. Brown and the Emergencymen there. He is obnoxious and boycotted. I saw defendant on 21st November in a field of his employer's blowing a horn at intervals for more than two hours. The hornblowing is calculated to disturb the peace, and is continued day and night. I went to him and found a horn in his pocket. I asked him did he know it was an annoyance, and he said he knew it was, and that his master had told him not to blow any more. Sergeant Blair served him with the summons, and he said he supposed he could blow now as long as he liked, and would do so.

Cross-examined—He heard hornblowing in Coolagoway before Mr. Brown took the farm.

Acting-Sergeant Blair deposed he was in charge of the protection post at Towermore. The hornblowing had gone on ever since he went

there in September, and had increased very much lately. It was an annoyance to the people in Towermore, and complaints were made about it.

Cross-examined—So far as he was personally concerned, he did not care if they were blowing till the general resurrection (laughter). He was not annoyed.

Constable Kaye deposed that the horn-blowing originated with the collection of the Leahy tax, and was for the purpose of gathering crowds and annoying the police.

District-Inspector Ball—That is my case.

Mr. Rice addressed the Bench at great length for the defendant.

Mr. Braddell declined to retire with the other magistrates, who, after a short absence, returned to court.

Colonel Longbourne said that they were quite satisfied from defendant's own statement to the constable that he intended to give annoyance; and he should give bail, himself in £20 and two sureties of £10, to be of good behaviour for twelve months, or, in default, to go to gaol for four months.

The defendant, who refused to give bail, was then taken into custody.

A Voice—There will be more horn-blowing now than ever.

The case against Donovan was then taken up, and evidence being of a similar nature, a like rule was made.

The defendant said he would give no bail, as he had committed no crime.

District-Inspector Ball said that he had been commissioned by Colonel Turner to say that if this lawlessness was continued a police hut would be erected, and an extra force of police drafted here, the expense of which would have to be borne by the parish; also that it was the habit to set children blowing horns, and Colonel Turner directed him to announce that there was power under the Act, which would be put into force, whereby the children could be sent to a reformatory for terms of from two to five years, the parents having to bear the cost of their maintenance while there.

NOTES BY THE WAY.

Under the Mask of Religion.—During our deputation to Ireland last September, a meeting was addressed by the members of the southern contingent at Mallow on a Sunday, and on arriving at Dublin at the close of the tour, Mr. Stansfeld received the following letter:

"Island View, Howth, co. Dublin,

"September, 1889.

"You Sabbath breakers and disturbers. What authority have you to come here? The Lord

God smite you with a *cancer on the tongue* on the next occasion you move it in speech on the Lord's Day.

"J. H. L.

"Mr. Stansfeld, M.P."

Irish Nationalists and the Queen.—Those who profess to be animated in their opposition to Home Rule by loyalty to the throne may be reasonably expected to explain how it is that the assurance of ultimate triumph of the Home Rule cause has already completely changed the feelings with which the Irish Nationalists regard the Crown. The latest instance of this was the banquet at which the outgoing Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Thomas Sexton, M.P.) entertained some 600 of the citizens on Saturday, December 28th. The health of the Queen was not only proposed by the Lord Mayor, but was drunk with enthusiasm by the whole of those present, representing, as they did, all sections and classes of the community. In proposing the health of the Queen, the Lord Mayor administered a fitting rebuke to those who are constantly endeavouring to drag the Crown into the arena of party politics, in order to benefit their own side. He said that "the toast of the health of the Sovereign was sometimes received with considerable animation by those who regarded the throne, and the occupant of the throne, as part of a system of politics and law which seemed to assure to themselves, or to their class, a continuance of peace, advantage, or emolument. Such demonstrations in his humble judgment did injustice to the Sovereign. The motives of himself and those who thought with him were certainly not of that questionable kind. They did not possess or enjoy any favours of the Court or the Crown. They claimed none, they sought none, they desired none. Their claims and their desires were for public right alone. They took no churlish view of the Sovereign or of the Royal House. The Irish members lately showed upon a remarkable occasion that they were willing to concur in making a fair and even generous provision for the family of the Heir Apparent. Their actions and words showed that they respected the Sovereign, who had set an example in her Court and by her life, and who had conducted a long reign of more than fifty years in conformity with the spirit of the Constitution in regard to the Sovereign's duty. That reign had witnessed a development and progress of the British Empire which was without precedent, certainly without contemporary parallel, except in the case of the United States alone. That reign they could not forget, had also witnessed the decay of Ireland—her decay in population, her decay in agricultural fruitfulness, her decay in manufacturing industry, her decay in general industry, and in every element of prosperity and content. But they traced those

deplorable effects to their true cause, and they did not hold the Sovereign in any degree responsible. The true cause was that the elective franchise and the machinery of political rules were in the hands of a class, and were used by those who controlled them in the interest of a class, and against the interests of the people. Till now the people of Great Britain had not the knowledge, and they had not the power, to put an end to the miseries of Ireland. But now, for the first time, the people had the knowledge and they had the power. (Hear, hear.) The Queen had not refused her consent to any Act presented to her by both Houses, and she would not refuse her assent to a Home Rule Act when such a measure would be sent before her in due time. (Applause.) He had faith in the people of England, Scotland, and Wales, as well as the people of Ireland; and it was in the spirit, first, of his faith in the people and in their determination to do justice to Ireland, and, secondly, in a spirit of confidence that the Sovereign would be found with readiness and in good faith to ratify the people's will, that he invited them to honour the toast of her Majesty the Queen."—(Loud applause.)

Dissentients in Difficulties.—The stamping out of Liberal Unionism goes on apace. In the early part of December, Mr. Bickford Smith, the Dissident M.P. for the Truro Division, held a series of meetings throughout his constituency, and in spite of Tory support he met with very strong opposition at nearly every meeting, and at three, —viz., at Truro, Parranforth, and Chacewater—votes of no confidence were carried against him. At his first reverse he was accompanied by Mr. T. W. Russell, who was very unfavourably received, and consequently he was replaced at the subsequent meetings by Mr. Palton, with, however, no better result.—On December 23rd, Mr. Thomas Sutherland, M.P. for Greenock, addressed his constituents in the Town Hall, and at the end of his address a vote of confidence in him was moved, but an amendment of no confidence was carried by a large majority.

Two Entrances.—“Twenty years of resolute Government” are all very well to talk about; but Lord Salisbury is—or ought to be—a practical Statesman, and not a mere political theorist; and he knew when he entered upon his coercion policy that seven and not twenty years was all the time he had any right to reckon on in which to bring it to a successful issue. Half the seven years has passed, and there is no indication that the Irish are becoming one whit more reconciled to the existing system. On the 14th December the representative of the existing system, the new Lord Lieutenant, made his “state entry” into Dublin. An address was presented by some of the “Loyal

Minority," but no popular enthusiasm whatever was shown, and the streets were not crowded. But six days later a very different entry was made. This time it was a "criminal" just released from jail, where he had been shut up for opposing the existing system, and yet the "criminal" is still the darling of the Irish people. Mr. William O'Brien was released from Galway Goal at 9 o'clock in the morning; the carriage of the bishop of the diocese was waiting for him and took him to the palace. Addresses from a religious society, from the town commissioner, and from the Mechanics' Institute, were presented to him. From Galway he went to Loughrea. All along the route people gathered to meet him, and formed an enormous procession that accompanied him to Loughrea, where he was met by the Bishop of Clogfert. All along the line to Dublin he was met at the stations by enthusiastic crowds, and addresses of congratulation and confidence were poured in upon him. At the Broadstone terminus, in Dublin, he was met by a great assembly with bands and torches, who conducted him through the streets amid great enthusiasm to the Imperial Hotel, from the balcony of which he addressed the people. He said: "Going into jail and coming out of jail had become so ordinary an incident of life in Ireland that he was perfectly astounded at that glorious and unparalleled demonstration of welcome. He need hardly tell them that what he was when he went into prison he was the same coming back—only a little more so—and he was proud to find that the Irish people also were not only the same, but a good deal more so." The worst of it, from the point of view of Lord Salisbury and those whom he leads—whether real Tories or sham Liberals—is that these words express nothing but the truth.

Mr. Parnell's Speeches.—Two of Mr. Parnell's rare appearances on the platform were made at Nottingham on the 17th, and at Liverpool on the 19th of December. They serve, as his speeches always do, to remind us of the extraordinary moderation of his demand, and the thoroughly practical nature of his aim. He wants to foster industries in Ireland, and he cannot do that without Home Rule. This is his point, and he had little difficulty in explaining, on the one hand, that while the Irish Nationalist Parliament is attacking this problem, it will have little inclination and little time to attempt to produce separation between Ireland and England, and on the other that the solution of the problem, or even the attempt to solve it on Irish soil by an Irish Parliament, must tend to attract the Irish population back to Ireland, and so relieve the Irish competition from which English labourers suffer in England. Though all his Nottingham and Liverpool speeches were illuminated with the familiar, cold,

clear light, the speech at the Liverpool banquet was marked by an unwonted vigour, almost passion of expression. One curious incident is worth recording, the audience were Englishmen; the Irish of Liverpool had presented their address earlier in the day. Mr. Parnell, in his speech, spoke of "my country," whereupon voices shouted, "Our, our!" the correction was perhaps illogical, but the motive of the interruption was obvious.

Public Works in Ireland.—The practical nature of the grievances that the refusal of Home Rule inflicts on the Irish people is shown by instance after instance, given throughout Mr. Parnell's speeches, of the wretched failure of the present system of administration in Ireland. Take the following passage:—"Two harbours had to be built in Ireland, in my native county of Wicklow. The one was built by the English Government, by the Board of Works and the English Engineering Department, and the other was built by the people of the locality, by an engineer chosen by themselves, and under their own superintendence. I refer to the harbours of Wicklow and Arklow. The harbour of Wicklow was built by an engineer employed by the locality, and it was not blocked up by the sand. It stood the storm of the years—about seven or eight—which have lapsed since. It has given no signs of decay or falling off, but has proved itself efficient for the purpose intended. And the harbour of Arklow? It was built by the Board of Works, the Government Department. It was situated on the same coast, was under very similar circumstances, and was within ten miles of the Wicklow Harbour. The opinion of the people of the locality was systematically disregarded from first to last. Large sums of money were spent upon it—your money by the way. (Laughter.) The estimate was considerably exceeded, and as the result of these exertions the Government only succeeded in building one of the piers, leaving the other piers absolutely unfinished. As a consequence of the first winter storm the pier which they had succeeded in building tumbled down into the sea, and the unfortunate Arklow people, after having been taxed for part of the cost of this harbour, are now mournfully contemplating the ruins of the harbour, which have been washed across the entrance by the seas, and which absolutely preclude either ingress or egress. So it has been in every case and everywhere. In the West of Ireland the fishery piers are a scandal and a disgrace. If it were possible for the Government Department to build a fishery pier where it was not wanted, that fishery pier was built. If it were possible for them to spend more money than was necessary for the structure, that excess of money was spent."

The Plan of Campaign.—Mr. Parnell also put his finger on the salient point (for English observers and politicians) of the "Plan of Campaign." He said: "I have been a sort of non-combatant, but I have been looking on closely, and I think I can see pretty well what the faults on both sides have been. I am not going to tell you what have been the faults on our side. They have not been very large, nor have they been very numerous. I candidly admit that had I been concerned in the matter myself, I probably should have committed a great many more. But there is one thing I must claim, and it is a true claim, for the gentlemen who were concerned, who were responsible for the Plan of Campaign—while, on the one side they have prevented evictions and saved the Irish tenants from extermination, they have, on the other, kept their movement absolutely free from crime, and from the unhappy accompaniments which have gone along with agrarian movements in other countries. Their success has been undoubtedly remarkable and extraordinary in this respect. On none of the Plan of Campaign estates has there been an outrage to property, person or life; and this is something to be proud of, and is something we ought to place to the credit of these men. The only excuse that has ever been alleged against the right of combination in Ireland on the part of the tenants is that combination leads to outrage and crime. The only reason that has ever been given why boycotting was wrong and criminal was that the sanction of boycotting was a crime; but in this case combination has not led to crime, in this case boycotting has not had this effect. The working of this movement upon these estates in Ireland has been absolutely crimeless, and the method of conducting their agitation will, I think, hereafter serve as a model to all persons who desire to combine as workers in a great self-protecting movement for the purpose of securing their own rights."

Mr. Shaw-Lefevre.—The recent visit of Mr. Shaw-Lefevre to Ireland has been carried out by him in a spirit of chivalry which is too much lacking in our leaders. Mr. Shaw-Lefevre has attended a series of meetings on campaign estates, and advised the tenants to stick by their combinations. Many an Irish member of Parliament has been imprisoned for much less than this, and it is generally understood that Mr. Balfour has been seriously considering the advisability of prosecuting Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, but that in the end his courage was not equal to the task. He will probably make up for his defeat by again insulting Mr. Shaw-Lefevre in the House of Commons at his next opportunity. In the meantime, having let a Privy Councillor go scot free, it will be distinctly harder, even for one so impervious to considerations of chivalry as Mr. Balfour, to

prosecute less important people for giving the same advice.

The Collections.—We give in another column a letter on this subject from Mr. Lough. The facts he alludes to are evidently troubling the authorities considerably, for we hear from Fermanagh that the police in the different parts of the county are watching very closely how the fund is collected and who are the subscribers. A circular has been issued from Dublin Castle to the Royal Irish Constabulary, embracing the following heads, of which the Constabulary are instructed to take a careful note, and forward the same to the Castle authorities aenent the collection of the fund: "Was intimidation used?" "Were there any threats of boycotting?" "Was it (the fund) collected in the chapel, or how was the collection made?" "What was the amount?"

Death by Eviction.—An eviction took place on December 16th, at Cahercon, co. Clare, on the estate of Colonel the Hon. Chas. White, which was associated with a melancholy incident. The tenant, named O'Driscoll, owed two-and-a-half years' rent, and he declined to pay this, in consequence of the refusal of the landlord to make any allowance for the erection of a bank, which the tenant considered to be the only means by which the holding could be protected from total destruction by the tidal water. There was no resistance to the eviction, and possession was quietly taken. Immediately after the ejectment decree was obtained against O'Driscoll, he and his wife died, leaving a family of five orphans, the eldest being only twelve years of age.

The Resignation of Mr. Justice O'Hagan.—The resignation of Mr. Justice O'Hagan from the judicial membership of the Land Commission removes whatever little confidence was previously felt in the Commission by Irish tenants. Mr. Justice O'Hagan was popularly supposed to be the weakest member of the Commission, but was at least believed to be in sympathy with the tenants. He has frequently been in a minority of one, and it is generally believed that his resignation is due to differences with his colleagues, connected with the forthcoming Report of the Commission.

DIARY OF THE MOVEMENT.

December 1.—First day for collection for Tenants' League in Ireland.

December 2.—Commencement of the Annual Meeting of the National Liberal Federation at Manchester. Speech by Mr. Gladstone in the Free Trade Hall. Speeches by Mr. Stansfeld,

Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, and Lord Ripon. Speech by Mr. Balfour, laying down three impossible conditions for dealing with higher education in Ireland.

December 3.—Speech by Mr. Gladstone at Manchester. Speeches by Lord Aberdeen and Sir William Harcourt. Meeting of the Women's Liberal Federation. First receipts for Tenants' Defence League—Tipperary sends £1,000, Kilkenny £250, Louth 300. Conventions held at Waterford and Limerick. Further evictions at Tipperary. Editor of *Waterford News* sentenced to two months' imprisonment for articles in his paper.

December 4.—Evictions continued at Tipperary. Manager of *Munster Express* sentenced at Waterford to two months' imprisonment for publishing reports of League meetings. Mr. Shaw-Lefevre arrives in Dublin. Speech by Mr. Gladstone in Manchester.

December 5.—Tenants at Tipperary removing their goods. Twenty-six new eviction notices served. Tenants' Defence League Convention for co. Carlow held.

December 6.—Captain Plunkett died at Cork. £1,000 sent from Cork as first instalment to Tenants' Defence League. Evictions at Tipperary resumed; emergency men break the windows of vacated shops. "Pether the Packer" sworn in as Lord Chief Justice of Ireland. Town of Sligo proclaimed under the Coercion Act. Speeches by Mr. Labouchere and Mr. H. H. Fowler.

December 7.—Evictions resumed at Tipperary.

December 9.—Sir George Trevelyan at Leicester.—Mr. Shaw-Lefevre at Tipperary; the police prevent an address being presented to him.—County Convention of Tenants' Defence League for Longford.

December 10.—Lord Spencer at Hertford.—Sir George Trevelyan at Leicester.

December 11.—Tenants' Defence League Convention in the Rotunda, Dublin.—Speech by Archbishop Walsh—Convention in co. Sligo.—The parish of Naas proclaimed under the Coercion Act.

December 12.—Mr. Shaw-Lefevre at Drogheda; freedom of the borough conferred on him.—Armagh County Convention of the Tenants' Defence League.

December 13.—Lord Hartington at Rossendale.—Mr. Stansfeld, Sir Charles Russell, and Sir Lyon Playfair on the Irish Question.—Evictions commenced on the estate of the Drapers' Company at Draperstown.—Second subscription of £1,000 from Cork for the Tenants' Defence League.

December 14.—State entry of the New Lord Lieutenant into Dublin.—Meeting at Tipperary addressed by Mr. John O'Connor, M.P.—Lord Hartington at Bacup.—Sir Charles Russell at Darlaston.

December 16.—Evictions carried out at Cahercon, co. Clare, and at Draperstown, on the Drapers' Company's estate.

December 17.—Mr. Parnell visits Nottingham, and is entertained at lunch at the Liberal Club, and speaks shortly. In the evening he addresses a great meeting in the Albert Hall.—Lord Spencer speaks at Birmingham.—Further evictions carried out in the town of Tipperary.

December 18.—Mr. Parnell leaves Nottingham for Hawarden on a visit to Mr. Gladstone. At Derby, Uttoxeter, and Stoke he is greeted by enthusiastic crowds.—Convention of the landlords of Ireland meets in Dublin.—Convention of the co. Antrim under the auspices of the Tenants' Defence Association held at Belfast.

December 19.—Mr. Parnell visits Liverpool, and is presented with an address by the Irish of the City in the City Hall, in reply to which he delivers a speech. In the evening he is entertained at a banquet at the Reform Club, and delivers the most important speech of his tour.—The landlords in the Convention in Dublin pass a resolution in favour of increasing the number of "occupying owners" in Ireland.

December 20.—William O'Brien released from Galway Gaol amid great demonstrations of popular enthusiasm repeated all along his journey to Dublin.—Cork contributes the third £1,000 to the Tenants' Defence League.

December 21.—New trial refused Mr. W. O'Brien in his action against Lord Salisbury.

December 22.—Cork sends its fourth £1,000 to the Tenants' Defence League.

December 23.—Smith-Barry's Cashel tenants refuse to pay rent until he withdraws from the land syndicate.—Thirty additional eviction notices served on Ponsonby tenants.

December 27.—Mr. William O'Brien at Tipperary.

December 28.—Banquet at the Mansion House, Dublin.

December 30.—Resignation of Mr. Justice O'Hagan from the judicial membership of the Land Commission announced, and Mr. Commissioner Little appointed to the office; the Local Commissionership vacated by Mr. Little filled by a son of Lord Fitzgerald.—Evictions at Tipperary resumed.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE COLLECTIONS.

To the Editor of the HOME RULE UNION JOURNAL.

SIR,—Having just returned from a short stay in Ireland—the second within three months—it

occurs to me to send you my impressions of the political progress the people there are making. After a short stay in Dublin and one or two other parts of Leinster, I made most of my holidays on both occasions in a portion of Ulster where there is a fair sprinkling of Protestants among the population. At every railway station we were dogged by the police; they peered into the carriages where our party sat, brushed past us on the platforms, and by every means indicated their extreme suspicion concerning our movements. There was no trouble in ascertaining the feelings of the people, for in all parts there was but one subject of talk—the collections. Taking into account the agricultural depression, the poverty of the country, and the recent efforts which they have been making, one would say that nothing was so unlikely to arouse the enthusiasm of the farmers as a collection. What with supporting the National League, their Parnell funds, testimonials, and other great subscriptions of the last few years, onlookers could not wonder if their purses and patience were both exhausted. At any rate, the greatest sceptic must admit that no higher proof of devotion to the cause can be given than a willingness to undertake new financial obligations in its support. Within a month or two of the day the Tenants' Defence Fund was started it has amounted to £27,000. This large sum has not come from America, or the wealthy colonies of Britain, but is the freewill offering of the poorest peasantry in Europe. Every day the lists are acknowledged from every part. The four provinces vie with each other; each county, each parish, each townland has entered into a joyous emulation as to which will pay most promptly the largest amount. The minimum contribution is 3d. in the pound on the valuation. Lists are made out from the rate books in every district, with these the collectors go round and seldom have to pay a second visit. I saw several, and was assured that their office was far more pleasant than that of most tax-gatherers. Generally the money was folded up and waiting for them. I saw the names of Protestants, and was assured that in most instances they paid as readily as any other. One subscriber was a reformed emergencyman. I understand that Dublin Castle is much agitated on the matter, and in the district in which I was staying the police had orders to watch the collectors, reporting specially how the Protestants received them. From all that I could gather, these police reports will be far from pleasing to the Government, but they exhibit the "success" of the Unionist rule in its true colours. However it may be at the moment in England with the

Home Rule question, in Ireland the spirit of the people never ran higher, and no one who visits them can doubt their firmness or their unanimity.—Yours, &c.,

THOMAS LOUGH.

THE LATE MRS. BEESLY.

By MISS A. EARLEY (one of her Committee).

AN active and much-valued member of the Executive and Ladies' Committees of the Home Rule Union, and the Founder and President of our Paddington Women's Liberal Association, passed away last month. When, to our profound regret, failing health necessitated the resignation of Mrs. Beesly, we little dreamt that she was rapidly hastening to the close of life's journey. How greatly we miss her in our meetings no words can express. Her patience, gentleness, tact, and courtesy were felt by us all, and won her our most affectionate esteem.

Sympathy with the Irish people was among her most deep-lying emotions, and it brought forth abundant fruit. Her intense pity inspired her to strenuous deeds of service. Much of her leisure was spent in efforts to arouse and enlist the sympathies of other women in the cause which lay so near her heart. By the reading and discussion of Irish history she sought to bring home to their minds a sense of the accumulated wrongs to be atoned for; by the sacrifice of endless time and effort she set on foot, and encouraged them in, acts of practical and kindest helpfulness; and we recall meetings at her own house for the making and repairing of clothes that were to be distributed in some of the most poverty-stricken regions of the sister isle; and remember how she cheered and brightened our labours on these occasions by graphic narratives from her own Irish diary, and vivid sketches of the generous, courteous, humorous, loving, and marvellously patient people, amongst whom she had spent one of the happiest periods of her life.

Her new version of "The Wearing of the Green" was truly an echo from her own warm heart. It has been sung with fervour at many a public meeting, and will long preserve the memory of as true a friend of Irish emancipation as ever lived.

MEETINGS IN DECEMBER.

DURING the month of December none of our Vans were at work, but thirty-five lectures were delivered. Of these twenty-one were on Irish evictions, illustrated with magic-lantern views. The lecturers included Dr. Aubrey, Messrs. Joseph Brown, B. F. C. Costelloe, R. Hanmer, E. John

Harry, Thomas Lough, E. J. C. Morton, and R. Scotter. The dates and places were as follows:—
December 2, 3, and 4, North Wilts.

- ” 5, Central Hackney.
 - ” 6, Bermondsey.
 - ” 10, West Cambis.
 - ” 12, High Barnet.
 - ” 13, Poplar.
 - ” 15, North Camberwell.
 - ” 16, Highgate.
 - ” 17, Poplar and East St. Pancras.
 - ” 18, Addisonton, Holborn, South Islington, and Enfield.
 - ” 19, Woking.
 - ” 20, Knowle.
 - ” 29, Deptford.
 - ” 30, Paddington and Ponders End.
- Besides these, fourteen lectures on “Coercion” were delivered on the dates and places as follows:
- December 5, Ramsgate.
 - ” 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13, Loughborough Division of Leicestershire.
 - ” 10, Camberley.
 - ” 11, Sheerness and Crouch End.
 - ” 13, Woolwich.
 - ” 16, Hull and the Strand.
 - ” 17, Dunmow.
 - ” 18, East St. Pancras.

The speakers were Lady Sandhurst, Captain Verney, Messrs. J. Carvell Williams, George Coffey, R. Hanmer, Thomas Lough, and E. J. C. Morton.

HOME RULE UNION.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee held on Tuesday, December 3rd (present: Dr. Bernard O'Connor, in the chair; Mrs. Bryant, Miss Holcroft, Miss Monck, Messrs. Hugh Boyd, T. Eccleston Gibb, and the Secretary), the Secretary laid before the Committee the circumstances concerning the visit of Canon Keller to London, whereupon it was proposed by Mrs. Bryant, seconded by Miss Holcroft, and carried unanimously:—“That the arrangements for Canon Keller's meetings in London be left in the charge of the Hon. Treasurer and the Secretary, and that it be an instruction to them to secure as many meetings as Canon Keller would be willing to address in large halls in various parts of London.”

At a meeting of the Executive Committee held on Tuesday, December 17th (present: Mr. H. Holliday, in the chair; Miss Cobden, Miss Monck, Messrs. Hugh Boyd, Eccleston Gibb, and the Secretary), it was proposed by Mr. Gibb, seconded by Miss Cobden, and carried unanimously:—“That this Executive Committee expresses its deep sympathy with Professor Beesly

and his family in the great loss they have sustained, and desires to place on record their high appreciation of the valuable services rendered by Mrs. Beesly to this Union, and to the cause it has at heart.”

It was proposed by the Secretary, seconded by Miss Monck, and carried unanimously:—“That this Committee expresses its warmest thanks to Miss Holcroft for the valuable services she so long rendered as Hon. Assistant Secretary to the Home Rule Union.”

The Chairman announced that a memorial was being prepared by the English visitors who were present at the trial of the Gweedoore prisoners at Maryborough, with a view of securing the release of the prisoner Coll; whereupon a resolution was proposed by Mr. Gibb, seconded by Miss Monck, and carried unanimously:—“That the English visitors at the Maryborough trials be requested to forward a copy of the memorial to the Home Rule Union, with a view of the Union taking action upon it.”

It was decided to close the office from Saturday, December 21st, to Monday, December 30th.

At a meeting of the Ladies' Branch of the Home Rule Union, on November 29th, it was resolved that the Ladies' Branch should be amalgamated with the general Union. It was felt that the separate existence of the Branch had served a most useful purpose by bringing many women into the ranks of the workers for Home Rule. Now, however, women join the Union as readily as men, and their presence on the Executive has become a familiar fact; so there seems to be no longer any reason for a ladies' separate branch.

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* * Communications, &c., relating to the supply of the JOURNAL should be addressed to the Hon. Treasurer; other communications to the Editor of the JOURNAL, 17 & 18, Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, Westminster

OWING to unavoidable accidents our issues for January and February have been delayed. The March number will be published in the second week of the month, and subsequent numbers in the first week.

THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSION.

In the summer of 1888, when the Government were hurried by the young men of the Unionist Party into passing the Special Commission Bill, they received warnings from their own side of the danger which they ran. It was Professor Dicey, we think, who told them that they were playing for high stakes, and that if they lost the game the English people, loving fair-play, would insist that the stakes should be handed over. The

Government and their followers were deaf to the warnings. They were eager for an investigation which could not fail, they thought, to result in a finding that Mr. Parnell wrote the famous letter of the 15th May, 1882, and that he and his fellow-conspirators, using the forms of political agitation for personal and seditious purposes, had stimulated and taken advantage of, if they had not directly been engaged in, crime, outrage, and brutal violence. They staked the Union, for which they professed to care so much, upon the truth of "Parnellism and Crime." The game has been played. They have had every means that money and influence could furnish of producing evidence in support of their charges and allegations. And they have lost. They would have done better to listen to the Professor's warnings; for the English people, loving fair-play, will insist that the stakes shall be handed over. They founded their case against Home Rule upon the truth of "Parnellism and Crime," and "Parnellism and Crime" has been proved to be false.

It has been proved to be false in every particular to which any person, whether Unionist or Home Ruler, attached the slightest political importance. In saying that this is the effect of the Report of the Special Commission we do not rely solely on our own interpretation of that frigid and pedantic document. We find that candid Unionists do not hide from themselves the fact that "Parnellism and Crime" has been blown to pieces. This,

for instance, is the opinion of the *Daily Chronicle* :—

"The report of the three judges may be summed up in a sentence. After the most minute scrutiny of their conduct during ten years of fierce agitation, the judges practically find that Mr. Parnell and his followers have done and said nothing more reprehensible than was known to the world and to Lord Salisbury and Lord Carnarvon when the latter negotiated with 'the Irish chief' the alliance that put the Government of the empire into the hands of the Tory Party. The whole case set forth by the *Times* as affording fresh and indisputable proof of the hitherto unimagined and unspeakable criminality of the Irish leader would thus appear to have tumbled down like a house of cards at the first touch of judicial investigation. In fact, the history of the publication called 'Parnellism and Crime' from its birth in the *Times* to its burial in the report of the three judges is the history of the most colossal fiasco in political journalism in the Victorian era. . . . In fact, the report of the Special Commission is a vindication not merely of Mr. Parnell, but of the Liberal and Radical and Conservative leaders, who in turn entered into many more or less enduring alliances and parliamentary compacts and understandings with Mr. Parnell and his followers in the course of party strife."

It will be seen from the closer examination which we give elsewhere of the findings of the judges how complete is the exoneration from every charge of importance. How shall we determine what were and what were not charges of importance? There are many tests, but we think that this will be accepted as a fair one. Those were the important charges against which the accused persons were most desirous of defending themselves. What these charges were is on record. They were formulated under nine heads by Sir Charles Russell in his speech for the defence, and to meet these, and to meet these alone, was the evidence for the defence directed. On every one of these nine heads, which we set out in full, the Commission has acquitted the respondents. Of these nine heads, the first contains the sum and substance of "Parnellism and Crime": "that the Land Leaguers deliberately based their movement on a scheme

of assassination and outrage"; and this charge has been found to be false. The Commissioners, it is true, have found that though the respondents did not directly incite persons to the commission of crime other than intimidation, but that they did incite to intimidation, and that the consequence of that incitement was that crime and outrage were committed by the persons incited; and further, that they persisted in the system of intimidation with knowledge of its effect. We have still something to say concerning this finding, which, as will abundantly appear, is not a finding on the merits of the case at all. For the moment we put it aside, and lay emphasis on the vital fact that without reserve or qualification the judges have acquitted the respondents, each and all of them, of being directly concerned in any outrage or crime other than a conspiracy to promote an agrarian agitation against the payment of agricultural rents, and of having in private commended crime which in public they had denounced. This being so, who cares one brass farthing that eight of the respondents were members of a conspiracy, having for its object to establish the absolute independence of Ireland, that the respondents conspired against Irish landlords, that they disseminated the *Irish World* and other like newspapers, that they defended persons charged with agrarian crime and supported their families, that they made payments to compensate persons who had been injured in the commission of crime, or that they invited the assistance of violent men in America? But this is all. There are no other charges. Are we not right, therefore, in saying that the result is an acquittal?

We reserved the consideration of one of the findings—the only one which by any possibility can be made to serve as a straw to which the drowning Unionists may cling. The consideration even of

that finding we have no desire to shirk. We have said that it is not a finding upon the merits at all; and that it is not a finding upon the merits appears on the face of the report itself. The judges have found that the respondents incited to intimidation, and that in consequence of that incitement crimes were committed. To understand the reasons for this conclusion and the practical value of it, we must bear in mind the limitations which they imposed upon themselves in conducting the inquiry. The judges' review of the facts is introduced by the statement:—

"We must leave it for historians to investigate the remote causes of the present condition of Ireland—we must leave it for politicians to discuss and for statesmen to determine in what respects the present laws affecting land in that country are capable of improvement, and we must confine our researches to the question whether the respondents or any of them have been guilty of the things charged and alleged against them; *we have no commission to consider whether the conduct of which they are accused can be palliated by the circumstances of the time, or whether it should be condoned in consideration of benefits alleged to have resulted from their actions.*"

Whether the judges have correctly interpreted the terms of their commission matters very little for our present purpose. The fact remains that in judging of the causes of Irish crime they have deliberately excluded from consideration a great mass of facts, among which, in the opinion of those who have studied the subject, the main cause is to be found. For them the history of Ireland begins in 1877. Were there no agrarian crimes and outrages before that date? Were there no memories of old wrongs for which no atonement had been made? Had the Irish peasant's experience of our law been such as to leave him the slightest faith in it? Had we not, in fact, by a persistent denial of justice, driven him into evil ways, and convinced him that redress could be extorted from us only by violence?

In short, is it not true that, Land League or no Land League, Irish crime had been rendered the inevitable accompaniment of Irish distress? In the name of honesty, these are questions to be answered before we hold the Land League responsible, even indirectly, for the crime which accompanied the Land League agitation. Until we have answered them, we have no shadow of right to condemn that agitation as the cause of crime, nor even to challenge the claim made by the leaders of the League that but for their intervention the amount of crime would have been vastly greater than it was. But the Commissioners have no answer to these questions. They have not even considered them. They have had no commission to inquire into such matters, which politicians must discuss without their aid. On a mere fragment of the whole evidence they declare that the Land League was indirectly responsible for the crime of 1879 and subsequent years. The conclusion has been arrived at by refusing to consider facts material to the case. As we have said, it is not a finding upon the merits at all.

There is one other striking passage in the report which shows how strict and limited a view of their duties the judges have taken. They find in plain and emphatic terms that the Pigott letters were forgeries. There they stop. From the beginning of the report to the end there will not be found one word of condemnation passed upon those who, with scarcely the slightest investigation into the genuineness of these letters, accepted and published them for the purpose of influencing political opinion. The judges would say again that they had no commission to report upon such matters. Perhaps they had not. But strong men would have felt that the occasion was one for plain speaking, and that whether the letter of the statute required it or not, there should be solemnly placed on

record not only a clearing of Mr. Parnell's character, but also a condemnation of the methods which his accusers employed. As a general rule our judges do not hesitate to accompany their legal decisions with moral judgments on the conduct of the parties before them. If ever such moral condemnation was demanded from a judge, it was demanded here. But the Special Commissioners are silent. They would say, we presume, that they were appointed to report upon Mr. Parnell, and not upon his accusers. So be it. This and other parts of their report must be amplified elsewhere by other judges with a wider commission.

Let us not, however, allow the discussion of details to hide the striking feature of the report. What a triumphant vindication it is! They say that it will become a great historical document. Yes, and when the future historian has told the story of the Parnell revolution (for the Parnell movement was nothing else), this will be his judgment: that no other revolutionary movement, subjected to the white light of so close, fierce, and merciless an investigation, could have come out of it with so fair a record.

THE DEFENCE, AND THE FINDINGS THEREON.

THE following are the nine heads under which Sir Charles Russell summed up the accusations which he had to meet:—

“1. That the Land Leaguers deliberately based their movement on a scheme of assassination and outrage.”

It is not true: the Commissioners have not thought it worth while even to notice the accusation.

“2. That the leaders, by their speeches and those of their subordinates, directly incited the people to outrage, and took no steps by speech or act to prevent, to stop, or to condemn the outrages.”

It is not true: see findings 5 and 6.

“3. That if at any time any of the leaders have verbally condemned or discouraged outrage and

crime, their language was insincere and hypocritical.”

It is not true: see finding 3.

“4. That no other cause has been or could be suggested for the crime in Ireland from and after 1879, except the agitation of the Land League and the speeches of its leaders.”

It is not true. “We do not doubt that evictions and fear of eviction are contributory causes of agrarian crime” (page 86). They find, indeed, without considering the question as a whole, that the Land League was indirectly the main cause of the increase of crime; but they had no commission to consider the question as a whole.

“5. That the funds of the Land League were habitually used to pay for outrage, and were used to procure the escape from justice of criminals.”

It is not true: see finding 7.

“6. That at the time of the Kilmainham negotiations, Mr. Parnell knew that Sheridan and Boyton had been organising outrage, and therefore wished to use them to put down outrage.”

It is not true: see specific Parnell findings (a).

“7. That the Invincibles were a branch of the Land League, and were organised and paid by Egan, the treasurer of the Land League.”

It is not true: see finding 9.

“8. That Mr. Parnell was intimate with the leading Invincibles; that he probably learned from them what they were about when he was released on parole in April, 1882; that he recognised the Phoenix Park murders as their handiwork, and that knowing it to be theirs, and partly for his own safety, he secretly qualified and revoked the condemnation which he had thought it politic publicly to pronounce.”

It is not true: see findings 3 and 9, and specific Parnell findings (b).

“9. That Mr. Parnell on 23rd January, 1883, by an opportune remittance enabled Byrne to escape from justice to France.”

It is not true: see specific Parnell findings (c).

It is all untrue. On every line of Sir Charles Russell's defence the Commissioners have delivered in his favour. On every one of his points he has succeeded. And the meaning of this is that *every accusation, without exception, which was worth while challenging, has been proved to be false*. This being so, we can afford to bear with equanimity the severe opinion of the Commissioners, that Mr. Parnell and his friends have not treated Irish landlords with the respect and consideration which English law declares to be their due.

TIPPERARY.

BY MR. VINCENT SULLY.

I KNOW no more interesting place wherein to watch the Home Rule struggle at the present moment than in the town of Tipperary, and there one can study both Mr. Balfour's patented "law and order" and the law and order of Irishmen governing themselves (in the highest sense of the term) amidst circumstances of great provocation. Upon this country town, and upon the behaviour of the governed and of the governors within its limits, the attention of Great Britain ought to be steadily directed until the near-approaching time when Home Rule will be the reward of gallant men for a gallant struggle, and Tipperary will start on a more prosperous career, and with a name more honoured than ever before.

The inhabitants of about three-quarters of this town are gradually and quietly evacuating their houses, so quietly that one can hardly use the words "they are being evicted," and this, too, at great and voluntary sacrifices, in most instances, of business gain and domestic comfort. Nothing daunted, however, they have purchased a field quite close to their old homes, have graded and laid out new streets, and are building new houses and shops, as well as a large mart, as it is called. This mart is being rapidly roofed in, and will contain a fine butter market, with shops on either side. It will cover about 200 feet by 80 feet. The streets in this field are being flanked by comfortable slated houses of two stories, those nearest to the mart being intended for the shopkeepers who will do business there. There was some heavy cutting to be done in levelling this field, but many hands make light work; and the first time I visited Tipperary this year (January 14th), the hands at the spade were both many and willing. All the horses and carts employed in the work for the new town are supplied gratis by the farmers of the neighbouring parishes, and as many as seventy or eighty horses and carts have been at work at the same time. In two other places, also, contiguous to the old town, houses are springing up. At the end of Henry Street, shops with dwelling-houses attached are nearly completed; and at the Spittal, cottages for labourers are in a forward state.

I visited Tipperary a second time this year on February 4th, and found the building had greatly advanced—so much so that before very long there will be a town full of life and in full swing of business cheek-by-jowl with the "shuttered" shops and empty houses of Mr. Smith-Barry's deserted village. There is no humbug about all this, but stern reality; no petty sentimentality, and no feeling of desperation—quite the reverse.

The work is being conducted in a business-like way—marvellously so, when we bear in mind that the local leaders can have had but little training for such work; the attitude of the townspeople is quiet and determined, and the feeling in the district is one of great hope that at last Irishmen are nearing the goal of Home Rule and of freedom from legalised tyranny.

The struggle for freedom in Ireland against a system of landlordism which has been the greatest curse to the landlords themselves, has now its issue more or less narrowed to the struggle between Tipperary and Mr. Smith-Barry. A few years ago Mr. Smith-Barry, either chivalrously or selfishly, elected to take a leading part in the battle between landlordism and Home Rule, and his Tipperary tenants did not rebel. Lately, however, he thought fit to go out of his way and stop the peace negotiations which were actually in progress between landlord and tenants on a property with which he had no earthly connection. Mr. Smith-Barry flung down the gauntlet in a battle which was not his own, and his tenants took it up on the moment. If we compare the abilities and resources of Mr. Smith-Barry and his syndicate with the abilities and resources of Tipperary and the Irish race, the issue cannot remain very long in doubt.

Mr. Smith-Barry's meddling in other people's affairs at Youghal can only mean that he would not allow peace to be negotiated between Canon Keller and Mr. Ponsonby's agent for fear of scoring a triumph to the Plan of Campaign—for fear, in other words, that the result of arbitration would justify what the tenants demanded before they adopted, as a last resource, the Plan of Campaign.

Imagine a Liverpool dock-owner, backed by a class syndicate, who determined on breaking off the London Dock negotiations for fear of scoring a triumph to John Burns and the Plan of Strikes, and who then laid his plans to buy up the London Docks and squash the attempts at settlement of Cardinal Manning and others! What a roar of execration would peal through Great Britain, and how swift would be the retribution in the shape of a wholesale boycotting of this disturber of the peace! What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander, and if a busybody who disturbs the public peace (whether from quixotic motives or worse) will not be tolerated in Great Britain, why should he expect to go scot free in our island? Why is public opinion in Ireland put on the plank bed when it is more potent in Great Britain than Queen and Lords and Commons put together?

THE ULSTER FALLACY.

IN the January number of the *Nineteenth Century* appeared an article by Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P., entitled, "The Actual and the Political Ireland," in which he sought to establish the superiority of Ulster over the other Provinces of Ireland in respect of education, wealth, and commerce, and to warn us of the danger of creating an Irish Parliament, in which the superior Province would be out-voted by what he is pleased to call, in capital letters, "The Dark Area." His method was to divide the country by an imaginary line into "Western Ireland" (comprising the whole of Connaught, and also the counties of Donegal, Clare, and Kerry) and "Eastern Ireland" (comprising the rest of the country). The contrast was ingeniously drawn, and may possibly have led some careless minds astray; but how utterly misleading it is will appear from the following summary of two articles in reply to Mr. Russell, which appeared in *The Scottish Leader* of February 3 and 4.

1. *Mr. Russell's method.*—His dividing line is so drawn as to make the contrast misleading and utterly worthless for his purpose of showing the superiority of Ulster over the rest of Ireland—"the comparatively prosperous Province of Leinster, and the well-to-do counties of Munster comprised within the Eastern group, being, in fact, made to do duty as a stalking-horse for Ulster in attack upon the Western counties."

2. *Religion.*—“The Western area, we are told, is overwhelmingly Catholic, but eight persons out of every hundred professing any other faith (or 92 per cent. Catholic). In the Eastern group, on the contrary, ‘Protestantism is the professed religion of about a third of the people.’ It is characteristic of the article under discussion that whereas the Catholicism of the Western group is emphasised, the numerical distribution of Catholics and Protestants in the principal divisions of the Eastern group is ignored. Yet this, as will be seen, has an important bearing on the subject. At page 55 of the report of the Census Commissioners the percentage of Catholics for the provinces of Leinster and Munster is given as 85·6 and 93·8 respectively, and deducting Donegal from Ulster the percentage of Catholics for the eight remaining counties of that province is 47·6. It will thus be seen that no inference as affecting Ulster can be drawn from the prevalence of Catholicism in the Western area that would not be applicable to a comparison of Ulster with the remaining portion of the Eastern group. Also, that Ulster, even excluding Donegal, is far from being an exclusively Protestant province.”

3. *Education.*—Mr. Russell's evidence of the superiority of Ulster is the following table show-

ing the proportion per 100 persons of five years and upwards who can neither read nor write—a person being treated as educated who can read only. Where Mr. Russell's figures are seriously inaccurate the correct figures are given in brackets:—

Ulster (excluding Donegal).

Antrim	12·1	Fermanagh	21·7
Down	14·3	Cavan	22·4
Derry.....(17·6)	13·5	Tyrone.....	22·9
Armagh.....(22·6)	19·8	Monaghan	23·3

Western Group.

Galway	(45·8) 47·4	Sligo	31·5
Mayo	45·6	Roscommon	27·9
Donegal	40·1	Clare	27·5
Kerry	34·9	Leitrim	22·5

This table is misleading in two respects:—

(a) The true test of education is the proportion of persons who can read and write, which is shown in the following table:—

Ulster.

Down (exclusive of Belfast)	66·6	Fermanagh	59·1
Antrim(exclusive of Belfast)	66·5	Cavan	58·9
Londonderry	60·9	Monaghan	56·7
		Armagh	55·8
		Tyrone.....	55·6

Western Group.

Clare	60·7	Sligo	53·3
Leitrim	59·4	Donegal	42·0
Roscommon	57·0	Galway	41·8
Kerry	54·5	Mayo	39·8

Thus, on the education test, “three of the counties of the ‘Dark Area’ more than hold their own with Ulster, and five out of the eight counties comprising the Western area will bear comparison in education with Ulster.”

(b) Ulster should be compared with the rest of the Eastern group of counties. In the following table are arranged in order the Irish counties in which over 60 per cent. of the population can read and write, the Ulster counties being marked in italics.

1 Dublin(exclusive of city).....	76·7	8 Queen's.....	63·5
2 Down (exclusive of Belfast) ...	66·6	9 Carlow	63·4
3 Antrim(exclusive of Belfast) ...	66·5	10 Kilkenny	62·7
4 Kildare	65·5	11 Meath	61·2
5 Tipperary	64·6	12 Londonderry...	60·9
6 Limerick	64·5	13 Clare	60·7
7 Wicklow.....	64·0	14 Cork	60·3
		15 Westmeath	60·2
		16 King's	60·2

"The result is striking. With the exception of the two counties in which Belfast is situated, Down and Antrim, but one other of the Ulster counties, Londonderry, obtains a place on the list, and that a low one. Comparing Belfast with Dublin city does not improve matters. Again the result is unfavourable to Ulster, the percentage of persons who can read and write being for Dublin 73·8, as against 71·7 for Belfast."

4. *Value of Agricultural Holdings.* — The mean value, says Mr. Russell, is £25 in the Eastern group, and only £12 in the Western group. But again compare the Eastern counties among themselves, and we find that the mean value for Ulster (excluding Donegal, is only £18; while for Leinster it is £31, and for the counties of Munster included in the Eastern group it is £30.

5. *Wealth tested by profits assessed to Income-Tax.* — The following table contains in their order a list of Counties (exclusive of cities and boroughs) in which the income-tax assessments exceed £5 per head of the population. The names of the Ulster Counties are given in italics :—

	Popula- tion (1881).	Profits assessed to Income-Tax, 1880.	Per head of Popula- tion.
1 Meath	86,301	£1,069,396	£12 7 9
2 Kildare	76,102	665,881	8 15 0
3 Westmeath...	68,303	594,825	8 14 2
4 Kilkenny....	83,810	665,144	7 19 0
5 Carlow.....	40,640	317,947	7 16 5
6 Louth	51,272	385,591	7 10 4
7 King's.....	71,867	539,827	7 10 0
8 Wicklow....	73,679	540,747	7 6 9
9 Queen's	69,805	512,178	7 6 8
10 Tipperary ...	188,537	1,340,647	7 3 3
11 Dublin.....	145,088	1,038,976	7 3 2
12 Wexford	105,196	733,444	6 19 5
13 Limerick.....	128,957	853,010	6 12 3
14 Waterford ...	76,854	510,659	6 10 3
15 Down	233,422	1,422,415	6 2 8
16 Fermanagh...	78,791	452,043	5 14 10
17 Antrim	218,123	1,243,048	5 13 11
18 Cork.....	373,202	1,988,673	5 6 7
19 Monaghan...	102,590	543,867	5 6 0
20 Armagh.....	148,078	780,801	5 5 5
21 Longford.....	60,790	314,149	5 3 4

The following are the corresponding figures for the principal towns:—

	Profits assessed to Income-Tax 1881.	Per head of Population. 1880.
Dublin	273,064	£5,368,758
Waterford ...	28,952	336,272
Cork	97,526	1,104,710
Belfast	207,671	2,200,842
Londonderry .	28,947	223,775
Limerick	48,246	357,384

"Whether, then, we take the comparison by counties or towns, we see the 'superior wealth'

of Ulster will not bear the test of figures. On the list of counties there are no less than fourteen in Leinster and Munster which take rank, by profits assessed to income-tax per head of population, before any in Ulster. And in towns not only is Dublin far ahead of Belfast, but if we compare Waterford with Londonderry, towns of equal population, again the result is in favour of the south."

With such facts before us it is folly to talk of the superiority of Ulster. "The mistake English people have made is in judging Ulster by Antrim and Down. In Antrim and Down, in and around Belfast, is concentrated the linen trade and shipbuilding industry of Ireland. English people hear much of the prosperity of these two counties, and accept them as typical of Ulster, but these counties are *exceptional* in Ulster—exceptional in Ulster, but not so in Ireland. As we have shown, both in education and wealth, counties in Leinster rank before Antrim and Down, and Dublin heads Belfast. The Ulster of Unionist platforms is in fact confined to two counties and Belfast. We desire to press this fact upon our readers. It disposes effectually of all schemes for the separate treatment of Ulster."

THE LIVERPOOL "BOYCOTTING" CASE.

We are told that the conviction of the two Irish farmers, who were tried at Liverpool last December before Mr. Justice Grantham, is still being paraded as a proof that boycotting is criminal in England as well as in Ireland, and that the Coercion Act created no new crimes, and was not a piece of exceptional legislation. In the first number of the *Speaker* appeared an admirable article by Mr. Frederic Harrison, which should have effectually dispelled the notion that the case proved any such thing; indeed, a candid Unionist regrettably confided to us that, "as at present advised," he saw no answer to Mr. Harrison's arguments, and that the Liverpool case, which promised so well, must be abandoned. But candid Unionists are few, and the case is still doing service. We have been asked, therefore, to show how the matter really stands; and we know no better way of doing so than by giving the greater part of Mr. Harrison's article, to the appropriation of which we are sure neither Mr. Harrison nor the editor of the *Speaker* will object:—

"The Irish farmers at Liverpool Assizes were not charged with 'boycotting,' and not under the English common law at all. They were indicted under the Conspiracy Act of 1875, passed to provide against trades-unionist outrages, and specially

to protect workmen from criminal forms of 'picketing.' There is nothing new about the Act, which Mr. Cross passed years ago to settle the long trades-union agitation against the old criminal law. It has been put in force scores of times all over the country, and has been constantly in use during the recent strikes. The whole of the evidence of the prosecution tended to bring the case within the statute against 'picketing.'

"But the strongest point is this. The Act of 1875, under which these men were indicted, is expressly extended to Ireland by section 21: 'This Act shall extend to Ireland,' &c. If, then, the Coercion Act of 1887 did not alter the law under which these men were convicted, why was it passed at all? The Act of Conspiracy, 1875, had already existed in Ireland for twelve years. Or, if it be alleged that the Coercion Act of 1887 simply enlarged the judicial procedure, why did it not incorporate the Conspiracy Act of 1875, adding that trials under it should be held in such and such ways? Anyone who compares the Conspiracy Act of 1875, under which the men were tried at Liverpool, with the Act of Mr. Balfour, will easily see how greatly it differs, in substance and not in procedure, from the Coercion Act of 1887. And there are now found writers to tell the world that a conviction under the Act of 1875, common to England and to Ireland, proves that the Irish Act of 1887 did not alter the common law of England! Misrepresentation can hardly go further than this.

"The report of the trial in the *Times* of December 20th sets out the section of the Act of 1875 with entire accuracy. Section 7 of 38 and 39 Vict., c. 86, 'the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, 1875,' provides a penalty of £20, or three months' imprisonment, on conviction of 'every person who, with a view to compel any other person to abstain from doing or to do any act which such other person has a legal right to do or abstain from doing, . . . uses violence to, or intimidates such other person, or his wife or children, or injures his property,' 'or persistently follows such other person about from place to place,' or 'watches or besets the house or other place where such other person resides, or works, or carries on business, or happens to be.' This applies to every person, whether in England or in Ireland, and for every act of violence, intimidation, injury to property, following about, and 'besetting' any house or place. We always maintain that, having got these powers, it was all that the capitalist had a right to have, whether in England or in Ireland. The Tory Government would not be satisfied; and they altered the law for Ireland alone by the Coercion Act of 1887.

"The case against the farmers at Liverpool, if the evidence could be believed, tended to prove

threats of a kind, and undoubtedly to prove 'following about' and 'besetting.' Assume for the moment that the evidence was adequate, and the sentence not vindictive. How can a conviction under the Act of 1875 of 'intimidation,' 'persistent following,' and 'besetting,' as defined by that Act, prove that the Act of 1887 did not alter the criminal law? It proves just the reverse, unless it were waste paper, enacting what the same Ministers had already placed on the Statute Book in 1875.

"Let us now turn to Mr. Balfour's Act of 1887. Here we have new crimes—viz., conspiracy to induce any person not to fulfil his legal obligations, or not to let, hire, use, or occupy any land, or not to deal with, work for, or hire any person in the ordinary course of trade. It also makes it penal to incite any person to do any of these acts. It defines *intimidation* as any words calculated to put any person in fear of any loss of business. And finally, it takes away the right of trial by jury, which, by section 9 of the Conspiracy Act of 1875, is expressly reserved to the accused. Will any lawyer venture, with his name, to assert that a conspiracy to induce a person not to fulfil his legal obligations, or not to hire land, or not to deal with, work for, or hire a person, is within the purview of the Conspiracy Act of 1875; or that a conviction of 'intimidation,' 'persistent following,' and 'besetting,' under section 7 of that Act, is good to show that there is no new crime in the Coercion Act of 1887? If any lawyer is inclined to take up this challenge, we should all be glad to know his name and his standing in the profession.

"Will any layman of decent character read, side by side, section 7 of the Conspiracy Act, 1875, with section 2 of the Coercion Act, 1887, and publicly come forward to say that the crimes as defined in both Acts are substantially the same thing; that refusing to deal with a person is 'intimidation' or 'besetting'; or that inducing a person to break a bargain is the same as 'picketing,' 'rattening,' or hustling? Yet this is, in effect, what the Unionist journals have been trying to palm off on the public, when, with a flourish of trumpets, they parade a conviction under the Act directed against 'picketing,' as if it were a conviction of 'boycotting' under the Coercion Act directed against the National League. It is true that 'boycotting' is not unfrequently extended into crime. When it is, the ordinary law against crime can deal with the offences. But 'boycotting' often is, and certainly may be, wholly free from crime. 'Boycotting,' *simpliciter* is the mere refusal to deal with, or associate with, another. This may be, and often is, not only just, innocent, but even laudable. It is practised by us all, by all professions—in society, in commerce, and especially in journalism. And

the Coercion Act of 1887 makes 'boycotting' *simpliciter* a crime—'not to deal with, work for, or hire.' Unhappily we know that this is no dead letter. The rigmarole about 'a criminal conspiracy now punishable by law' is treated as verbiage, implying any member of the League, or any Irish tenant. Shopkeepers have been punished in Ireland simply for declining to sell an article over the counter. The proof of 'conspiracy,' required by the Act, has been quietly ignored by the R.M. If a car-driver refuses his car to a member of the R.I.C., he is liable to imprisonment. In Mr. Shaw-Lefevre's 'Incidents of Coercion' the particulars of these cases are given. Blacksmiths were imprisoned with hard labour for refusing to shoe a horse. Tradesmen were sentenced to three months' hard labour for refusing to serve goods in their shop to persons who had previously conspired to get up a case, and publicans were sentenced for refusing to supply beer. It is true, that a superior court decided that such sentences were illegal, in the absence of evidence of conspiracy. That only proves that, under Mr. Balfour's Act of 1887, members of the League who agree not to sell their wares, or not to hire out themselves to another who is obnoxious to them on certain grounds, may be imprisoned for long terms by a magistrate without a jury, on mere proof of such agreement. That was made crime in Ireland by a new law in 1887. And it is an infamous law."

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND IRISH PROTESTANTS.

By MRS. BRYANT, D.Sc.

ACCORDING to the Queen's Speech we are to have a Local Government Bill for Ireland on the lines of the measure recently adopted for England, Scotland, and Wales. We may well be sceptical, however, as to the likelihood of the Bill becoming an Act in this session of Parliament. Even if it is found convenient to introduce it at all, it would be quite easy to get it massacred with the other "innocents" at the end of the session, and thus gain the credit of good intentions with the country without suffering the inconveniences of their fulfilment. It is not easy to imagine that the Government seriously contemplates any such prospect as that of Ireland under County Government on the one hand, and under Castle Government on the other. With the National League "suppressed," and all its operations held to be contrary to law, it is still a formidable rival to the authority of the central executive in the counties of Ireland.

How, then, will it fare with Mr. Balfour's magistrates and police—with the whole system of Dublin Castle—when the prominent members of the National League branches are established as the legally constituted responsible local authorities in every county of Nationalist Ireland?

We, therefore, doubt that they will be thus established. A Bill, indeed, there may be; it is quite a different thing from an Act. It would not embarrass Mr. Balfour in Ireland, and the fact of its introduction would tell with superficial thinkers at a general election.

It is undoubtedly one article of the moderate Unionist's creed, that local self-government for Ireland is the *ultimate* alternative to Home Rule. The moderate Unionist is also, as a rule, anxious about the fate of the late Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland. One would like to know if he ever considers the relative advantages or disadvantages of Home Rule and Local Government from an Irish Protestant point of view. Let it be granted that to a Protestant mind the influence of Protestant thought in the councils of the nation is a matter of importance. A Protestant mind then will take interest in the inquiry whether Protestant influence will be more effectual under Local Government or under Home Rule.

The proportion of Protestants to Catholics in Ireland is as four to thirteen. In an Irish Parliament, therefore, the former would be able to control about one fourth of the representation, and in case of Catholic divisions on a sectarian question, this would give a position of considerable power, while at all times it would secure a substantial weight of votes behind the expression of Protestant opinion.

Under Local Government the position of Protestants would be much less satisfactory. This is evident from consideration of the fact that the Protestants are very unevenly distributed throughout the country. Of every four Protestants, three live in Ulster. There they are about equal to the Catholics in number, while in Leinster they are one to six, in Munster one to fifteen, and in Connaught only one to twenty. Nor is this all. Even in Ulster, Catholics predominate in all but three counties. It is a fact that *half the Protestants in all Ireland live in the three counties of Antrim, Londonderry, and Down.*

Clearly, if Protestant ideas are to have any wide-spreading influence in the future development of a self-governing Ireland, it is to a National Parliament rather than to County Councils that Protestants must look for a means to that end.

SHOULD MR. GLADSTONE TABLE HIS BILL ?

SPEAKING at Leeds on the 7th of January, Mr. H. H. Asquith, M.P., again urged his advice that the Liberal leaders should be more explicit as to the terms of the next Home Rule Bill. Mr. Asquith's loyalty to the cause of Home Rule, and to the Liberal Party and its leaders, is of course above suspicion, and the advice of one so able and earnest commands respectful attention; yet we can hardly understand why he is so anxious on this point.

The reasons he gives for his opinion are contained in the following passage from his speech:—"He thought so because he was very much afraid that when they got, as they would get at the next General Election, their Home Rule majority, they would then find themselves confronted by an unscrupulous Opposition; and on the other side, as they might expect from their experience in 1886, there would be some of their supporters who had not quite made up their minds, and did not quite know what they were to vote for. What he wanted of their leaders was to define as far as possible their position, so as to disarm at one and the same time the opposition in front and the rebels behind. If they went to the country with a vague formula, calling it Home Rule or local self-government, or whatever they pleased, and obtained a majority on behalf of that formula, what would be the position when they went back to Westminster and introduced a Bill? The wisest and best scheme it might be, but the opposition would tell them at once that was not the issue upon which the country had voted. 'You have,' they would say, 'no mandate for the introduction of that measure, and we are justified in obstructing it or mutilating it, and forcing the Government to take it back to the constituencies.' And what was the Government to say to some of their own followers, who would say, 'Our electors sent us to support Home Rule, but this is not the kind of thing they intended us to support, and we shall go into a cave, or, as the Radical Unionists did in 1886, vote with the Opposition.'"

These reasons fall under two heads—(1) the handle given to the Opposition, and (2) the danger from false friends in the next Parliament. Let us take the last head first. The electorate which at the next General Election will have been learning for four or five years what, and how great, are the wrongs of Ireland, and which will then also be impatient to have the arrears of English legislation dealt with, will require every member returned as a Home Ruler to give very clear and convincing reasons for risking a relapse into Balfourism, and the postponement of English reforms, by refusing to support any Home Rule Bill, whatever its provisions, if only it is proposed by the recognised leaders of the Liberal Party.

But Members of Parliament returned as Home Rulers will know that full well. Now what will any member so refusing be able to say in defence of his refusal? We may assume that the next Bill will not be more antagonistic to English prejudices than the Bill of 1886; the worst, then, our timid friends have to expect is a reproduction of that Bill varied in the way in which Mr. Gladstone has expressly promised since the last election. Now it is open to anyone, who can conceive himself under any circumstances supporting Home Rule, to ask Mr. Gladstone whether he will change the Bill of 1886 in any point on which he feels anxious. Mr. Gladstone has already shown himself willing to satisfy such inquiries. Mr. Gladstone's position seems to be this. He says, in effect, "The one necessary condition that I lay down is the establishment of an Irish Parliament and an Irish Executive, and I want people to agree to that." If some politician says "I will agree to an Irish Parliament and Executive if certain other provisions are made, but not otherwise," Mr. Gladstone replies, "What are these further provisions which you want? Let me hear them, that I may meet your objections if I can." There is only one case in which politicians have been found to take the position we have supposed. There were certain politicians—we believe their number has been enormously exaggerated by the noisier portion of the press—who said, "We will support an Irish Parliament and Executive if the Irish members are retained in the Imperial Parliament, but not otherwise." Mr. Gladstone at once met these politicians by agreeing to their condition. This, then, being the position, if any member in the next Parliament says, as Mr. Asquith supposes him to say, "My constituents sent me to support Home Rule, but this is not the kind of thing they intended me to support," we think his constituents would tell him, "If we had had any scruples we would have got them satisfied before we voted for you, and if you had any you ought to have got them satisfied before asking us for our votes."

Of course, with the exception of Mr. Asquith, the demand that Mr. Gladstone should table his Bill comes from the supporters of the present Government, who are opposed to Home Rule in any form, and of course it is futile for Mr. Gladstone to try to satisfy the conditions of men who are opposed to his condition. All they want is that Mr. Gladstone may give them the opportunity of pecking at his proposals; and the "old Parliamentary hand" is not so simple as to do that.

It does not seem to us, then, likely that there will be any danger in the next Parliament from "supporters who have not quite made up their minds"; and the opponents of Home Rule will

not be able to charm them, for they will be like the deaf adder that stoppeth her ears.

The first head of Mr. Asquith's reasons can be very shortly dealt with. The Opposition in the next Parliament, failing to find any sympathisers in the Home Rule ranks, may obstruct as much as they like. The more the better for us, for the more they obstruct the stronger will grow the anger of the people, till it sweeps away opposition not only to Home Rule but to a hundred other things most Home Rulers want; and as to mutilation, that can only be effected by the House of Lords, and there are not many Home Rulers who would regret the "ending" of that House, which would be infallibly brought about by any persistent attempt to mutilate the next Home Rule Bill.

For these reasons, it seems to us that it is rather the duty of Mr. Asquith, and any who may think with him on this point, to formulate their conditions, or the conditions they think any other *bond fide* Home Rulers may desire to be satisfied by the next Home Rule measure, than of Mr. Gladstone to table his Bill. Meantime, the fact that one such condition has been formulated and accepted by Mr. Gladstone, and that no more are being formulated in spite of actual invitations by Mr. Gladstone on some special points, notably the separate treatment of Ulster, seems to us to indicate that there is no such danger as Mr. Asquith imagines.

NOTES BY THE WAY.

The Cause of Mr. Justice O'Hagan's Resignation.—The scheduled variations of rents as provided for by the Act of 1887 were published in Dublin in the *Gazette* on January 7. They are generally accepted as the cause of Mr. Justice O'Hagan's resignation from the Land Commission, a resignation which finally removed any lingering confidence the Irish tenants may have placed in the commission. A striking summary of the variations set out in the report was given as follows by the Dublin correspondent of the *Daily News*:—"The Commissioners have either varied the rents fixed in the years 1881 to 1885 in such a way as to be of no service to the tenants, or absolutely increased them to a degree which I fear makes their payment impossible. I select at random (for there is no time to go through in detail the pages of the *Gazette*) a union in each province as typical of the rest. There may be worse illustrations. Only take them as they come, deferring for the present a closer examination of the long list of unions. The cases I take, however, are sufficient for the present. They show how comparatively generously the commission went at the rents in 1887 immediately after the passing of the Act, how they plucked up

a little more courage in 1888, and how they have flung any consideration to the winds, and given to the landlords the benefits of the measure which was avowedly passed to assist the tenants, in view of the heavy fall in prices. I can only assume that this piece of astounding folly has been committed with a view to assist the Government in their proposed purchase scheme next session, by enabling them to give the landlords a bigger price for the land than they could otherwise get, or than the land is capable of bearing. Let me now give the figures of four unions:—Cork, in Munster; Claremorris, in Connaught; Londonderry, in Ulster; and Rathdown, in Leinster. Taking first Cork Union: For 1887 the rents were varied as follows:—Rents fixed in 1881 reduced $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., in 1882 $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., in 1883 $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., in 1884 $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., in 1885 $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. For 1888 the rents were varied as follows:—Rents fixed in 1881 reduced $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., in 1882 8 per cent., in 1883 6 per cent., in 1884 $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and in 1885 increased by 5 per cent. The reductions for 1889 are now varied in the Cork Union as follows, and the extraordinary increase upon the two previous years is apparent. Rents fixed in 1881 reduced 4 per cent., in 1882 $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., in 1883 2 per cent., in 1884 increased by 2 per cent., and in 1885 increased by 6 per cent. So much for Munster. I now take at random a Connaught Union, namely, Claremorris. In 1887 the rents were varied as follows: Those fixed in 1881 reduced 14 per cent., in 1882 by $16\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., in 1883 by $16\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., in 1884 by $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and in 1885 by 5 per cent. In 1888 the rents of this union were varied as follows: Rents fixed in 1881 were reduced $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., in 1882 10 per cent., in 1883 12 per cent., in 1884 $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and in 1885 no variations. For last year the rents are varied as follows, and again observe the change: Rents fixed in 1881 reduced by $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., in 1882 by 8 per cent., in 1883 by 9 per cent., in 1884 by $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and those fixed in 1885 are now increased by 2 per cent. As to Ulster and Londonderry Union, again the first I come to. For 1887 the rents here were varied thus: Those fixed in 1881 were reduced by $14\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., in 1882 by $11\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., 1883 by $15\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., in 1884 by $13\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., in 1885 by $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. For 1888 the rents were varied thus: Rents fixed in 1881 were reduced by $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., in 1882 by 5 per cent., in 1883 $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., in 1884 $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., in 1885 by 2 per cent. Now for 1889. The rents in Derry are varied thus: Rents fixed in 1881 reduced by 6 per cent., in 1882 by $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., in 1883 6 per cent., in 1884 5 per cent., and in 1885 nil. In Leinster it is the same. For example, in the Rathdown Union, which is in the county Dublin, the rents were not varied at all in 1887, in 1888 they were increased by 5 per

cent., and now they were increased by 7 per cent. Nothing I could say would add to the significance of these figures. The Government has proved itself the landlords' friend, but this is the worst piece of business it has yet accomplished."

The Persecution of the Press in Ireland.

—The following two letters appeared in the *Daily News* of January 17 and 18 respectively, from Mr. William Redmond, M.P. :—

To the Editor of the *Daily News*.

Sir,—According to the supporters of the Government we enjoy freedom of the press in Ireland. Within the past two or three weeks a large number of newspaper proprietors and editors in Ireland have been sent to prison as common criminals for inserting matters of simple news in their journals. This morning we find the Mayor of Wexford, Mr. Walsh, sent to prison for two months as a common criminal for inserting in his newspaper, the *Wexford People*, an ordinary item of news. Yesterday Mr. M'Hugh, editor of the *Sligo Champion*, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment, this being his second term. A couple of weeks ago Mr. Redmond, editor and proprietor of the *Waterford News*, was sentenced to seven months, and Mr. Fisher, of the *Munster Express*, to two months. Last week Mr. O'Connor, sub-editor of the *Leinster Leader*, was sentenced to two months' imprisonment, although he was merely a member of the staff. This all within the past few weeks! Quite recently the editor of the *Limerick Leader* was also prosecuted, as were those of the Tipperary *Nationalist* and the *Midland Tribune*, all of whom were sent to gaol. This is "freedom of the press" with a vengeance. Not one of these gentlemen committed the slightest crime, and yet they were all condemned to be treated as common criminals. Newspaper editors in this country have been imprisoned as first-class misdemeanants for real offences, while newspaper editors in Ireland are treated every day as common criminals for inserting in their papers items of intelligence which would not entail a prosecution in the case of any British paper. If Mr. Balfour endeavours to suppress a branch of the League and does not succeed, the newspaper editor who publishes the news of Mr. Balfour's failure is a criminal. The sentences on Mr. Redmond and Mr. Fisher were set aside by County Court Judge Waters, who practically declared that the magistrates had acted most wrongfully; and yet we find one of those same magistrates—condemned by Judge Waters—allowed to try and sentence Mr. Walsh yesterday. In the case of Mr. O'Connor, with such gross unfairness did the magistrates act that the Superior Court in Dublin ordered a case to be stated, although the magis-

trates refused Mr. Healy to do so. We have now had more than three years of Coercion, and we are told that that policy has succeeded; yet within the past few weeks we find an onslaught made upon the public press which, if attempted in this country, would cause the most intense feeling of indignation. I do hope that our friends in England will take every opportunity of watching from day to day what is being done in Ireland. This can only be done by reference to the Irish newspapers, as I am sorry to say a great many outrageous things are done by the Government every day in Ireland without being recorded in the English press. With regard to Mr. Considine, one of the magistrates whose decision was set aside by Judge Waters, I have some knowledge. He declared once that his only legal training consisted in having eaten a certain number of dinners in the Temple. He never passed any legal examination, and he is consequently about as much fit to try an intricate case involving the liberty of the press as he is to be Prime Minister.—Yours very truly,

WILLIAM REDMOND.
The Irish Press Agency, Victoria Street,
London, S.W., Jan. 16.

P.S.—In the case of the Mayor of Wexford yesterday the Removables again refused to state a case.

To the Editor of the *Daily News*.

SIR,—As a sequel to my letter on the press prosecutions in Ireland, kindly let me say that Mr. O'Connor, of the *Leinster Leader*, was sentenced to hard labour, and on entering prison was sentenced by the governor to forty-eight hours' solitary confinement and bread and water, for refusing to exercise with criminals of the commonest kind. Would or could such brutality be possible in England? I may say the list of papers prosecuted which I gave yesterday was not by any means a full record of Mr. Balfour's idea of liberty of the press. I might have mentioned the *Carlow Nationalist* and a number of other papers which have had their proprietors or editors imprisoned. From the imprisonment of Mr. Sullivan, M.P., of the *Nation*, down to the present time, more editors and people connected with the press in Ireland have been imprisoned by Mr. Balfour in his three years than by any other Chief Secretary who ever went to Ireland. Mr. Balfour commenced by saying he would not interfere with the press, and before he was in office long he was chasing even the unfortunate newsboys. The action of the present Coercion Act in regard to the Irish press has been simply infamous, as any of your readers who look into the matter for themselves will find.—Thanking you very much, I am, yours truly,

WILLIAM REDMOND.
The Irish Press Agency, Victoria Street,
London, S.W., Jan. 17.

A Preston gentleman having written to the Irish Secretary enclosing cuttings from the *Daily News* of the above letters, received the following reply from Mr. Balfour :—

"Mr. Redmond deals with 'Irish Press Prosecutions,' and certainly the subject is one of great interest. In his letter he gives a comprehensive list of newspaper editors 'sent to prison,' so he tells us, 'as common criminals for inserting matters of simple news in their journals.' Elsewhere he alleges that 'not one of these gentlemen committed the slightest crime.' In order to test Mr. Redmond's assertion I will take but one of his cases, and confine myself to its examination. In this way only can I hope to prove, within the limits of a letter, the mass of misrepresentation piled around this subject by the opponents of the Government. Nor will anything be lost by restricting the scope of my comment; for the detailed examination of a single case will not only disprove Mr. Redmond's sweeping assertion, but will also illustrate the action of the Government in every prosecution of the kind, since in instituting all these proceedings they have been guided by a single principle. No person connected with the press has during the present Administration been proceeded against, even though they have broken the law, unless by their illegal conduct they interfered with the civil rights of persons entitled to protection by the law. The case I select is that of Mr. M'Enery, editor of the *Limerick Leader*. He was prosecuted for publishing in his paper two articles, in the first of which, under the heading, 'On the Pillory,' the following passage occurs: 'There is only one man in the country who openly defies the people's organization. This "Bombastes Furoso" is Mr. Michael Ryan. It is a shame to admit, but it is nevertheless true, that this individual has been able to trade with impunity in the county and city of Limerick.' In the second article, under the heading 'The Trail of the Grabber,' I read: 'A word as regards the future is now all that is required. It is stated the people in Ryan's district are not as active as they ought to be. If this be so, we hope the same story will not obtain in a week's time.' In the first paragraph a law-abiding man is held up by name to execration. In the second his neighbours are incited to persecute him. From both it plainly appears that in the absence of such incitation his neighbours are ready to let him live in peace. Can it be pretended that the editor merely 'inserted matters of simple news,' or that the Government had any course open to them other than to prosecute him for 'unlawful intimidation?' Why should one man, guilty of intimidation, escape the punishment of his crime because he chooses to commit it through the medium of the press, whilst another, guilty of libel, rather aggravated than

condoned his offence by publishing his libel in a newspaper? I have designedly selected this case because it makes it perfectly plain that intimidation through the press is upon all fours with intimidation exercised in other ways; that it exists for the same objects, and inflicts the same wrongs. The persecution of this man Ryan dates from 1886, when he took a farm from which another man had been evicted. But it has not been continuous. On the contrary, it has shown a constant tendency to flag, except when promoted from outside. In 1888 Mr. David Sheehy, M.P., Mr. Finucane, M.P., and Mr. Moran addressed a meeting at Ballyneety, convened for the sole object of lashing Ryan's apathetic neighbours into a sufficiently hostile attitude towards him. For this charitable office the three speakers were convicted and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. They appealed, and the convictions were upheld in every case by an irremovable judge, who laid down that to 'prevent persons from taking or occupying farms from which other persons had been evicted for non-payment of rent was an offence at common law'; he also asserted that the speech delivered by Mr. Moran to effect this object was 'of a character that would sustain an indictment for incitement to assassination.' As a result of these convictions, Ryan lived in peace until *The Limerick Leader* was started. In the face of these facts the public are invited by Mr. Redmond to judge and condemn the Government for prosecuting the editor of that journal. In forming their judgment they have only one question to decide. Whether it is to be borne that any man should presume upon their affection for a free press, in order to commit with impunity a cruel offence against a fellow-citizen, for which others have received a condign punishment."

Mr. Balfour, it then appears, supports his whole defence on one single case.

A Government Apology at last extracted.—On the first night of the Session Sir William Harcourt moved as a question of privilege "That the publication in *The Times* newspaper of April, 1887, of a letter, falsely alleged to be written by Mr. Parnell, a member of this House, and the comments thereon in the said newspaper, is a false and scandalous libel, and a breach of the privileges of this House." Of course, the Government opposed it, and their speakers were as insolent and self-confident as usual; but before the division came on Mr. Parnell made a scathing speech, which he concluded as follows:—"Leader as I am of a party in a minority—a party which, as an Irish party, has always been in a minority, I should be sorry to treat my most powerful opponent with the depth of incredible meanness and cowardice with which I have been

treated. But the learned gentleman who moved this amendment has put upon the records of this House, and has asked you to affirm, an amendment which is a further insult. You still leave the public and the world to suppose that in the case of the majority of the House there is still a doubt after all as to whether the letter is genuine or not. Do you believe it to be forged? If you believe it to be forged, why have you not had the manliness and simple courage to say so? You talk of the letter imputed to me as if, instead of this being the year 1890, it was the month of April, 1887; as if, instead of being at the end of the litigation which has taken all this time, anxiety, and money, it was still *sub judice*. If you think that a course of conduct worthy of yourselves, I shall leave you to consider it. I am sorry for you. But I shall give you the opportunity, at all events, of removing this most extraordinary omission from your amendment by having to amend the amendment by adding the word 'forged' before the word 'letter.'

The Government were informed that some of their supporters had tender consciences on this matter, and they were dangerously near a defeat, and so Mr. W. H. Smith got up, and in the very last speech of the evening, just before the division, said:—"I have one word only to say in reference to the speech of the hon. member for Cork. He desired to know whether it was to be supposed that we on this side of the House attribute to the hon. member the authorship of a letter acknowledged to be forged. If the hon. gentleman had followed the observations which fell from my right hon. friend, the Secretary for Ireland, he would have realised how completely the right hon. gentleman joined with hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House in expressing detestation of forgery and the forged letter, and the means by which the forged letter had been published, and the circumstances under which it was published. I wish, therefore, on my own behalf, and on behalf of the right hon. gentlemen who sit on this bench, as well as of those who sit on this side of the House, to express our detestation of the acts committed, and our immeasurable satisfaction that the hon. gentleman has been relieved absolutely and completely from the imputation under which he has rested. He has asked that a word should be added to the amendment. I have not the slightest objection to the hon. gentleman's amendment. I wish to give every satisfaction that we legitimately can in the circumstances in which we are placed, and I wish to say that in my belief it is better in the interests of the honour and dignity of this House, and the interests of all concerned in maintaining the authority of this House, that we should accept the proposal which has been made by the Government, and not that which has been made by the right hon.

gentleman opposite. I therefore propose to add to the amendment the word 'forged' before the word 'letter.' The apology came too late; it had lost all its grace, and the only effect of it was that everyone said the Government had been made to eat humble pie. In the Division their majority fell to forty-eight.

One Honest Unionist!—Mr. W. S. Caine, M.P., the whip of the Unionist party, has sent the following circular letter to his constituents, in which he says:—

"I, The Terrace, Clapham Common, S.W.,
"February 18, 1890.

"Dear Sir,—In March, 1887, the *Times* newspaper issued a series of articles entitled "Parnellism and Crime." They were afterwards reprinted in the form of a pamphlet, and I distributed a considerable number of them among my constituents, finding that no action was being taken against the *Times* by those incriminated. In April, 1887, a facsimile of the now infamous forged letter was also published by the *Times*. This was so serious a personal charge that I have never from the day of its issue felt justified in making any public reference to it, and I have awaited in silence the solution of its mystery. My objection to Home Rule is political, not personal; and the guilt or innocence of Mr. Parnell concerning this atrocious charge did not affect my convictions. Mr. Parnell at the time declared the letter a forgery. In May, 1887, Mr. W. H. Smith proposed that the *Times* should be prosecuted for libel at the cost of the Government, but the offer was refused. In 1888 the first action of any kind against the *Times* was taken by Mr. O'Donnell, and during the trial, which broke down, the Attorney-General produced other damaging letters, purporting to be written by Mr. Parnell, now proved to have been forgeries. The day after the conclusion of this case Mr. Parnell asked for a Select Committee on the point of privilege, which was refused by the Government, who made the counter-offer of a Commission of Judges, which was accepted by Mr. Parnell. The Commission has now reported.

"Having circulated 'Parnellism and Crime' among my constituents—(*not the forged letters*, as I have been accused of doing)—I now feel it my duty to lay before each of my constituents the result of the judges' inquiry into the alleged connection of certain specified members of the Irish party with crime, and the authenticity of the letters alleged by the *Times* to have been written by Mr. Parnell and others.

"Subjoined you will find the nine allegations into which the judges have divided the charges, and also certain specific charges against Mr. Parnell and Mr. Davitt, opposite to which I have set the unanimous finding of the three Commissioners,

Some of the charges are held to be true, some are held to be untrue. I refrain from comment on the former, the judges being sufficiently explicit, but I wish to say a word or two on the latter.

"With all sensible and right-minded men, I am profoundly thankful that Mr. Parnell has been able to clear himself so completely and emphatically from the odious charges made against him by the *Times*; which, but for the appointment of the Commission, he might never have accomplished so satisfactorily. I look upon this as a matter for national congratulation.

"I cannot find language strong enough to express my horror of the foul conspiracy to which Mr. Parnell has been subjected, or my opinion of the conduct of the *Times* in lending itself to these infamous libels on the flimsy evidence furnished to them of their supposed genuineness. Mr. Parnell must be held to have come through the inquiry practically unscathed.

"The only comment I will make on the charges in general is that it appears to me that those charges which may be termed as damaging to the personal honour or moral character are disproved, and that those relating to what may be termed political crime have been proved.

"On the whole, the Irish Nationalist Members of Parliament come out of the inquiry much better than I expected, and I am heartily and ungrudgingly glad of it. I think that the objections to Home Rule based upon the personal characters of these gentlemen as individuals must now be taken out of the controversy.

"I conclude by informing you that the strong opposition which I have felt compelled to offer to Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule policy is in no degree lessened by the Report of the Commission, being based on other and far different grounds than the personal character of those gentlemen who would, if that policy were successful, be called upon to give effect to it. Neither does it modify the general support I have been able to give to the Irish policy of the Government.

"I send this letter to every elector on the register.

"Yours faithfully,

"W. S. CAINE."

So there really is one honest Unionist. This letter is a sign of grace, but it is significant solely with regard to Mr. Caine himself. He personally may yet find salvation, but one righteous man did not suffice to save Sodom.

DIARY OF THE MOVEMENT.

January 2.—County Court Judge Waters reversed sentences of seven and two months' imprisonment passed on Mr. Redmond, of the *Waterford News*, and Mr. Fisher, of the *Munster*

Express, for alleged intimidation.—Mr. McEnery, proprietor of the *Limerick Leader*, sentenced to six months' imprisonment for publishing "intimidating" reports.—Kilrush Quarter Sessions hear Thos. Coote's appeal against six months' imprisonment for lighting a tar barrel on the release of the Vandeleur tenants from prison, and reduce the term to one month.

January 6.—Further eviction notices served on Mr. Smith-Barry's tenantry.

January 7.—Publication of Land Commissioners' Scale of Rents in the *Dublin Gazette*, showing considerable increase.—Mr. Asquith at Leeds on Home Rule.

January 8.—South Wales Liberal Federation resolve to hold a conference with the Scottish Home Rule Association to consider the best way to advance the questions of Home Rule for Scotland and Wales.

January 9.—Tenants' Defence Association holds Conferences at Magherafelt and Letterkenny, at which some of the leading Irish Members speak.—Mr. Gladstone, at Hawarden, on agricultural affairs.

January 10.—Issue of the Land Commissioners' Report, with particulars of their work under the Land and Ashborne Acts, payments to landlords, &c.

January 12.—Mr. O'Connor, of the *Leinster Leader*, sentenced to two months' hard labour for publishing "intimidating" reports.—157 ejectment processes issued against Smith-Barry's tenantry.

January 13.—Lord Ripon at Bury on the Dissentients.—Mr. Fowler at Wolverhampton on the work of the coming Session.

January 14.—Mr. Bryce at Canterbury on the Liberal Programme.

January 15.—Conference of Liberals in the City of London.—Professor Stuart on the London Programme.

January 16.—The Irish Property Defence Association, presided over by Lord Courtown, meet in Dublin and present a report of their work. They employ 147 men as bailiffs, caretakers on evicted farms, emergency-men, &c., and hold 320 evicted farms. They own several battering-rams, one of which cost £75.—Death of Mr. Craig Sellar, M.P.

January 17.—Letter in the *Daily News*, by Mr. Redmond, M.P., on the Irish Press Prosecutions.—Death of Mr. Talbot, M.P.

January 21.—Lord Herschell at Bedford on General Politics.

January 22.—Mr. Gladstone at Chester on Foreign, Scottish, and Irish Questions.—Mr. Goschen at the Princes Hall on Foreign Policy and the Budget, and replies to Mr. Bryce's and Mr. Fowler's speeches.

January 23.—Local Government Board dissolve

the Cork Board of Guardians.—Judge Curran congratulates the grand jury at Tralee on the state of Kerry.

January 24.—*Dublin Gazette* contains notice of relaxation in operation of Crimes Act in several districts; private inquiries and change of venue clauses still remain in operation.—Queenstown Town Commissioners and Cork Municipal Council unanimously censure the Local Government Board for dissolving the Cork Board of Guardians.

January 27.—Summons issued on Mr. McGrath, of Cootehall, for persuading people to join the Tenants' Defence Association.

January 28.—Mass meeting at St. James's Hall unanimously protests against any Irish Land Purchase proposals.—Sir George Trevelyan at Doncaster on the Liberal Policy.

January 29.—Mary Ryan, after lying in Limerick Prison for two years for contempt of court, is released.—Mr. Morley at Liverpool on Home Rule.

January 30.—Recorder of Cork revises Mr. Cecil Roche's sentence of seven months' imprisonment on a soldier for taking part in a "riotous assembly" and reduces it to one month.—Mr. Morley at Liverpool on Liberal prospects in the city.—Mr. O'Brien addresses a great meeting at Leeds, and receives enthusiastic welcome.

THE WORK OF THE HOME RULE UNION.

DURING the month of January twenty-six lectures were held, of which twenty-one were on Irish evictions, illustrated with the limelight. The lecturers were Dr. Aubrey, Messrs. E. John Harry, R. Hanmer, and R. Scotter.

No van has been at work during the month; but arrangements are being made for two of the vans to commence operations shortly.

HOME RULE UNION.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.—At a meeting of the Executive Committee held on Tuesday, January 28th, 1890 (present: Rev. J. S. Jones, in the chair; Mrs. Bryant, D.Sc., Miss Cobden, Miss Monck, and the Secretary), the Secretary announced that Canon Keller had finally declined to be entertained at any banquet during his stay in England.

The Secretary suggested as a means for obtaining funds to carry on the work of the Union that the members of the Committee should obtain names of people who are willing to subscribe a guinea a year till the next General Election, and that the Chairman be requested to write a letter which could be lithographed and sent to all such persons.

On the motion of Miss Monck, seconded by Mrs. Bryant, this suggestion was approved.

THE ANNUAL MEETING.

The annual meeting of the Home Rule Union will be held at the Conference Room of the National Liberal Club, on Wednesday, March 26th.

The chair will be taken at 8 o'clock by the Right Honourable G. Shaw-Lefevre, M.P., and among the speakers will be Mr. Herbert Gladstone, M.P. Tickets may be obtained by members of the Union on application to the Secretary at the offices of the Union.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS SINCE LAST ISSUE.

	£	s.	d.
Agnew, Miss	0	5	0
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Dalby, G. B.	1	1	0
Fletcher, H.	0	5	0
Hadwen, Miss B.	0	5	0
Hopps, Rev. J. Page	1	1	0
Hughes, Miss	1	1	0
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Raven, Miss	1	0	0
Schach, The Countess	1	0	0
Sharpe, Miss M.	0	2	6
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Thompson, E. H.	1	0	0
Tisdale, Miss E.	0	5	0
Trevelyan, Sir G. O., M.P.	2	0	0

VAN FUND.

Coleman, J.	1	1	0
Sheffield Women's Liberal Association	*	3	8

* This sum was collected by the Sheffield Women's Liberal Association towards the Van Fund, and Postal Orders to that amount were posted to the Home Rule Union, but never reached the Offices. Enquiries made from the Post Office elicited the fact that the Postal Orders had been cashed at the Fleet-street Post Office and must therefore have been stolen in the Post.

Subscriptions to the Home Rule Union should be sent to the Secretary, 17 & 18, Palace Chambers, Westminster. Annual Subscribers of Five Shillings and upwards to the Home Rule Union will receive the Monthly Journal free.

JOURNAL OF THE HOME RULE UNION.

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THE MEANNESS OF THE GOVERNMENT.

IF our only interest in politics were the advancement of our own party at the expense of our opponents, we should look back on the debate on the Commission with simple feelings of rejoicing. For never has a Government succeeded in placing itself so absolutely and hopelessly in the wrong. There may be doubtful questions arising out of the Report of the Commission, but there is at least one question, and that the greatest which was submitted to the Commission, as to which no shade of doubt remains. Mr. Parnell and his colleagues were accused of complicity with crime. To try them on that charge was the main purpose of the Commission, and but for that charge the Commission

would never have been heard of. Boycotting and its effects, conspiracy against landlords, association with Irish Americans—all these things were only political padding. The main charge was direct approval of, and incitement to, crime. Mr. Parnell and his colleagues have been tried on that charge, and they have been acquitted—acquitted without qualification. Manifestly, that acquittal cast a great duty on the Government. They were bound to throw aside all party considerations, and for once acting in the name of the nation, to make reparation to the accused, and to pass condemnation on the accusers. And how have they fulfilled this duty? They have passed a resolution adopting the Report, thanking the Commissioners for their just and impartial conduct, and ordering that the Report be entered on the Journals of the House; that is all. Of reparation or regret on the one hand, or of condemnation on the other hand, there is not one word. Stripped of all disguises, the resolution simply means that the supporters of the Government, having for the last three years ruthlessly used the accusation against the Irish party as a powerful political weapon, are now willing to drop the subject, but refuse to make even the slightest atone-

ment. Is anything more ungenerous, more mean, conceivable?

They say that they have adopted the Report, and that if the Report is an acquittal the exoneration of the Irish party will remain on record. Such a plea is an absurd evasion. We have already pointed out how restricted was the idea which the Commissioners took of their duty. They held that they had nothing to do with the conduct of the *Times*, and they certainly had nothing to do with the political use which was made of the false accusations. In referring to speeches made by Irishmen, indeed, they seem to have lost sight of such restrictions, but on the whole they made a painful effort to confine the case within its strictly legal limits. They left to politicians the consideration of the case as a whole. Except on the strictly legal questions, their report was not, and was not intended to be, a final verdict. It left the Government with the responsibility and duty of expressing, in the name of the whole nation, their opinion on the whole case.

This responsibility and duty they have shirked. Like the judges, they too, forsooth, have no commission to inquire into the question whether Mr. Parnell and, through him, the Irish people, have not suffered a foul wrong! Colleagues of their own, Members of Parliament like themselves, have been basely libelled, and they are content to do nothing but adopt the Report! Imagine the case of sixty-five English Members having had to remain for years under the weight of similar accusations. Would any Government, Tory or Liberal, have contented itself with adopting the Report which showed

the accusations to be false? If not, why, in dealing out justice to Irishmen, must we have different weights and measures? Look at it as we may, the action of the Government will remain as a monument of ungenerosity and meanness.

We do not enter upon the other features of the debate—the great speech of Mr. Gladstone, the disclosures of the methods of the *Times* in obtaining evidence, and the revolt of Lord Randolph Churchill. We keep before us the simple fact of denial of justice by the Government; and it should be our duty to prevent that fact from being forgotten. The case is not ended yet. The next step in this Parliament should be a motion for the payment of the expenses to which the respondents have been put in defending themselves before the Commission. The first step in the next Parliament should be the expunging of the resolution from the Journals of the House of Commons. Meanwhile we can go to the electors with an argument, than which no political party ever held a stronger; and St. Pancras and Stamford show what the result will be.

NEW VOLUME OF THE JOURNAL.

We commence in this number a new volume and a new arrangement of the Journal. In future we propose to restrict our news and articles on current topics of the Irish Question to eight pages, but every month we shall publish an eight-page supplement, which will consist of a single article on some point of the Irish Question. When the Home Rule Union commenced its

lecture scheme, three and a half years ago, it was our intention that the lectures, which had been most carefully prepared, should be published in pamphlet form. We have, however, never found an opportunity of doing this, but we now propose to avail ourselves of the supplement for attaining practically the same result.

The subjects of the articles in the supplement will be distributed under the original four headings in which we grouped the subjects of our lectures, viz.: "Home Rule in the Colonies," "History of Ireland," "Present Condition of Ireland," and "The Remedy."

These supplements will also be published separately as tracts, and may be obtained for distribution at the offices of the Home Rule Union.

LETTERS FROM IRELAND.

Dublin, March 2nd.

THE death of Mr. Biggar has cast a shadow over Nationalist circles in Ireland. Even amongst those who had not the privilege of his acquaintance, a feeling of affection had grown up for him, and the respect which his sincere and kindly nature won not only from friends, but even opponents, was strikingly shown on the occasion of his funeral in Belfast last week. I was in Belfast a few days ago and made particular inquiries in reference to the respect shown to Mr. Biggar's memory by his political opponents. I was told that a noticeable change was taking place in regard to political feeling in Belfast. Slowly, it is true, and no doubt it will not affect the votes of Unionists on the Home Rule question; but it is satisfactory that there is evidence of better feeling between parties, and Nationalist meetings can now be held without fear of interruption or disorder. This better feeling diminishes the fear that Belfast will not take the common-sense view of the inevitable and accept Home Rule for the best when finally passed.

The fight in Tipperary goes merrily on. Last Thursday the first fair in the new market-place was held. A new weighing-machine has been

erected, over which the toll-clerk, who formerly acted for Mr. Smith-Barry, presided. The building and levelling operations carried out, and in course, are really amazing. A considerable hill just outside the town has been levelled, involving labour a contractor would think twice about. On the space so prepared a large roofed-in mart has been erected, in which will be provided stalls for shopkeepers. It will, it is expected, also provide accommodation for meetings, in the place of the Town Hall in the old town which was built by Mr. Smith-Barry. Three streets are laid out on the ground adjoining the mart. Some of the houses will be provided with shop fronts, others are residential. The houses are being built in quite a substantial manner, and drainage of a permanent character laid down with manholes at junctions and curves. At the other end of the town some twenty-six labourers' cottages are being built immediately facing some cottages belonging to Mr. Smith-Barry, from which the tenants will be shortly evicted. The new cottages contain three rooms and a loft. The partition walls are of brick, the front and back portions are constructed of a double sheeting of timber, the space between being packed with peat, and the roof slated. In addition to the provision made for the evicted town tenants, the agricultural tenants are being provided with farms on land specially taken for the purpose. It is evident Tipperary means business, and it is doubtful whether anything short of the unconditional surrender of Mr. Smith-Barry will settle the dispute. The town can, in fact, get on without Mr. Smith-Barry. The Tory papers talk of business being driven away from Tipperary. I am told on the contrary, that the shopkeepers are doing more trade than ever before. Whether this is likely to last is another question; but at present the influx of sightseers from the surrounding country to see the building of the new town, and flood of voluntary labour, has undoubtedly benefited the shopkeepers.

The pettiness of the coercion administration was fully illustrated in the Clongorey prosecutions. As, however, the case has already formed the subject of a debate in Parliament, I need not allude to it further. On the subject of coercion, a case which to some extent has escaped attention is deserving of notice. In March last year sixteen respectable inhabitants of Kilkenny, for turning out as bandsmen to honour Mr. Carew, M.P., on the evening he was being conveyed to gaol, previous to trial, were first batonned by the police, and then charged with riot. It was in this case that District Inspector Rodwell swore, when cross-examined by Mr. Counsel, B.L., that the people had been interfered with in consequence of instructions from Dublin Castle "not to allow of any demonstration in honour of a political prisoner."

A curious commentary on Mr. Balfour's pretence that such prisoners are ordinary criminals.

Ten of the sixteen were convicted. Two were sentenced to three months with hard labour, and eight were required to enter into recognizances to come up for judgment within 12 months, and in the meantime to be of good behaviour. Refusing to admit by so doing that they had been of bad behaviour, they were sentenced to five weeks' imprisonment without hard labour. A case was stated for the superior court to consider whether there was any evidence which could have been left to a jury to sustain the charge. Baron Dowse and Judge Andrews held that there was some evidence on which a jury might, but should not, have convicted the prisoners, and consequently the conviction of the Crimes Court was sustained; Baron Dowse remarking that had he tried the case with a jury he would have directed his charge to an acquittal. Owing to proceedings in the superior Courts, the accused have, up to the present, been kept out of prison. But I am informed that now, twelve months after the offence, a warrant is out for the apprehension of these men, and they will probably have to go to gaol for an offence, if we can use the word, which, if tried before a jury, would certainly have resulted in an acquittal.

A meeting of the Irish Protestant Home Rule Association was held in Dublin last Saturday evening. The chair was taken by Dr. G. H. Kidd. Among the speakers were Mr. Sergeant Hemphill, Q.C., and Mr. Alfred Webb, M.P., a vice-president of the Association, it being the first meeting in Ireland Mr. Webb has addressed since his well-merited election to Parliament. Mr. Webb, I need not say, is one of the old guard in Irish politics, and his election has been a source of general congratulation. The chairman said: "They had lately seen a very remarkable change in public opinion. He thought that the manner in which the Corporation and the Chamber of Commerce had agreed as to the Dublin Improvement Bill was a very gratifying evidence of the improvement in public opinion. The entire citizens of Dublin had begun to see that leading Irishmen were able to manage their affairs as well and better than others could manage those affairs for them."

JOSEPH GILLIS BIGGAR.

By the death of Mr. Biggar the cause of Home Rule has suffered an irreparable loss. No one can fill the exact place he occupied in the councils and work of the Irish Parliamentary Party, and it is not too much to say that the magnitude of the

loss could only have been surpassed by that of one other leader.

Mr. Biggar was the father of the Irish Parliamentary Party; and in the early days of the movement, when the great difficulty that the Parnellites had to encounter was the distrust by the Irish people of all constitutional methods—a distrust which had been created by the betrayal of their cause by Sadler and Keogh years before—and which seemed to have become stereotyped by the feebleness of the party that had followed the lead of Mr. Butt, Mr. Biggar rendered inestimable service by the evidence he gave in his fighting policy of the possibility of winning something for Ireland otherwise than by violent rebellion. The Imperial Parliament was the unjust judge. Mr. Biggar taught his fellow members to play the part of the unfortunate widow, with what success we know. To his vigilance also is largely due the fact that no corruptible politician has ever entered the ranks of the Irish Parliamentary Party; and the title of "honest Joe Biggar," by which he was known among the people of Ireland, indicates how conscious his fellow-countrymen were of the services that he rendered in this direction.

The kindness of his disposition made him beloved by all who were brought into personal intercourse with him; and it was a strange irony that made so genial a man so intensely disliked, as he was, in the old days of obstruction in the House of Commons. So little has his true character been understood in England that even Liberal journals have remarked that, since it has been the policy of the Irish Party to forego obstruction and submit themselves, like other members of Parliament, to the etiquette of the House of Commons, Mr. Biggar must often have felt that his occupation had gone. No more fallacious criticism could have been made. Though ready to undertake any task, however disagreeable, that he deemed necessary for the sake of his country's cause, no one was more pleased at the change that has come over the attitude towards each other of the English and Irish peoples.

His position among his colleagues of the Irish Parliamentary Party is accurately summed up in Mr. T. P. O'Connor's "Parnell Movement," where he says: "Whoever stands highest in respect, Mr. Biggar holds first place in the affections of his comrades. . . . To his intimates, Mr. Biggar is a man overflowing with kindness, of an absolute unselfishness."

RECENT BOOKS ON IRELAND.

SEVERAL works, some more and some less valuable, have recently been published dealing with various aspects of the Irish question. Chief

in point of present interest, of course, is the rather dull political pamphlet, commonly called the Report of the Parnell Commission, of which we need say no more here than that everyone who has the opportunity of exercising political influence over his neighbours should read it again and again. If electors thoroughly understood what the Report contains, and appreciated what the Judges have deliberately omitted from consideration, they would have fresh and convincing evidence of that lack of imagination which has made English Government of Ireland a failure.

Mr. Shaw Lefevre's *Combination and Coercion* (Kegan Paul & Co., 1s.) is a most valuable addition to his previous works, *Incidents of Coercion*, and *Irish Members and English Gaolers*. No politician, indeed, is doing the Liberal party better service than Mr. Lefevre. He has the rare merit of taking pains to inform himself carefully as to the rights and wrongs of the agitation in Ireland, and of the policy of the Government; and he has the further merit, not by any means common, even on our side, of recording his observations with calmness, moderation, and a feeling of responsibility. The present work is the fruit of a visit to Ireland, which Mr. Lefevre made in December, 1889, for the purpose of attending the meeting of the Tenants' Defence Association in Galway. He took the opportunity of going over some of the estates on which landlords and tenants are at war; and he now gives a clear statement of what he has seen and heard. The cases specially dealt with are those on the Ponsonby estate, the situation in Tipperary, the Clanricarde evictions, the Coolgreaney, Massereene, and Olphert estates, and the Vandeleur settlement; and an account is given of the Galway convention, of a visit to Mr. William O'Brien in Galway Gaol, and of illustrative cases of the abuse of coercion. Mr. Lefevre records his opinion that almost the sole use which is made of the Coercion Act is in putting down combinations of tenants; and the facts which he relates, notably the case of the persecution of John Fitzgibbon, of Castlerea, show that this strong opinion is amply justified. Reading day by day brief newspaper accounts of what goes on in Ireland, we in England are apt to forget what in Ireland they are never allowed to forget, the utter disorganisation which our policy is creating. It is not this or that injustice which does the mischief, it is the cumulation of iniquity. Thus it is good from time to time to have before us a general survey of the situation in order that we may be enabled to do that which is necessary for a sound political judgment on the greatest of political questions—namely, to place ourselves in the position of the Irish people. In enabling us to do this, Mr. Lefevre's book is of the greatest value. The more wily it is read, the better for our cause.

In his *Political Prisoners at Home and Abroad*, Dr. Sigerson gives an excellent statement of the case for distinguishing in respect of punishment between political offences and ordinary crimes. The distinction, as he shows, is founded on reason and good sense; it is clearly recognised in the practice of foreign nations; and until recently it was an accepted principle in the administration of our own law. In Ireland we have blotted the distinction out. We have subjected the political prisoner to ignominy, as if he were a common thief. The result, as Dr. Sigerson says, is that the intended effect of the imprisonment is lost, and the sympathies of the country go with the captive. It is not the least among the evils of our Irish policy that it is of so utterly unconstitutional a nature, and that its influence cannot be prevented from spreading (as indeed it is already spreading) from Ireland to England. If we lose the instinct of treating political opponents with fairness, we are indeed in a bad way. The danger is a very real one, deserving our serious attention; and Dr. Sigerson, by his temperate discussion of the principles of punishment, and by his collection of facts relating to the practice of our own and other countries, has done much to clear away the cloud of confusion which prejudiced politicians have thrown round the subject.

Two other books of a different character remain to be shortly noticed: Mr. Barry O'Brien's *Home Ruler's Manual*, and Mr. J. A. Fox's *Key to the Irish Question*. It is enough to say of them that they contain a mine of information on Ireland, past and present. To persons meditating political speeches we can give no better advice than that they should turn to Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Fox. They will find facts and illustrations sufficient to last them all their speaking days. We ought to add, however, that Mr. Fox (whose work is by far the more copious of the two) asks this favour of his readers, that they will, when quoting from his pages, be so good as to acknowledge the source of their information. He asks it not for his own sake, but as affording the very best means of spreading the "light." Lest we ourselves in the future should sometimes consciously or unconsciously fail to respond to this appeal, we must frankly say that Mr. Fox makes a rather impracticable request. His book is mainly a classified collection of extracts, most of which (or, to keep well within the mark, many of which) are familiar to readers of Irish history. He must not be disappointed, therefore, if from time to time he finds his own quotations being used without a reference to his *Key*. His book, of course, will be treated as what it really is—a handy book of reference; as such it is most useful, and we heartily recommend it.

DIARY OF THE MOVEMENT.

February 1.—Evictions at Tipperary.—Mr. H. Gladstone speaks on party leaders.

February 3.—Mr. Parnell receives £5,000 damages from *Times* for libel.

February 4.—Judge Anderson, at Cashel quarter sessions, reverses sentence of three months' imprisonment passed on Thomas Fogarty for obstructing sheriff in evicting his father.—Conference of South Wales Liberal Federation. Mr. Bryce addresses a large meeting in the evening.

February 5.—Mr. W. O'Brien addresses large meeting in Manchester.

February 6.—Mr. H. H. Fowler, M.P., at Willenhall, replies to Mr. Goschen's speech in the Prince's Hall, London.

February 7.—Important discussion of taxation and expenditure by the Council of the Liberal and Radical Union.

February 9.—Bands of emergency-men level the houses of the tenants evicted at Clongorey.

February 10.—Professor Stuart at Shoreditch on the Liberal programme.

February 11.—Letter by Mr. Gill, M.P., in the *Daily News* on Irish press prosecutions.—Mr. McManus charged before two R.M.s at Clogher, for taking forcible possession of a farm. Case dismissed. This is the second time he has been charged for the same offence.—Partick Election: Unionist majority reduced by 600.—Opening of Parliament, Question of Privilege raised.

February 12.—Great demonstration in London to welcome Mr. O'Brien.—Mr. Gladstone and Mr. W. H. Smith speak in the House of Commons on the address.

February 13.—Issue of the Parnell Commission Report.—Victory of Plan of Campaign on Mr. William Synott's Enniscorthy Estate. The plan had been adopted for two and a half years; the tenants had been evicted and were living in "Campaign" huts. The demands of the tenants were granted and those evicted reinstated.

February 14.—Four men committed for trial for boycotting the Carrickmacross Branch of the Great Northern Railway.—*Dublin Gazette* contains proclamation that in certain portions of Sligo and Wexford the Star Chambers, summary jurisdiction, and special jury clauses of the Coercion Act will be enforced.—Mr. Parnell moves amendment to address in the House of Commons.

February 16.—Mr. John Slattery, a prominent Cork citizen and Nationalist, charged at Cork Crimes Court with intimidation. On refusing to bail himself and find surety, he was sent to prison for six months.

February 17.—Thirty "eviction made easy" notices served on Clancararde tenants at Woodford.—Mr. O'Brien speaks on Mr. Parnell's amendment in the House of Commons.

February 18.—Fifteen men erecting huts for evicted tenants at Clongorey are arrested.—Council of the National Liberal Federation pass resolutions congratulating Mr. Parnell on the character of the report of the Commission.—Mr. Balfour in the House of Commons on Mr. Parnell's amendment.

February 19.—Twenty-nine workmen arrested at Clongorey.—Ejection notices issued on a large number of Kingston tenantry.—Death of Mr. Biggar.—Debate on Scottish Home Rule in the House of Commons.

February 20.—Mr. McInery, editor of the *Limerick Leader*, arrested for intimidation.—100 police charge workmen at Clongorey and make 18 arrests.—Liberal returned unopposed for Mid-Glamorganshire.

February 21.—Debate on Free Education in the House of Commons.

February 22.—Seventeen men from Clongorey, on refusing to give bail, sent to prison for two months by Mr. Fitzgerald, R.M.—Mr. Chaplin, at Cambridge, on the Commission Report.

February 24.—Mr. McInery, editor of the *Limerick Leader*, refusing to give bail, sentenced at Limerick Crimes Court to one month for intimidation.—Armed police prevent the erection of huts at Clongorey.—Debate on the Clongorey arrests in the House of Commons.

February 25.—Four further arrests at Clongorey.—Forty ejection notices served on Youghal tenantry (Smith-Barry).—Important Conference in London on Scottish and Welsh Home Rule.—Mr. Asquith, at Clapham, on the Report.

February 26.—The recent "Press Convictions" heard by Exchequer division and the Crimes Court decision reversed with costs against the Crown.—Sir William Harcourt, at Bath; Sir C. Russell, at Cambridge; Lord R. Churchill, at Paddington.

February 27.—Publication of Irish eviction returns.—Ten men arrested at Clongorey, brought up before Mr. Macsheeby and Col. Bowlby, R.M.s, and discharged.—New Tipperary market opened.—Charles Gallagher sent to gaol for three months for winking at a pig.

February 28. — Sixteen of the Clongorey workmen brought before the magistrates, who decided that the precept upon which the charges were based had been illegally served.—Thirty-six ejectment notices served on the Youghal tenantry.—Proclamation in the *Dublin Gazette*, “prohibiting and suppressing” the National League in districts of Mayo and Tipperary.—Conference of Women’s Liberal Associations at the National Liberal Club.

THE WORK OF THE HOME RULE UNION.

DURING the month of February lecturers and speakers were supplied by the Home Rule Union to thirty meetings, at twenty of which photographs of eviction scenes were shown by means of the lime-light. The divisions in which these lime-light lectures were held were the following : South Paddington, in which five were given ; North St. Pancras, four; Croydon, two ; and Battersea, Dulwich, Peckham, South Kensington, South Hackney, North Camberwell, Gravesend, Ipswich, South-East Durham, Houghton-le-Spring, and Sunderland, one each. The lecturers were Dr. Aubrey, and Messrs. R. Hanmer and R. Scotter. Meetings were also held without illustration in the following constituencies, viz., two each in Appleby and Westminster, and one each in Hornsey, North St. Pancras, The Strand, and West Camb. The lecturers and speakers were the following : the Right Hon. G. Shaw-Lefevre, M.P., the Hon. Bernard Coleridge, M.P., and Messrs. George Coffey, R. Hanmer, J. R. Macdonald, and E. J. C. Morton.

HOME RULE UNION.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.—At a meeting of the Executive Committee held on Tuesday, February 11th, 1890 (present : Mr. Henry Holiday, in the chair ; Mrs. Bryant, Rev. J. S. Jones, Dr. Bernard O’Connor, Mr. T. Lough, and the Secretary), it was proposed by Mr. Lough, seconded by Mrs. Bryant, and carried unanimously, “That the Annual Meeting of the Union be held in the National Liberal Club.” After some discussion as to how the Journal should be carried on in the future, the subject was postponed till the next meeting of the Executive.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee held

at the Offices of the Union, 17 & 18, Palace Chambers, 9, Bridge Street, S.W. (present : T. Eccleston Gibb, Esq., in the chair ; Mrs. Bryant, D.Sc., Miss Holcroft, Messrs. Henry Holiday, T. Lough, and the Secretary) :

The Secretary announced that the Right Hon. G. Shaw Lefevre, M.P., had consented to take the chair, and Mr. Herbert Gladstone, M.P., to be present and speak at the annual meeting of the Home Rule Union, to be held at the Conference Room of the National Liberal Club on Wednesday, 26th March.

The Secretary reported that the Editor of the Journal and himself had agreed to recommend that a new volume of the JOURNAL OF THE HOME RULE UNION be commenced in the March number, and that in place of the present sixteen pages of news and articles printed in double columns, there be eight pages of news and one leading article printed each month, together with an eight-page supplement to be printed in leader type, single column, and to consist each month of a tract on some one point connected with the Irish Question. That 1,000 copies of each month’s supplement be printed as a separate tract.

The Secretary further reported that Mrs. Bryant had promised to write three of these supplements on Irish history ; subjects :—

“Celtic Ireland,”

“Ireland under the Normans,”

“The Reformation in Ireland,”

and that he himself was prepared to write four on “Home Rule in the Colonies.”

On the motion of Mr. Lough, seconded by Mr. Holiday, this proposal was approved.

THE ANNUAL MEETING.

THE annual meeting of the Home Rule Union will be held at the Conference Room of the National Liberal Club, on Wednesday, March 26th.

The chair will be taken at 8 o’clock by the Right Honourable G. Shaw-Lefevre, M.P., and among the speakers will be Mr. Herbert Gladstone, M.P. Tickets may be obtained by members of the Union on application to the Secretary at the offices of the Union.

At the meeting the new Committee will be elected. The following persons have been nominated for election (the names of those who are not members of the outgoing Committee being printed in italics), viz. :—

Mrs. Bates.

Hugh F. Boyd.
Mrs. Bryant, D.Sc.
 Miss Cobden.
 W. Martin Edwards.
 B. Ellis.
 T. E. Ellis, M.P.
 Richard Eve.
 Herbert Gladstone, M.P.
 T. Eccleston Gibb.
 Miss Holcroft.
 Henry Holiday.
 Rev. J. S. Jones.
C. F. V. Knox.
 Thomas Lough.
J. Murray Macdonald.
 G. P. Macdonell.
 Miss Monck.
 E. J. C. Morton.
 Dr. Bernard O'Connor.
 William Phillips.
 E. H. Pickersgill, M.P.
 J. Allanson Picton, M.P.
Mrs. Ashley Ponsonby.
 W. S. Robson.
 T. A. Spalding.
 Prof. Stuart, M.P.
 Dr. Summerhayes.
 S. D. Waddy, Q.C. M.P.
E. Walsford.

As the number of the Committee fixed by the rules is thirty, if any additional persons are nominated an election must be held at the meeting to choose thirty from the nominations. Any member of the Home Rule Union is at liberty to nominate a member for election to the Executive, but all nominations must be sent in to

the Secretary, at the offices of the Union, on or before Saturday, March 22, with a statement by the proposer that the nominee has consented to serve.

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Subscriptions to the Home Rule Union should be sent to the Secretary, 17 & 18, Palace Chambers, Westminster. Annual Subscribers of Five Shillings and upwards to the Home Rule Union will receive the Monthly Journal free.

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

Journal of the Home Rule Union.

APRIL, 1888.

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SUPPLEMENT TO THE JOURNAL OF THE HOME RULE UNION, MARCH, 1890.

HOME RULE IN THE COLONIES.

I.

By E. J. C. MORTON.

HOME RULE AND THE UNITY OF THE EMPIRE.

It is often asserted as an argument against Home Rule for Ireland that, in the changes that take place in the distribution of the populations of Christendom into states, the tendency is everywhere towards political integration, and the new states created by the change are stronger and more stable than the old. The second of these assertions is, in the main, true—the first is untrue. For though this generation has seen the scattered Italian principalities unite into one Italian nation, and the divided German states into one German Empire, men still living have also seen the tie that bound Belgium to Holland severed, and this generation has witnessed the dismemberment of the Austrian Empire, and the beginning of the dissolution of Turkey.

But the second statement is almost always true. There are indeed exceptions, such as the aggrandisement of the Austrian Empire by the annexation of Bosnia and the Herzegovina, but these are few in number. And in that great majority of cases, where the change has resulted in the creation of states stronger and more stable than before, the change, without any exception, has been caused by, and illustrates, the law that nations are not material mechanisms that can be arbitrarily constructed by the piecing together of their respective parts, as a joiner constructs a piece of furniture, but that they are, to some extent, like individual men and women—living organisms, which cannot be constructed but which must grow, and which can only exist as strong and stable states when the individuals and the several parts that compose them are united by the vital attraction of mutual cohesion, and not by the mechanical force of external pressure.

“ FORCE IS NO REMEDY.”

This is why “Force is no remedy”: not because we cannot apply force enough, but because force is a thing wholly inapplicable to the purpose in view. You can no more bind individuals into a strong and stable state by external force than you can preserve a man’s body from dissolution by encasing it in an iron coffin. We may hold Ireland passive within the cast-iron casing of a military constabulary, but the nation will be lifeless, and will disintegrate and dissolve into corruption within our iron bonds, and finally will slough off like a withered limb from the body of the Empire. If we do not desire this, we must cherish those vital forces of cohesion which alone can unite the individuals, like living cells, and the several parts like living limbs, into the living body of the Empire.

TO WHOM THE ARGUMENT IS ADDRESSED.

For my own part I do not desire that the Empire should break up. I have no authority to speak for the Home Rule Union, or any of its members, in this matter; but, for myself, I take pride in the great Empire of which England is at present the head, and I desire that it should be strong and united in the future. I am not concerned here to give my reasons for believing this ideal to be possible, or for

believing it to be desirable, but I address myself to those who agree with me in holding it, some of whom seem to think that it is inconsistent with Home Rule; and I ask them to consider, in the light of history, whether the policy of Home Rule for Ireland will tend towards the unity and strength of the Empire, or towards its dissolution and weakness. I do not contend that the establishment of Home Rule will secure the future unity of the Empire, but I believe that all experience goes to show that it must tend in that direction, and I believe it can be shown that if Home Rule be finally refused to Ireland the preservation of the Empire is impossible.

THE ARGUMENT FROM AUTHORITY.

Any argument from authority is pretty sure to be fallacious; but it is worth a passing notice that no one of the opponents of Home Rule who can claim the name of statesman has ever shown much interest in the Empire, or its preservation; that the speaker and the writer who have been most prominent in advocating the separation of the Empire into independent states—Mr. John Bright and Mr. Goldwin Smith¹—have been among the strongest opponents of Home Rule for Ireland; that the English political leader who is most earnest in advocating the maintenance of the Empire—Lord Rosebery—is one of the most prominent supporters of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Policy; and that every prominent colonial statesman is an advocate at the same time of the continued unity of the British Empire, and of Home Rule for Ireland.

HOME RULE NO NEW THING.

But to turn to more serious considerations. Of all the assertions which have been made to discredit the cause of Home Rule, the accusation that it is an entirely new and untried policy—that by it we should “throw the Constitution into the melting pot”—is the one which has been most often made, and which has done more than anything else to prejudice the fair consideration of the case in the minds of English electors. And of all, it is the most absolutely false.

At the present moment there are twenty free parliaments throughout the Empire, to each of seventeen of which there is responsible an Executive Government; but only one of these, viz., the Imperial Parliament at Westminster, with the Executive responsible to it, has any right to meddle in matters of Imperial or Foreign importance. If Mr. Gladstone's Bill had become law, there would henceforth have been twenty-one free Parliaments throughout the Empire, to each of eighteen of which there would have been responsible an Executive Government, and still only one of these, viz., the same Imperial Parliament at Westminster, with the Executive responsible to it, would have had any right to meddle in Imperial or Foreign affairs.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE POPULATION OF THE EMPIRE.

But let us examine the constitution of the Empire more closely. Outside the United Kingdom, with the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands, the populations and territories which make up the British Empire may be divided into three classes.

¹ Mr. Goldwin Smith is now (February, 1890) engaged in an active and open agitation to effect the severance of Canada from the British Empire, and its annexation to the United States of America. It is a curious fact that among those who are expressing on every platform their horror because three judges have found as a fact that eight of the Irish leaders once desired the complete separation of Ireland from England, a fact which the eight Members have been publicly asserting for some years, not one has been found to suggest that Mr. Goldwin Smith should be hanged, or even in any way molested.

First, there are those minute populations inhabiting places like St. Helena, which exist, so far as the Empire is concerned, mainly as military or naval posts—populations that are so minute that they have never experienced any distinctive national feeling; and so long as we rule them fairly they seem well content that we should continue to rule them. Moreover, they are so minute that if they demanded Home Rule for themselves, we could grant that demand without the most timorous “Unionist” being able to pretend that we would be jeopardising any Imperial interest. No Home Rule question, therefore, has ever arisen with any one of this class of populations, and with these few words I will dismiss them from our consideration.

The second class consists, though we are too apt to forget it, of far the greatest proportion of the total population of the Empire, viz., those populations that are governed despotically by the Government of England from Downing Street; and of these far the greatest proportion, and indeed far the greatest proportion of the total population of the Empire, inhabits the Empire of India.

THE LESSON OF INDIA.

Now, the recent history of India is not without a lesson for us in our dealings with Ireland. Eleven years ago, when a novelist was Prime Minister of England, and a novelist governed India, every Anglo-Indian on his return home used to warn us that the natives of India were disaffected, and articles were continually appearing in the monthly magazines bidding us prepare for another and more terrible mutiny. But ten years ago that regime of romancers passed away, and five years ago, when there seemed for a moment to be danger of an invasion of India from the north-west, instead of mutiny, one great chorus of loyalty went up from all the diverse populations of that vast dominion, and united India was ready to march against the Russians who seemed to threaten invasion. What was it that in the brief space of five years wrought so wonderful a change?

There is only one source from which an authoritative answer can be obtained. Ask the natives of India themselves. Ask Mahomedans from the north-west provinces, Mahrattas from Gwalior or Indore, or Baboos from Bengal. Differing one from another in race, in language, in religion, as much as any of them differs from ourselves, one and all they agree in telling us that the secret of Indian loyalty today lies mainly in the work of Lord Ripon; and it is an instructive fact that his work has been the sowing of the seed of what must one day grow into a great system of local self-government for the whole of India, and the admission, as far as possible, of the people of India to the work of their own government.

THE SELF-GOVERNING COLONIES.

The third class consists of those colonies which are neither minute isolated posts nor are governed despotically from Downing Street. And these again fall under three heads. First, those which possess a legislative assembly only partially elective, and no responsible Executive—of these Western Australia is an example; secondly, those which have an elective legislative assembly but no responsible Executive—of these Barbadoes is an example; and thirdly, those that have an elective legislative assembly and a responsible Executive. The last of these sub-divisions contains far the greatest colonies, both in the areas of their territories and the numbers of their populations; and also far the most instructive, for it comprises those colonies which are in possession of complete Home Rule. These Home Rule colonies are nine in number, and are:—The Dominion of Canada,

and the Colonies of Newfoundland, the Cape of Good Hope, New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, Victoria, Tasmania, and New Zealand. The Dominion of Canada is further divided into eight provinces, viz.:—Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Manitoba, Prince Edward Island, British Columbia, and “The Territories,” and each of these, with the exception of “The Territories,” has a Parliament of its own, and a responsible Executive to deal with its own provincial affairs.

The details of the constitutions of these various Home Rule colonies are very different. Some have an Upper House, others have none; in some the Upper House as well as the Lower is elective, in others its members are nominated. In some the legislative assembly is elected by manhood suffrage, in others by all men over thirty years of age; in some by household suffrage, in others there is a property qualification. But in all the legislative assembly is elected on a wide suffrage, the Upper House refrains from permanently resisting the Lower, and the members of the Executive must possess the confidence of the majority of the legislative assembly or resign. These are the elements which together constitute Home Rule.

THE GENERAL EFFECT OF HOME RULE.

Now in none of these Colonies has Home Rule tended to separation from the Empire. On the other hand, their Home Rule Constitutions were originally granted to the larger and more populous of them at a time when they were more or less disaffected, and when those of their citizens, who were loudest in their demands for it, made no secret of the fact that they regarded complete separation from the Empire as their ultimate goal, and when all parties in England, both those who advocated and those who opposed the change, believed that they were sowing the seeds of separation by granting it. Yet, no sooner did the Colonists get their Parliament and responsible Executive than they turned their attention wholly to sweeping away the arrears of legislation that had been accumulating during the years in which we had refused them Home Rule, and, while they were so engaged, there insensibly grew up in their minds a feeling of loyalty to the Empire which is now not content with mere sentiment, but claims its embodiment in the continuance of a constitutional unity with England; so that the demand for “Imperial Federation,” the alternative to “Independence,” was first made, and is now being loudest made, not by citizens of the old country, but by citizens of those very self-governing colonies to whose disaffection we once granted Home Rule.

PRACTICAL EXPRESSION OF COLONIAL LOYALTY.

And this feeling of loyalty has already found practical expression; for when six years ago England found herself in her unfortunate difficulties in the Soudan, whatever we may think of the policy that led to those difficulties, it is a fact which is instructive, and must in itself be a cause for gratification, that Canada offered to raise a force for service with the Imperial troops, that Canadian *voyageurs* were employed in the Nile Expedition, and that New South Wales actually did equip and send at her own expense a corps of her own citizens to help the old country in her hour of need.

I am of course aware that it has been denied that this action on the part of New South Wales was prompted by a genuine loyalty. It has been attributed to vain and selfish motives on the part of the members of the Government who organised it, and it has been pointed out that that Government lost its majority at the following General Election. The answer is, that the General Election was fought

solely on the question of Free Trade or Protection, and that no objection to the expedition was raised during the election or previously by the political opponents of the Government that organised it.

But that the desire for unity exists is evidenced in a more striking manner still. The doubters are to be found among the cynical section of the Conservative, and the materialistic section of the Liberal Party; the latter is politically the more powerful, and is, therefore, the better worth appealing to. The members of that section are precisely those who are most ready to believe that if an ideal produces subscriptions it is a genuine and a powerful force. And their strongest and best characteristic is their sympathy with the poor in their struggles to improve their material condition. They sympathised with the men in the great dock strike in London last autumn. Now, the dock labourers could not have been successful without great pecuniary support from the outside; the subscriptions actually raised amounted to £48,736, and only just sufficed to support the strike; and of that no less than £30,423 came from the Colonies. It is certain that without the colonial subscriptions the men could not have won. I put it to the materialistic section of the Liberal Party: If the colonists have no consciousness of or desire for citizenship in the same commonwealth with us, how was it that this money did not come from France, or America?

MR. DICEY'S ANSWER.

I submit then, that the colonies desire to maintain the effective unity of the Empire. It is undoubtedly the fact that they were disaffected before they obtained Home Rule, and that their disaffection was growing, and I submit that these facts can only be explained on the hypothesis that Home Rule has always tended towards the unity and not the disintegration of the Empire. And so I turn to what is regarded by friends and foes alike as the authoritative statement of the "Unionist" position, to find how Mr. Dicey accounts for these facts in "England's case against Home Rule." And I find that he fairly enough takes the Colony of Victoria and its constitution as the type of what a Colony and a Colonial constitution is, and he admits that Home Rule has worked well there, and has tended towards unity and not separation. But he points out that in every Home Rule constitution there exist certain "sources of irritation" which might produce complete separation from the Empire, and then he says:—

"To say that all these sources of irritation might embitter the relation between England and Victoria, and that as they do not habitually do so, one may infer that they will not embitter the relation between England and Ireland, is to argue that institutions nominally the same will work in the same way when applied to totally different circumstances."

And then he goes on to state what is the difference of circumstances between Ireland and Victoria. He continues:—

"Victoria is prosperous; Ireland is in distress. Victoria takes pride in the Imperial connection; the difficulty in dealing with Ireland consists in the fact that large bodies of Irishmen detest the British Empire. Victoria has never aspired to be a nation; the best side of Irish discontent consists in enthusiasm for Irish nationality. Above all this, there has never been any lasting feud between England and her Australian dependencies; the main ground in favour of a fundamental change in the constitutional relations of Ireland and England is the necessity of putting an end, at almost any cost, to traditional hatred and misunderstanding generated by centuries of misgovernment and misery."

THE CASE OF CANADA.

I therefore call to mind one of our Colonies which—so far from being like Victoria, prosperous, proud of the Imperial connection, never having aspired to be

a nation, or experienced any lasting feud with Great Britain—at the time she obtained Home Rule, like Ireland, was in distress, detested the British Empire, put in the forefront of her demand her claim to be treated as a separate nation—“La nation canadienne” was her watchword—and had experienced a feud which began with her connection with this country, and grew in intensity and bitterness till at last a rebellion broke out in her midst the year the Queen came to the throne. I refer to what is now called the Province of Quebec, but which used to be known, and is perhaps still better known as the Colony of Lower Canada.

THE CONSTITUTION OF LOWER CANADA.

¹The colony was planted by the French, at the mouth of the River St. Laurence, in the early part of the seventeenth century; and, though it was the scene of many conflicts between the French and English, and an object of attack to the latter in the wars between the two nations, it continued to be a dependency of the French Crown down to the year 1760.

In its early days it was ruled despotically by a governor; but in 1663 Colbert brought the administration more directly under the King of France, and henceforward the government was practically that of a French province. Two high functionaries were appointed, and each reported directly to the king: the governor, who had control over military and external affairs, and the intendant, who had control over internal affairs; and these two officers, with a body called the Superior Council, consisting of the governor, intendant, bishop, and ultimately twelve other members chosen by the king, on the recommendation of the governor and intendant, exercised all legislative, executive, and judicial functions. Subordinate local courts and governors were appointed, but their powers were limited.

The people had no voice whatever in the government. Even municipal matters were all managed by the central authority at Quebec; and the views of the authorities were summed up in the advice “Il ne laisse pas d'être de très grande conséquence de ne pas laisser la liberté au peuple de dire son sentiment.” Even a meeting held by parishioners under the eye of the Curé, to estimate the cost of a new church, seems to have required a special license from the intendant. The tenure of land was feudal in its nature. The *habitants*, or occupiers, held from a *seigneur*, or lord of the manor, but neither seigneur nor habitant had any voice in the government.

THE ANNEXATION OF CANADA BY THE ENGLISH.

The colony, then known as Canada, became a possession of the British Crown by the terms of a capitulation signed on the 8th of September, 1760, during the seven years' war; and by the Treaty of Paris which closed the war, and which was signed on the 10th of February, 1763, France formally “ceded and guaranteed to his Britannic Majesty, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies.” Its population numbered about 65,000, and consisted almost entirely of people of French race and language and Roman Catholic religion. By the terms of the Treaty, the free exercise of their religion was guaranteed to the French Canadians.

In the same year, 1763, the King, George III., issued a proclamation giving power to the Governor of Quebec to summon an elective assembly “in such manner and form as was usual in those colonies and provinces which were under the king's immediate government;” but as the representatives were required to make the

¹All the facts set out in the following three paragraphs are contained in Bourinot's “Parliamentary Procedure and Practice,” pp. 2-5 inclusive, where authorities are given.

declaration against transubstantiation, the whole population was practically excluded, and no assembly ever met. The only effect of the proclamation was to raise a suspicion, amounting almost to a panic, among the people that the promise of religious freedom in the Treaty of Paris was about to be broken by the same power that had broken a similar promise made in the Treaty of Limerick. Furthermore, the English officials attempted to introduce English law; and so during the following eleven years the panic grew, and a rebellion seemed imminent. The people were willing enough to be governed despotically, they had had no experience of anything else, but they wanted their own law, the "Custom of Paris." This element of Home Rule they understood and desired, and it seemed about to be taken away.

THE QUEBEC ACT, 1774.

In 1774 the Imperial Parliament passed the "Quebec Act,"¹ by which the Government was entrusted to a governor, and a legislative council appointed by the Crown, to consist of not more than twenty-three nor less than seventeen members;² Catholics were admitted to the council by the abolition of the test oath, and as a matter of fact eight Catholics were appointed on it. The same Act expressly guaranteed to the French Canadians the free exercise of their religion, and to their clergy their "accustomed dues and rights";³ and re-instituted the Custom of Paris as the civil law of the Colony.⁴ The taxation of Canada was regulated by an Imperial Act passed the same session,⁵ and passed in perpetuity and not merely for a single year, which imposed certain custom duties on spirits and molasses.

But the Quebec Act did not apply only to Canada, or the Province of Quebec, as it had been called since 1763; the area of its application was extended to include English settlements, viz., those in Newfoundland and the territories under its government, and those in what are now the States of Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Michigan, all of which territory was by the Quebec Act "annexed to and made part and parcel of the Province of Quebec."⁶ But to these English settlements the enforcement of the Custom of Paris meant the loss and not the recovery of native institutions. They were horrified at being deprived of the rights of *habeas corpus* and trial by jury;⁷ and it was this that made Lord Chatham describe it as "a most cruel, oppressive, and odious measure, tearing up justice and every good principle by the roots,"⁸ one that would "finally lose His Majesty the hearts of all the Americans."⁹ The prophecy proved true; for, while it reconciled Canada to the British Empire, it was one of the immediate causes that produced the separation of what was then called New England, but what is now the United States of America.

A POLICY OF PROCRUSTES' BED.

The English Government seemed then, as often since, incapable of anything but a policy of Procrustes' bed. It nearly produced an insurrection among the Canadians by attempting to assimilate their law to that of New England, with whose inhabitants they had no community of race, language, religion, or history; and it did produce an insurrection in New England, because it could not let the Canadians have their law without assimilating that of New England to it. It is the

¹ 14 George III., c. 83. ² s. 12. ³ s. 5. ⁴ s. 8. ⁵ 14, George III., c. 85. ⁶ 14 George III., c. 82, s. 1.

⁷ See Lord Chatham's speech, Cobbett's Parliamentary History, vol. 17, p. 1402.

⁸ Cobbett's Parliamentary History, vol. 17, p. 1402. ⁹ Id. p. 1404.

fallacy of the materialists of politics in all places and at all times. It was the crime of Metternich and Castlereagh at the Congress of Vienna; it is the folly of Mr. Goldwin-Smith to-day. They fancy a nation is nothing more than a fortuitous fragment of population that chances to inhabit a territory marked out by material definitions. They cannot understand that a nation is set apart, held together, and quickened by spiritual forces, and that that community of race, language, religion, and history that creates the common character of the individuals has more to do with nation making than all the mechanical forces or material conditions in the world.

The effect of this insane policy in this case was striking. The English colonists of New England were driven into rebellion, and throughout that American War of Independence the Imperial Government found no allies more loyal than those very French Canadians who had so recently been on the point of insurrection, but who were conciliated by the same Act which alienated the English colonists.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL ACT, 1791.

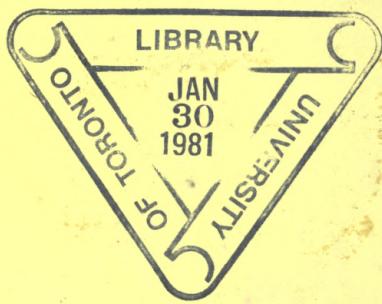
After the American War of Independence, many of those who had taken part with the mother country during that war emigrated from what had now become the territory of the United States into British North America, and settled, some of them in the uncleared lands that thereafter became known as New Brunswick, some of them in the uncleared lands that afterwards became known as Upper Canada, and some of them in among the French Catholics of the Province of Quebec, which thereafter became known as Lower Canada. These English colonists had been accustomed to a large measure of Home Rule in the land from which they had come, and they were unwilling to be governed despotically; hence they made a demand for a constitution, and in 1791 it was granted to them by the passing of a Bill introduced in the Imperial Parliament by Mr. Pitt, and known as the "Constitutional Act."¹

Under this Act Upper and Lower Canada were severed, and a separate constitution was granted to each. I am concerned here only with the one granted to Lower Canada. The constitution consisted of a governor representing the Crown; an Executive Council whose members were appointed by the governor, and were dismissible by him, in imitation of the English Cabinet; a Legislative Council² to act as a second chamber, to consist of not less than fifteen members³ to be appointed by the governor for life,⁴ or by patent creating hereditary membership as in the English House of Lords⁵; and a Legislative Assembly⁶ in imitation of the English House of Commons, to consist of not less than fifty members,⁷ elected on a fairly wide suffrage, the county franchise consisting of the ownership of land "in freehold, fief, roture, or by a certificate derived under the authority of the governor and council of the province of Quebec," to the value of 40s., and the borough franchise consisting of ownership of the annual value of £5, or occupation of the annual value of £10.⁸ Every Bill had to pass the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council, and be assented to by the governor, before it became law. The Crown reserved the right to set apart a seventh part of all uncleared land for the endowment of the Protestant clergy.⁹

The legal effect of this Act, and how it was found to work in practice, I must reserve for examination in another article.

¹ 31 Geo. III., c. 31. ² Ibid. s. 2. ³ Ibid. s. 3. ⁴ Ibid. s. 5. ⁵ Ibid. s. 6. ⁶ Ibid. s. 2.

⁷ Ibid. s. 17. ⁸ Ibid. s. 20. ⁹ Ibid. s. 36.



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